

THE HONOURABLE DADABHAI NAOROJI.

ESSAYS,

SPEECHES, ADDRESSES AND WRITINGS,

(ON INDIAN POLITICS,)

OF THE

HON'BLE DADABHAI NAOROJI,

PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF 1886 (CALCUTTA);
ADDITIONAL MEMBER OF THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL;
EX-DIWAN OF THE BARODA STATE,
&c. &c. &c.

(WITH LIFE AND PORTRAIT,)

EDITED BY

CHUNILAL LALLUBHAI PAREKH,

VICE-PRESIDENT, ARYA DNYAN VARDHAK SABHA.

I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life,
Co-incident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause.
To such I render more than mere respect,
Whose actions say that they respect themselves.

Cowper.

Bombay:
PRINTED AT THE
CAXTON PRINTING WORKS.

1887.

"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territory by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.

"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."—Queen's Proclamation, 1858.

"There is one single test which we may apply to all Indian questions: let us never forget that IT IS OUR DUTY TO GOVERN INDIA NOT FOR OUR OWN PROFIT AND ADVANTAGE, BUT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA."—*Lord Northbrook, late Viceroy of India.*

TO

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.,

LATE OF THE BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE,

WHO LOVED THE PEOPLE AMONG WHOM HE LIVED FOR 27 YEARS

Who, loving them, worked for them,

Always endeavouring to promote their welfare,

I BEG RESPECTFULLY TO DEDICATE

(With his kind permission)

THIS COLLECTION OF THE ESSAYS, SPEECHES,

ADDRESSES AND WRITINGS

OF

ONE OF INDIA'S MOST DISTINGUISHED AND POPULAR PATRIOTS.

C. L. PAREKH.

whether of the present or future generation, cannot do better than take Mr. Dadabhai for his model, and learn to speak and write on political questions in the spirit of practical statesmanship, of which his writings and speeches furnish many examples.

... ...

I have only to add that I am extremely obliged to Mr. Dadabhai for having permitted me to bring out this book, and to my friend Mr. Motilal Jamnadas Shroff for useful help throughout its preparation.

512, Shaikh Meman Street, C. L. PAREKH.
Bombay, November 1887.

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PART II.

MR. DADABHAI'S CANDIDATURE IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION (1886).

. . . But he has far higher qualifications, whether for an Irish or an English seat. He is by far the ablest, the most high-principled, and the most accomplished native of India who has ever visited this country. He knows England, and English politics, and the English language, like an Englishman. And as a political official and administrator he has occupied some of the highest posts in his own country. His *forte* is finance—the rock on which the English rule of India may go to pieces some day or other. For the sake of India—which I know pretty well—and for the sake of English Imperialism, I should rejoice to see able natives of the stamp of the Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in the English House of Commons.—*Weekly Times and Echo, London, May 30th*, 1886.

Mr. Naoroji is another native of India whose presence in the House of Commons would be of great advantage both to Englishmen and to our Indian fellow subjects. During forty years he has been to the front in every good movement in Bombay, where he is regarded by the natives with something like the same enthusiasm which Mr. Gladstone's name inspires here. But more than half that time he has passed in England, moving to and fro, so that he is as familiar as any Englishman can be with our home politics, and in all respects he possesses rare intelligence and remarkable capacity for independent judgment and honest action. The Holborn Liberals will do as much honour to themselves as to Mr. Naoroji by doing their utmost to secure his election.—*Weekly Dispatch, 20th June*, 1886.

He has always taken a leading interest in the affairs of India and this country.—*Times, June 25th*, 1886.

Like Ireland, India had grievances to be redressed, and it was right that her representatives should have an opportunity of bringing those grievances before the people of England. Apart from the special knowledge which he would bring to bear upon the Indian question, Mr. Naoroji, by 20 years' residence in England, had made himself fully acquainted with English political questions, and by returning him to the House of Commons, Holborn would prove itself one of the grandest constituencies in Great Britain. (Cheers.)—*Times, 26th June* 1886.

His candidature is exciting great interest among the natives of India in the Metropolis, by whom he is regarded with the deepest respect and admiration.—*York Herald, June 25th*, 1886.

Although in the estimation of his countrymen he is a great authority on all questions affecting the interests of India, he is also intimately acquainted with the politics of this country, having resided here at one period of his life for many years, and taken an active part in public matters.—*Rochdale Observer, 29th June*, 1886.

. . . . And ruled with great distinction for some time over two millions of people (cheers). In fact, his administration was so beneficent that it called forth from the British Governors in India the warmest testimony of admiration. Well, he contended that a gentleman who had struggled so long for the rights of his own country, and who had shown such distinguished capacity as a statesman, ought to prove himself a worthy representative of Holborn.—*Freeman's Journal, Dublin, 26th June*, 1886.

The electors of the division have an opportunity of returning a sound Radical in place of Colonel Duncan, their late Tory member, and at the same time of giving a graceful example of the broad tolerance which is a feature of the democracy. It is to be hoped that our Indian fellow-citizen, stamped with the approval of the Holborn Liberal Association, will receive the support of all the working-men voters.—*Reynolds, June 27th*, 1886.

He is a "Gladstonite." . . . . Apart altogether from party politics, we think the House of Commons would gain by his election, and are gratified by the cordial welcome Mr. Naoroji received from the electors of Holborn.—*Christian Million, July 1st*, 1886.

The Holborn electors are in a dilemma. They rejoice in a Liberal candidate (the Hon. D. Naoroji). We hope he will get in. Although it is not an easy matter to articulate his name, we wish him a *pronounced* success.—*Funny Folks, Fleet Street, 3rd July*, 1886.

Mr. Naoroji has received a generous reception even from voters who do not approve of his Irish politics, and who, but for the fact that the only issue now before the country is that of Home Rule for Ireland, with its unknown consequences, would accord to him their hearty support.

"The friend of India and of Ireland," as he was called at the meeting, was received with loud and long continued cheering.

It is well that able and honourable men of the stamp of Mr. Naoroji and Mr. Ghose should obtain a hearing, not only before English constituencies, but before the English Parliament.

. . . f a . . . roji . . . he . . . cho,

In Holborn the ex-Prime Minister of Baroda is creating a great impression on the constituency, and convincing many, both in and out of Holborn, that whoever is left out of Parliament, Dadabhai Naoroji ought to be inside.—*Pall Mall Gazette, Strand, 3rd July* 1886.

On Thursday night there was a grand Liberal demonstration at the Holborn Town Hall, in favour of the candidature of Mr. D. Naoroji, and we venture to say that a meeting of such dimensions and enthusiastic unanimity has never taken place in the Holborn Town Hall before.—*Holborn Guardian, 26th June* 1886.

And holds such Radical opinions that he should make a good member for Holborn. Besides, it would be of great Imperial advantage if we had a real Indian to make us fully acquainted with Indian affairs at first hand in the House Good luck to Naoroji!—*Penny Illustrated Paper, 26th June* 1886.

MR. DADABHAI'S APPOINTMENT IN THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

"Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been offered, and has accepted, a seat in the Local Legislative Council, vacated by Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy. The appointment is a most popular one. His services in the cause of this country point him out as the most fitting recipient of the honour."—*Madras Times.*

"The Native Press is gratified at such recognition, for in Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee is realized the popular ideal of a people's man, quite as much as a colleague and counsellor for the head of Government."—*Indian Spectator.*

. . . ative Council, the . . . the native com- . . . Mr. Dadabhai's . . . t as the people's . . . ay

"No more competent person can be chosen from the Native community of Bombay. He is a close student of Indian economical problems, and is well known to leading men in England as well as in India. In choosing him as a member of the Legislative Council, the Governor of Bombay has exercised rare discretion, and has conferred honour on his Legislative Council as well as on the Native community of Bombay."—*Indu, Madras.*

"Bombay could not have produced a more able and experienced person to represent it in the local legislature, and the Government could not have selected a better man."—*Hindoo Patriot.*

"We may not hesitate to say that Mr. Dadabhai will prove an accession to the enlightened Government of Lord Reay."—*Native Opinion.*

"The appointment of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council has given universal satisfaction. Mr. (D.) Naoroji has been known for a long series of years as a remarkably able man, and the recognition of his claims has been a bare act of justice."—*Indian Nation.*

"The appointment of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, though it comes very late in the day, is a fitting recognition of the services rendered to his country by this most selfless of Indian patriots."—*Indian Echo, Calcutta.*

This our "Master" of former times was reckoned as the gem of the educated Natives. By fawning or sacrificing the independence of his opinion, he could have worked himself up to a high Government post, and would have by this time secured a pension. But Professor Dadabhai preferred the interests of the people to his own. . . . . But Dame Fortune never favoured him, nor did Government give him his due, because high officials never recognized the worth of the "Good Dadabhai." But what does a patriot care for Government recognition? . . . Really, no other Governor has brought together such solid pillars—such gems of the native community—as Messrs. Dadabhai, Badrudin, Telang, and Ranade, in the Legislative Council.—*Jam-e-Jamshed.*

There is no doubt that Mr. Dadabhai will prove himself a real representative of the people in the Legislative Council, and an excellent adviser of the Government. His complete knowledge of the political questions of India, and of the condition of the native public, his high political experience, acquired during a prolonged stay in England, are sufficient to prove his fitness for the post. We believe that, with his zeal for the interests of the public good, he will prove himself more useful than before to his fellow countrymen while in the Council. . . His Excellency Lord Reay has, so to say, made a new epoch by the nominations of Messrs. Dadabhai and Ranade to the Legislative Council. . . .—*Bombay Samachar.*

His Excellency the Governor and his councillors have made a really proper appointment in nominating Mr. Dadabhai to the Legislative Council in succession to Sir Jamsetjee, and the public of Bombay are doubly pleased at the recognition of the worth of a worthy gentleman.—*Akhbar-e-Soudagur.*

The accession of this Master-mind in the ranks of such cultured men as the Honourable Messrs. Badrudin, Telang and Ranade, has greatly strengthened the voice of the native community. . . .—*Kaiser-i-Hind.*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE

HON'BLE DADABHAI NAOROJI.

"Mr Dadabhai Naoroji is one in a million—we might almost say one in a hundred and fifty millions."—*Oriental*, 1873 (England).

It is usual in publishing the writings and speeches of a man that has made his mark as a sound thinker and able writer, to give an account of his life. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's life may be described as the life of a man from which the younger generation of the natives of India may derive many profitable lessons. ... language used by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar ... " which appeared in the *Indu Prakash* ... " Writing of Mr. Dadabhai, Mr. Chan- ... man more than ... he—this venera- ... s the wonderful ... operate towards ... him without feel- ... om his example. ... anctity of work' personified He labours and others feel ashamed not to go and do the same. And such is his quiet influence that without him Bombay would be like the sheep that had no shepherd." Mr. Dadabhai's has been a life of unostentatious, honest, and yet active work, done with no higher aim than that of promoting the welfare of his country and making the connection between England and India a source of mutual advantage and glory to both. He has never cared for the smiles of office or the applause of the multitude; and where they have come to him, they have come uninvited and unsought. His private life has been as pure and unblemished as his public career has been distinguished and ... in his engagements, true to his word, and ... those who have known him and ... what the poet Wordsworth calls

A short but interesting biographical sketch of Mr. Dadabhai, who is now ... n in Bombay in September 1825, appeared

"From his early years Mr. Dadabhai showed himself to be a bright boy. He was generally ... On one occasi... carried off th... reckoner by h... the prize-boy broke d... ront, regained his first place, and the ... tators. It is of this incident, we ... ndia,' speaks

ludicrous. The little fellow seemed wholly animated with the desire of excelling, and his mental capabilities promised him a rich reward.' In 1845 Sir Erskine Perry, Chief Justice of Bombay and President of the Board of Education, with his general desire to promote education among the natives, proposed to send Mr. Dadabhai to England to study for the Bar, offering to contribute half the expenses himself, and asking Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the first Baronet, and other *shetts*, to give the other half. The proposal was at first accepted, but was subsequently declined; and the general report of the reason was that somebody had frightened Sir Jamsetjee that young Dadabhai might be tempted to become a Christian in England, as a few years previously there had been much excitement among the Parsees on account of some conversions to Christianity. Soon afterwards Mr. Dadabhai was appointed head native assistant master, and, on the occasion of the annual exhibition for the distribution of prizes, was declared by Principal Harkness to be entitled to the gold medal of the year. His subsequent career as assistant Professor and Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the Elphinstone College, in succession to Professor Patton, was successful and satisfactory. The distinction of assistant professor was conferred upon him in consideration of his great usefulness as well as of his very high character. Every successive professor had borne testimony to the extent of his acquirements, as well as to his zeal and energy; and the Board of Education testified to the *repeated opportunities of observing his 'devotion to the cause of native education.'* Mr. Dadabhai was the first native professor, not only in Bombay, but in all India; and the Board of Education, in their report for 1854-55, referred to his appointment in these terms—'To complete the arrangements, we gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity of confirming Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the duties of which he had been performing to our entire satisfaction for nearly two years. We feel sure that the distinction he has thus won by a long and laborious devotion to mathematical studies, and by an able discharge of his duties in the institution, will stimulate him to still greater exertions. It is now twenty-eight years since the subject of the Elphinstone professorships first came under consideration, with the view of commemorating the high sense entertained by the natives of Western India of the public and private character of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone on his retirement from the government of this Presidency. At a public meeting held in the library of the Native Education Society in August 1827, a resolution was unanimously passed that the most appropriate and durable plan for accomplishing this object would be to found professorships for teaching the English language, and the arts, the sciences, and the literature of Europe. In the resolution which was thus adopted, a hope was expressed that the happy period would arrive when natives of this country would be found qualified for holding those professorships. It was therefore with no ordinary feeling of satisfaction that we felt ourselves justified in nominating Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy—a measure so entirely in accordance with both the letter and spirit of the resolution.' On another occasion, Dr. M. Stovell, secretary of the Board of Education, wrote to Mr. Dadabhai a letter of congratulation and advice, telling him to 'go on in the same steady, straightforward course, and with the same singleminded views; and you may prove in time a great blessing to your countrymen.'

"During his educational career, and before his visits to England, Mr. Dadabhai did not confine his energies to his own regular work, but was either one of the originators of, or an active labourer in, most of the public movements of the time. The Students' Literary and Scientific Society, the Dnyan Prasarak Society, the Bombay Association, the Rahnoomae Mazdisna Society (for religious reforms among the Parsees), the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, the Iranee Fund, the Parsee Gymnasium, the Widow Remarriage movement among the Hindoos, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the first girls' school of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society were indebted to him as an originator or active labourer for their success and advancement. In the cause of female education he threw his whole heart and soul; and he was spoken of by those who had watched and known his anxious work as 'the father of the girls' schools.' In the infancy of the movement a few volunteer teachers from the members of the Students' Society had at first opened the schools at their own houses, and were teaching during their

ludicrous. The little fellow seemed wholly animated with the desire of excelling, and his mental capabilities *promised him a rich reward.*' In 1845 Sir Erskine Perry, Chief Justice of Bombay and President of the Board of Education, with his general desire to promote education among the natives, proposed to send Mr. Dadabhai to England to study for the Bar, offering to contribute half the expenses himself, and asking Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the first Baronet, and other *shetts*, to give the other half. The proposal was at first accepted, but was subsequently declined; and the general report of the reason was that somebody had frightened Sir Jamsetjee that young Dadabhai might be tempted to become a Christian in England, as a few years previously there had been much excitement among the Parsees on account of some conversions to Christianity. Soon afterwards Mr. Dadabhai was appointed head native assistant master, and, on the occasion of the annual exhibition for the distribution of prizes, was declared by Principal Harkness to be entitled to the gold medal of the year. His subsequent career as assistant Professor and Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the Elphinstone College, in succession to Professor Patton, was successful and satisfactory. The distinction of assistant professor was conferred upon him in consideration of his great usefulness as well as of his very high character. Every successive professor had borne testimony to the extent of his acquirements, as well as to his zeal and energy; and the Board of Education testified to the repeated opportunities of observing his 'devotion to the cause of native education.' Mr. Dadabhai was the first native professor, not only in Bombay, but in all India; and the Board of Education, in their report for 1854-55, referred to his appointment in these terms—'To complete the arrangements, we gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity of confirming Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the duties of which he had been performing to our entire satisfaction for nearly two years. We feel sure that the distinction he has thus won by a long and laborious devotion to mathematical studies, and by an able discharge of his duties in the institution, will stimulate him to still greater exertions. It is now twenty-eight years since the subject of the Elphinstone professorships first came under consideration, with the view of commemorating the high sense entertained by the natives of Western India of the public and private character of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone on his retirement from the government of this Presidency. At a public meeting held in the library of the Native Education Society in August 1827, a resolution was unanimously passed that the most appropriate and durable plan for accomplishing this object would be to found professorships for teaching the English language, and the arts, the sciences, and the literature of Europe. In the resolution which was thus adopted, a hope was expressed that the happy period would arrive when natives of this country would be found qualified for holding those professorships. It was therefore with no ordinary feeling of satisfaction that we felt ourselves justified in nominating Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy—a measure so entirely in accordance with both the letter and spirit of the resolution.' On another occasion, Dr. M. Stovell, secretary of the Board of Education, wrote to Mr. Dadabhai a letter of congratulation and advice, telling him to 'go on in the same steady, straightforward course, and with the same singleminded views; and you may prove in time a great blessing to your countrymen.'

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say that since 1866 Mr. Dadabhai is better known for his work in connection with the East India Association and the championship of the rights of the Indian people. On his return to Bombay in 1869 for a time, the native community of Bombay voted him an address,* a purse, and a portrait. Out of this purse, he has, according to general report, spent the greater portion in works of public

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* "TO DADABHAI NAOROJI, Esquire.

"We, your friends and admirers, feel it our duty on the eve of your departure to England to express our feeling of heartfelt gratitude and sincere thankfulness for the valuable services you have rendered to our country. Wherever you have been, at home or abroad, you have always evinced the warmest interest in the promotion of the social, political, and moral welfare of India and its inhabitants.

"Pre-eminently you are one of those self-made men, who rise by the force of their individual merits and conduct; all the greater therefore is our respect and esteem for you.

"Your distinguished career as a scholar at the Elphinstone Institution, your
ral Sciences, and your sterling
you to the notice of the late
ry, by whom you were nomin-
Philosophy in the Elphinstone
Patton, and in your nomina-
y honoured, for you were the
Gungadhur Shastri, on whom
afforded us extreme pleasure
ucted your duties with credit
our care.

"From early life you have always taken an active part in every movement which had for its object the improvement of the moral, social, and political condition of our countrymen, and in particular, you have evinced great interest in the cause of popular education, and the diffusion of useful knowledge. The records of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, the Guzerati Dnyan Prasarak Sabha, the Native General Library, the Framjee Cowasji Institute, the Parsi Girl School Association, and the Bombay Association, bear ample testimony to your indefatigable energy and zeal for the public cause.

"For the spread of vernacular literature, and the creation of a taste for reading in the Guzerati speaking population of this Presidency, we are in a great measure indebted to you. In starting the Guzerati Dnyan Prasarak Sabha, the first of its kind in Bombay, and the magazine bearing the same name, you took a prominent part, and besides delivering public lectures in the vernacular, and contributing instructive and interesting essays to the magazine, you materially assisted its funds, so as to cheapen its price and bring it within the reach of the poorer classes of the community.

"In respect of Female Education your services are not less marked. You were one of those few who took an important part in establishing the first Native Girls' School under the auspices and superintendence of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, and assisted in overcoming by their personal influence and labours as voluntary teachers the prejudices of the people against female education. With the valuable aid of several leading members of the Parsee community, you contributed not a little to put the Parsi Schools on a permanent footing.

"Such were your labours in the cause of native progress and enlightenment, when, fifteen years ago, you proceeded to England as partner in the first native firm established in that country with the important object of naturalizing native commercial enterprize therein.

"By directing your attention during your stay in England towards the study of politics, you have proved yourself of immense service to India, being able thereby to represent our cause honestly and faithfully before the English public.

usefulness. By far his most important and earnest labour has for some years past been directed to an exposition of the poverty of India and its remedy; and anybody who carefully reads his papers on the subject, read before the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, will see how thoroughly and earnestly he has discussed the subject. Latterly he has carried on some direct correspondence on this subject with the India Office, with some good effect; and has succeeded in awakening an intelligent and sympathising interest in England in connection with this matter. With respect to Mr. Dadabhai's public labours since 1868, we may say that in 1869 he delivered three Gujeratee and one English lecture for the East India Association, and an address at the formation and inauguration of the Bombay Branch. About the same time he delivered a lecture in Gujeratee on 'The Condition of India,' at a meeting called by the Thakore Saheb of Gondal; wrote another paper on the Civil Service clause in the Governor-General of India Bill, which was sent from Bombay to the East India Association; and one on the Bombay Cotton Act of 1869, which, with the discussions on the subject, resulted in the Act being vetoed by the Secretary of State. In 1870 he wrote a paper on the Wants and Means of India; and in 1871 on the Commerce of India and on the Financial Administration of India. In 1872, while in Bombay, he took an active part in the agitation for municipal reform. In 1873 Mr. Dadabhai gave evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee. In 1874 he entered on the duties of the Dewanship of Baroda at the earnest solicitation of the Gaekwar, being the first Parsee Dewan in an important Native State at a time when the administration of its affairs was beset with serious and harassing difficulties. His views, theoretical and practical, of governing, were truth and straightforwardness; that governments and princes were made for the people, and not the people for them; and that the true welfare of a State was identified with the welfare and progress of the people. The space at our command precludes us from referring to the crowding incidents of that year, and we must refer our readers to Mr. Dadabhai's reply to the Baroda Blue-books. It may be remarked that the struggle, in which a Resident was removed by a Viceroy like Lord Northbrook, must have been one of no ordinary character. The removal of a Resident for the sake of a native Dewan is an event of rare occurrence. Sir Bartle Frere, writing to Mr. Dadabhai in February 1874 said—'I have received with the utmost interest all the information you have sent home regarding your doings at Baroda. You must not be discouraged by anything that happens. You have undertaken, as I warned you, a terribly difficult work, but I feel sure you have undertaken it in the right spirit and from none but the purest motives.' Again in the following year Sir Bartle Frere wrote to Mr. Dadabhai: 'It has been a matter of regret to both of us [himself and Sir Erskine Perry] that you were not allowed an opportunity of

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"Your disinterested labours in the establishment and conduct of the London Indian Society and the East India Association, and in the formation of a branch of the latter at Bombay, your valuable services in the discussion of important Imperial questions affecting the rights and interests of the natives of India, are too recent and well known to require lengthy acknowledgments.

"Such are your services, and when to your high character for integrity and probity, dear Sir, we add your readiness disinterestedly to devote your time, talents, and energy towards the advancement and welfare of India, with such urbanity of manners and width of sympathy as to place your valuable advice within the reach of every countryman who might need it, we cannot refrain from publicly acknowledging them, and as a small token of our esteem and affection we request your kind acceptance of a purse which we have subscribed.

"We also solicit the favour of your kindly consenting to have your life-size portrait placed in the Hall of the Framjee Cowasjee Institute.

"In conclusion we beg heartily to wish you a happy voyage to England, and we pray Almighty God to grant you long life and prosperity, and that we may have the happiness of once more seeing that benign and cheerful countenance among us.—We remain, dear Sir, your sincere friends and admirers."

rying out the reforms you desired, and thus making one of the most interesting eriments possible in a Native State. But you have the consolation of having ne your best. I do not see that any human being could have done more under e circumstances'. In 1875, during his stay in Bombay, Mr. Dadabhai was ected a member of the Corporation and of the Town Council, and worked in those ffices for a little over a year. His treatment of some of the more troublesome questions of several years' standing elicited from the Corporation a special vote of thanks for his 'zeal and ability,' and an expression of regret at his resignation in September 1876. In addition to the routine work, his principal work during the year was showing that Government were demanding from the Municipality fifty lakhs of rupees more than they were entitled to on the Vehar Loan, and that the delivery of water by the Vehar system was only about fourteen gallons a head per day, and not seventeen gallons; and suggestions for loans for improvements and for amendments in the Municipal Act. In 1876 Mr. Dadabhai wrote his two papers on 'The Poverty of India,' which were read before the Bombay branch of the East India Association; and his reply to the discussion on the poverty of India From 1876 to 1879 he carried on a private correspondence with Sir Erskine Perry on the higher and larger employment of natives, and with Sir David Wedderburn about getting returns of the salaries, pensions, &c., given to European employes in all departments of the State. In 1880 he wrote letters to the Secretary of State on the Productions and Wants of the Punjaub and India, a letter to the same high authority on 'The Moral Poverty of India and Native Thoughts on the present British Indian Policy,' and 'A few statements in the Report of the Finance Commission of 1880.' From 1878 to 1881 Mr. Dadabhai carried on a private correspondence with Mr. Hyndman on Indian subjects.

"Mr Dadabhai was appointed a member of the Grand Jury in 1855, was nominated a Fellow of the Bombay University in 1864, and a Justice of the Peace in 1883, in which year he again joined the Corporation. Since his return to Bombay he has started the *Voice of India*. He submitted a note on Education to the Education Commission when they held their sittings in Bombay. He made praiseworthy exertions for the success of the Ripon Memorial."

In August 1885, Lord Reay appointed Mr. Dadabhai an Additional Member of the Bombay Legislative Council. His appointment was hailed with universal satisfaction, though it was felt by all that very tardy justice was done to him by Government. Mr. Dadabhai took a leading part at the meetings of the First Indian National Congress which sat in Bombay on the 27th, 28th and 29th December 1885. A few months after he left for England with a view to try his chance at the General Elections and secure a seat in Parliament. The help of several English friends of India enabled him to find a constituency willing to accept him as a candidate. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Holborn Liberal Association, held on Friday, the 18th of June 1886, it was unanimously resolved to commend him to the Electors of Holborn as "a fit and proper person to represent the Liberals and Radicals of the Borough in Parliament." Mr. Dadabhai accepted the candidature and issued his address to the Electors of the Holborn Division of Finsbury on the 19th of June 1886. The issue at the General Elections of June 1886 turned upon the question of Home Rule for Ireland, and the English public were so much divided in opinion on the question, and besides, so strongly Conservative was the borough selected by Mr. Dadabhai, that from the first the chances of his election seemed slender. Most things were against him in the contest, but nevertheless he threw himse into it with great courage and resolution. He addressed a large number of mee ings and was at all of them received most enthusiastically. Many of the Engl papers noticed his candidature and spoke favorably of the impression he had m few days succeeded in making on the mind of his audiences. Mr. Dadabhai defeated at the elections, he securing 1,950 votes while his Conservative oppo ...ed 3,651. Mr Dadabhai's defeat was, under the circumstances, a vict ...ted the candidature, it was feared that he would hardly be ... The constituency was known to be strongly conserv

and Mr. Dadabhai's opponent, Col. Duncan, had almost everything on his side—wealth, local influence, and the English antipathy to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy for Ireland. That fighting against such odds, Mr. Dadabhai should have been able to secure so many as 1,950 votes, surprised all who had feared that he might not be able to secure even half that number. While in England he wrote to the *Times* and *Daily News* several letters on Exchange and Bi-Metallism, then the most pressing of Indian economical questions. Mr. Dadabhai returned to India in November with a view to join the second Indian National Congress which was to assemble in Calcutta in the closing days of December. He was elected President of the Congress, and the address he delivered at the opening of it in the large hall of the Calcutta Town Hall is notable for the moderation of its tone, and the spirit of loyalty and reform which breathed through it.*

During the deliberations of the Congress he felt most anxious about the Indian Civil Service question of which he had made a life-long study. He guided the Congress Civil Service sub-committee as its chairman towards the important resolution on the subject arrived at by the Congress, and in the end of 1886 he published a paper on the Indian Services, and early in 1887 prepared his well-known Replies to the questions of the Public Service Commission supplementing these by oral evidence before the Commission during its sittings in Bombay in April. After receiving the thanks of the public of Bombay for himself and his brother candidate Mr. L. M. Ghose, who were both very warmly welcomed at a most crowded meeting in the Framji Cawasji Institute, and after a complimentary dinner from the Ripon Club, Mr. Dadabhai again left for England. While in England Mr. Dadabhai has contributed two Essays to the *Contemporary Review* by way of reply to Sir M. E. Grant Duff's crude observations on India and its educated classes. The Essays have elicited praise even from the Anglo-Indian journals, and have been universally applauded by the native press of India. It is the dearest wish of India universally expressed that early seats may be obtained by him and Mr. L. M. Ghose in Parliament, and THIS GRAND OLD MAN of ours may continue to serve the interests of the country in an unselfish and independent way as he has done for many years is India's humble and sincere prayer to God."

LET OTHER "PATRIOTS" TAKE A LEAF OUT OF HIS BOOK.

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* The writer, who had the honour of attending the Congress as a delegate of the *Arya Dnyan Vardhak Sabha*, was an eye-witness of this, and he cannot here help quoting the following from the introductory article to the printed Report of the Second Congress, which does full justice to his address:—

"Throughout, the speech was interrupted, at the close of almost every period, by the most enthusiastic cheers, showing how thoroughly the speaker's words were going home to the hearts, not only of his brother delegates, but of the vast crowd of educated listeners that thronged every portion of the great hall."

ESSAYS, SPEECHES, ADDRESSES, & WRITINGS.

ESSAYS.

CHAPTER I.

I.

THE EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC RACES.

(Read before the Ethnological Society, London, March 27th, 1866, Observations on the Paper read by John Crawfurd, Esq., F.R.S)

I FEEL very thankful to Mr. Crawfurd and the Council for allowing me to make a few observations upon Mr. Crawfurd's paper, "on the European and Asiatic Races."

Mr. Crawfurd tells us, in illustration of the mental inferiority of the Asiatics, that in the seminaries at eighteen the native is left far behind by the European, and never after recovers his lost ground. What are the facts? Only a few mails ago, *The Friend of India* tells us, that at the Calcutta University there were then above 1,200 candidates for entrance; that 447 underwent the first examination, and that 120 had applied to compete for the B.A. degree. The *Friend* remarks, "These examinations are assuming a Chinese magnitude, and present a spectacle at once curious and gratifying." The result of my own experience as a teacher and professor for ten years in the Elphinstone Institution, and of my observations for ten years more, is entirely contrary to Mr. Crawfurd's statement. Gambier, Perry, Lewin, Sims, Warden, and others, have given similar opinions in their evidence before Parliament. The mistake *made by Mr. Crawfurd is one of those which foreign travellers and* writers are very apt to fall into from superficial observation and imperfect information.

When English seminaries were first opened in India, boys were principally sent there with the object of acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the English language to enable them to get a situation in government offices, or to talk and write English. The consequence was, that for some time these seminaries did not produce any scholars, the pupils generally leaving on attaining their main object. With the imperfect

education with which they usually left school, and falling again in the society of their own equally or more ignorant countrymen, they were not able to continue their studies. Those Englishmen, however, who watched their progress, but did not understand the cause, wondered at such a result, and concluded that the native youth was incapable of progress after eighteen. There is another circumstance which unfortunately aggravated the mischief; the custom of early betrothal and marriage among the natives. The pupils, therefore, were often fathers before they were eighteen or twenty, and the necessity of supporting a family soon drove them from school to service.

For those who take a real interest in the natives of India, I cannot do better than refer them to that mass of interesting evidence given before Parliamentary Committees by interested and disinterested persons, and I have no doubt that any impartial and candid inquirer will find that the natives of India are not below the average of the head and heart of any other nation in the world.

This evidence was given in 1853 and 1858; but since that time the progress in education and several other matters has been so marked, though not very great, that even this evidence has become obsolete in some particulars. No careful observer will now make the statement that the Hindu is not capable of keeping up his studies after leaving college, much less that he falls back at eighteen and never regains his lost ground. The very fact that the Hindus were even capable of producing a vast and varied literature in all departments of human knowledge, shows beyond all doubt that the capacity to study all life is not wanting. The fertile soil is there, but neglected. Let it have its proper cultivation, and it will again show the same fruit.

Lastly, as Sir C. Trevelyan very justly remarks, what is said about the natives takes place in some degree in all countries, even in England, and as a remedy, he says,—"The main thing required is to open to them a proper field of mental and moral activity in after life . . . . and we should encourage a wholesome mental activity in the pursuits of literature, science, and the fine arts . . . all the avenues of employment in the service of the state should be opened to them.* They have very considerable administrative qualities, great patience, great industry, and great acuteness and intelligence."†

I do not know whether the remarks made by Mr. Crawfurd on Asiatic literature and the dearth of great names are based upon his own personal

* Lords' Committee, 1853, ques. 6644. † Ib. 6605.

knowledge of all these literatures or on the authority of others who possess such knowledge, or on the assumption that, because Mr. Crawfurd does not know them, therefore they do not exist. Mr. Crawfurd himself admits that there have been some conquerors, lawgivers, and founders of religious sects. I suppose such names as Christ, Mahomed, Zoroaster, Manu, Confucius, Cyrus, Akbar, Fardoosi, Hafiz, Sady, Calidas, Panini, Abool Fazil, and a host of others, are such as any nation may be proud of. The Royal Asiatic Society has a descriptive catalogue of 163 manuscripts in their library of 100 distinct Persian and Arabic works on the single subject of history. Sir W. Jones thinks* Persia has produced more writers of every kind, and chiefly poets, than all Europe put together. He mentions a manuscript at Oxford of the lives of 135 of the finest Persian poets.†

Mr. Crawfurd speaks disparagingly of the *Shanameh*, as consisting "of a series of wild romances of imaginary heroes, and of such slender merit that no orientalist has ever ventured on presenting it in a European translation." I hope Mr. Crawfurd has read it, or has authority for what he says. In my humble opinion, from what little I know of it, it is a work of great poetic merit.‡ Sir W. Jones, after giving the palm of superiority to Homer, asserts a very great resemblance between the works of these extraordinary men; and admits that both drew their images from nature herself, and both possessed, in an eminent degree, that rich and creative invention which is the very soul of poetry.‖

He considers the characters in it as various and striking; the figures bold and animated, and the diction everywhere sonorous, yet noble; polished, yet full of fire.§ Sir J. Malcolm thinks that the most fastidious European reader will meet with numerous passages of exquisite beauty in the noble epic poem of Firdoosi; that some of the finest scenes are described with simplicity and elegance of diction, and that to those whose taste is offended with hyperbole, the tender part of his work will have most beauty.¶ Sir W. Jones considers that the Persian language is rich, melodious, and elegant; that numbers of admirable works have been written in it, by historians, philosophers, and poets, who found it capable of expressing, with equal advantage, the most beautiful

* Vol. x., p 319

† I have given the opinions of others as closely as possible in their own words.

‡ Dr. Julius Mohl informs me that he has already published four volumes of the text and translation; the fifth is nearly ready for publication, and the sixth is printing.

‖ Vol. xi, p. 355. § Ibid. 354. ¶ Vol. ii, p. 539.

and the most elevated sentiments.* With reference to the ridiculous bombast of the Persian style, he remarks, that though there are bad writers, as in every country, the authors who are esteemed in Persia are neither slavish in their sentiments, nor ridiculous in their expressions.

Upon Mr. Crawford's remarks as to the absence of any literature or history among the Persians before the Arabian conquest, let us see what Sir John Malcolm says. He says, the Arabs, in their irritation at the obstinate resistance of the Persians for their independent religion, destroyed their cities, temples, etc. etc. And the books, in which were written whatever the learned of the nation knew, either of general science, or of their own history and religion, were, with their possessions, devoted to destruction. He refers, as a parallel, to the fate of Greek and Roman manuscripts, to show how few of the works of a conquered and despised nation like Persia, would be saved amid the wreck to which that kingdom was doomed.

He further says—"We know from sacred history, that the deeds of the kings of Persia were written in a book styled the chronicles of that kingdom; and we are told by a Grecian author, who was at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, that he had access to volumes which were preserved in the royal archives."†

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* Vol. v., p. 165.

† Mr. Ed. B. Eastwick, in reply to my inquiries as to his opinion upon the extracts I have given from Sir W. Jones and Sir John Malcolm on Persian Literature, &c., says:—

"I thoroughly agree in the opinions expressed of Firdausi, and of the Persian poets, by Sir W. Jones and Sir J. Malcolm. The narratives of events in the *Shanaméh* are not so unnatural, hyperbolic, or absurd as those in the *Iliad*, and the 'curiosa felicitas verborum' of the Persian poet is little, if at all, inferior to that of Homer. Mr. C. cannot be aware that M. Mohl has translated the *Shanaméh* into French and that Atkinson has rendered some portions into English. If Arabic and Persian were taught in our schools, as Greek and Latin are, we should have as many and as careful translations of the *Shanaméh* as of the *Iliad*. It is not the slender merit of the poet, but our ignorance of Persian, that has made the dearth of translations. As yet we have only dipped into Persian poetry. No European can pretend to have explored that ocean of literature."

I am sorry that my very slight knowledge of French prevents me from studying, for the present, the annual reports of Dr. Julius Mohl; but I give below, an extract from his letter to me, which I think gives the Eastern literature its proper place in the history of man.

"Oriental literature can only take its place in the universal literature of mankind, when intelligent historians show its value for history in its largest sense—history of the development of the human race, its ideas, its manners, etc.; and show, too, how large has been the past of the East, and how great in some respects its influence. This is gradually being done, in proportion as translations and researches on special subjects put the materials in the hands of thinking people. It is, above all, the history of religion, of legislation, of philosophy, and of poetry, which will show the importance of Oriental literature; but it is slow

I need not take up your time with more extracts on the merits o other poets. Mr. Fraser, after naming Nizami, Omar Keyormi, Oorfi, an Rudki, says he might cite a hundred others as high examples of genius. Lastly, we must bear in mind, that a large amount of Asiatic and European literature may have been lost in that deplorable act of destruction of the Alexandrian Library by Omar.

In Arabic literature, to the *Arabian Nights*, at least, I hope Mr. Crawfurd accords some merit; for according to his test of merit the work is translated in European languages, and extensively read, too. Chrickton's *History of Arabia* gives an account of a varied and vast Arabian literature. He thinks Europe indebted to the Arabs for some of her most valuable lessons in science and arts. He also gives the names of more than half-a-dozen female poetesses and philosophers.

Professor Max Müller thinks that the achievements of the Brahmins in grammatical analysis, which date from six centuries before Christ, are still unsurpassed by any nation.* Colebrook thinks that among the infinity of volumes on Nyaya, there are compositions of very celebrated schoolmen,† and that the Hindu writings abound in every branch of science. Sir W. Jones strongly recommends to Europeans the study of Indian medical works. He says there are many works on music, in prose and verse, with specimens of Hindu airs in a very elegant notation, that the Sanscrit prosody is easy and beautiful, that there are numerous astronomical works, and that wherever we direct our attention to Hindu literature, the notion of *infinity* presents itself, from which we may gather the fruits of science without loading ourselves with the leaves.

No doubt there may be much leaves and branches, or much trash, in this vast forest of literature, but we know also what amount of trash is daily poured upon us in the present day.

Sir W. Jones ventures to affirm that the whole of Newton's *Theology*, and part of his *Philosophy*, may be found in the *Vedas*, which also abound with allusions to a force of universal attraction.‡ With regard to the Sanscrit language, he says, whatever be its antiquity, it is of

work, and cannot be otherwise, by the nature of the case. Greek and Latin literature will always prevail in Europe; our minds have been moulded upon them, and they are nearest to us; but this does not extinguish the claim of the East to take its place. I have said this over and over, in my annual reports to the Asiatic Society."

* Science of Language, p. 80. † Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus, p. 167.
‡ Vol. iii., p. 246

wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either.* With all the above opinions of Sir W. Jones Dr. T. Goldstucker concurs.

Horace Wilson thinks it probable that in fiction much of the invention displayed on the revival of letters in Europe was referable to an Indian origin;† that enough has been ascertained to determine the actual existence in Sanscrit or in vernacular translations from it of a very extensive literature of fiction, in which many of our European acquaintances are at once to be recognised,‡ and that the Hindus occupy an early and prominent place in the history of fiction;§ that in speculations upon the nature of the superior being and man, the Hindus traverse the very same ground that was familiarly trodden by the philosophers of Greece and Rome.‖ He also remarks:—"That in medicine, as well as in astronomy and metaphysics, the Hindus once kept pace with the most enlightened nations of the world; and that they attained as thorough a proficiency in medicine and surgery as any people whose acquisitions are recorded, and as indeed was practicable, before anatomy was made known to us by the discoveries of modern inquirers. That surgery (as well as other departments of medical science) was once extensively cultivated and highly esteemed by the Hindus."

Lastly, I appeal to Professor Goldstucker, whether Sanscrit literature was not important enough to warrant the formation of the Sanscrit Text Society, headed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Further development was checked by the frequent invasions of India by, and the subsequent continuous rule of, foreigners of entirely different character and genius, who, not having any sympathy with the indigenous literature—on the contrary, having much fanatical antipathy to the religion of the Hindus—prevented its further growth. Priesthood, first for power and afterwards from ignorance, completed the mischief, as has happened in all other countries.

Mr. Crawfurd tells us that the Asiatics are untruthful, very inferior in morals, and have no fidelity to engagements.¶ Beginning with the

* Vol. iii., p. 34. † Vol. iii., p. 156. ‡ Vol. v., p. 108.

§ Vol. iii., p. 159. ‖ Vol. ii., p. 115.

¶ Mr. Crawfurd says, "In morals there has ever existed a wide difference between Europeans and Asiatics. Truth, the basis of all morality, has never distinguished the races of India. In Europe fidelity to engagements has been in esteem even in rude times, and increased with the advance of civilization. Not so in Asia, for it may safely be asserted that there the most civilized nations are found to be the least truthful, among whom may be named the Persians, the Hindus,

ancient Persians, Zoroaster, hundreds of years before Christ, taught, "I understand truth-telling exalted; all the days of the holy man are with thoughts of truth, words of truth, and deeds of truth. Those that tell untruths and do wicked actions shall not receive the reward of life from Hormuzd. To speak true words is true excellence; in the treasures of religion exalt truth above all. What is the high religion?—That which promotes my holiness and truth, with good thought, word, and deed. In this house may . . . prevail words of truth over words of lie.—Punish the breakers of promise, and those that induce others to break their promise."* Coming down in the course of time to the third century of the Christian era, Ardai Viraf, a high priest, holds out the punishment of hell, among others, to the following :—

"The man who used false weights and measures, took full weight and returned false, who adulterated his goods by mixing water with milk, to men who were liars and talebearers. The crime of lying being the most displeasing in the sight of God; even the most trivial and innocent falsity being a heinous sin. The man who was a bearer of false witness; who was fraudulent and deceitful; who, though he kept his word and rigorously performed his agreement with those of his own sect and faith, yet held it no sin to break his faith with those of a different persuasion; this, in the eye of Omnipotence, being a heinous sin, and the keeping of a promise even with an enemy being a duty inculcated."

Mr. Pope, the translator of Ardai Viraf, concludes with the following remark, "that the philosophers will rejoice to find them (the modern Parsees) neither deficient in virtue or morality." Mr Rawlinson says, "that in their (Zoroastrian) system, truth, purity, piety, and industry were the virtues chiefly valued and inculcated."

Coming down to the latest times, the Parsee children are taught as a religious lesson to speak the truth, and not to tell untruths nor to commit treachery.

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and the Chinese. Integrity is most prevalent among the educated classes in Europe, but with the more civilized, the want of it pervades all classes in Asia. The European maxim that 'honesty is the best policy' is not recognised by the more civilized people of Asia; on the contrary, finesse is substituted. It is only among Asiatic nations of the second order of civilization (Mr. C. knows only them, it appears), such as Burmese, Malays, &c., that we find an adherence to truth, and even they become demoralised in the attainment of power. The difference in morals between Europeans and Asiatics seems to have belonged to all ages."

* My paper on the Parsee religion read before the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society.

The above is the testimony of the religious literature of the Persians. Let us see what the foreigners have said of them. Greek testimony about Persians is to be taken with care and caution. When we see that in the nineteenth century, gentlemen of learning and authority, with every means of obtaining correct information available, commit such mistakes as the one I have pointed out before, about the educational capacity of the natives of India, and make statements contrary to well known facts, how much more necessary is it to sift carefully the testimony of a hostile people given at a time when intercommunication was rare and difficult, and the character and manners of the two people very different. Even good Greek testimony, however, is in the favour of the Persians. Herodotus says, "Their sons are carefully instructed . . . . to speak the truth." He also says, "They hold it unlawful to talk of anything which is unlawful to do; the most disgraceful thing in the world they think is to tell a lie, the next worse to owe a debt, because, among other reasons, the debtor is obliged to tell lies."*

Next, there is the testimony of the inscriptions in which lying is taken as the representative of all evil. Darius's successors are exhorted not to cherish but to cast into utter perdition the man who may be a liar, or who may be an evil doer.† The modern Parsees are admitted by Mr. Crawfurd himself, as well as others, as a trustworthy and truthful race.

Of the modern Mahommedan Persians of Persia I do not know much. But I may say this much, that if they be truthful, Mr. Crawfurd's statement, then, is incorrect; if untruthful, Mr. Crawfurd's conclusion of his paper is so far upset. For, the present untruthful Persians, being the descendants of an old truth-speaking race, the difference in the character is no proof of difference of race, and that external circumstances have great influence in modifying a nation's character.

About the Hindus I can speak, both from personal knowledge and from other testimony, that Mr. Crawfurd's charge against them is unfounded. This mistake also arises from causes I have alluded to before—superficial observation and hasty conclusions. Fortunately there are many who have studied the native character more carefully. Not to take up much of your time, I refer you to the evidence given before Parliament, 1853 and 1858, and I think that a careful and candid examination of that evidence will satisfy anybody, that the general character of the natives of India is as good as that of any other people.

* Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii., p. 222.

† Ib. note 7.

I shall very briefly refer to some of this testimony here. Beginning with the early writers, Strabo testifies to the truthfulness and virtue of the Hindus.* Arrian also describes the Hindus as truthful, saying, "and indeed none of the Indians were ever accused of that crime (falsehood)."† Coming down to later times, Abool Fazil, the celebrated Mahommedan minister of Akbar, describes the Hindus in the sixteenth century as lovers of justice, admirers of truth, grateful, and of unbounded fidelity.‡ Coming down still later to the present time, Sir G. Clerk thinks the morality among the higher classes of Hindus of a high standard, and of the middle and lower classes remarkably so. He thinks there is less immorality than in many countries of Europe.§ Sir E. Perry tells us, that offences against property and crimes generally are less frequent in the island of Bombay than in any similar community in Europe, and that it is the opinion of the Hindus that native morality suffers by coming into close contact with the English—the pristine simplicity and truthfulness of the native village disappears in drunkenness, intrigue, and a litigious spirit supervening,‖ and that their commercial integrity has always been famous.¶

This commercial integrity is mentioned by Strabo also, who says that "they make their deposits, and confide in one another."** It is a fact at the present day, that *transactions of great value take place* between natives, for which there is no further evidence than the entry in the books of the seller. I do not suppose there is any parallel to this in Europe.

Colonel D. Sims considers the natives not inferior to the people of other countries in point of honesty, and even veracity, and says that people are apt to judge of the natives of India by those whom they find about the precincts of the different courts of justice, where, temptations to mendacity being many, the atmosphere is unfavourable to truthfulness, as is probably the case in any other countries under the same circumstances.†† When Mr. Fowler, a planter, gained the confidence of his labourers by his fair dealings with them, everything went on

* Vol. iii., p 106. † Vol. ii., c xii, p 206.

‡ J. Crawfurd's Researches, vol. ii, p. 139.

§ Report of Select Committee, 1853, Ques. 2278.

‖ Bird's-eye View of India, p. 77.

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** Vol. iii, p. 105. †† Report of Select Committee, 1853, Ques. 3548-9.

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‖ Bird's-eye View of India, p. 77.

¶ Report of Select Committee, 1853, Ques. 2582.

** Vol. iii., p. 105. †† Report of Select Committee

smoothly, and he was never in any part of the world where he had less trouble with his labourers.*

Horace Wilson tells us not to imagine that the Hindus are ignorant of the foundations of all morality, or that they do not value truth, justice, integrity, benevolence, charity, to all that lives, and even the requital of evil with good; that these duties are all repeatedly enjoined, and Hindu authorities commend as earnestly as those of any other language.†

The complaint often made about untruthfulness of natives, has, I think, this cause. There are several professional experts about the courts who sell their evidence. The judge is very often not sufficiently familiar with the vernacular; some of the subordinates in the court being most wretchedly paid, yield to the temptation of bribery, and these three causes combined together make the task of the judge sometimes difficult, and every instance of successful perjury naturally encourages it more. The obvious remedy, one would think, would be that if proper severe examples were made of the perjurers, instead of merely raising up the cry of untruthfulness against the whole nation, their number, if at all unusual, would soon be reduced.

The other cause of the Hindus being sometimes denounced as untruthful, is the following clauses in the *Institutes* of Menu:—

Chap. iv., 138. "Let him say what is true, but let him say what is pleasing; let him speak no disagreeable truth, nor let him speak agreeable falsehood. This is a primeval rule."

139. "Let him say 'well and good,' or let him say 'well' only; but let him not maintain fruitless enmity and altercation with any man."

Chap. viii., 103. "In some cases, a giver of false evidence from a pious motive, even though he know the truth, shall not lose his seat in heaven: such evidence wise men call the speech of the gods."

104. "Whenever the death of a man, *who had not been a grievous offender*, either of the servile, the commercial, the military, or the sacerdotal class, would be occasioned by true evidence, *from the known rigour of the king, even though the fault arose from inadvertence or error*, falsehood may be spoken: it is even preferable to truth." (The italics in all extracts from Menu are from the commentators on Menu.)

* Colonization Committee, Ques. 5742-4.—In Mr. Justice Phear's opinion, "the character of the average oral testimony in the Guildhall of London, and that of the same in the townhall of Calcutta, were on a par." And the Hon. Mr. Campbell fully admits that it was the courts which were to blame for the character of native testimony. (*Native Opinion*, Bombay, 25th March, 1866.)

† Vol. ii., p. 109.

It must be remembered that these are laws for a state of society *entirely different from your present one; the will or wisdom of the* sovereign is the practical law of the land. I do not propose here to read a dissertation on truth, but I may simply, as parallel to the above extracts from the works of a Hindu legislator, refer to what is said by some of the European thinkers of modern times. Bentham allows, 1, falsehoods to avoid mischief, the case of misdirecting a murderer; 2, falsehoods of humanity, the case of physicians; 3, falsehoods of urbanity, an exaggerated compliment. In these cases, or at least in the first two, he says, "falsehood is a duty; in other cases it may be allowable, as in all those in which the person addressed has no right to know the truth. This would embrace most of the cases discussed by Grotius and Puffendorf." Instead of making any further quotations, I refer you to an article in the *Saturday Review* of July 2nd, 1864, on "Lying," from which the above extract is taken.

I give in a note below extracts from the *Institutes of Menu* to show how highly truth and virtue are valued among the Hindus.* Dr. Goldstucker *kindly writes to me to say, that in Rigveda and Jagurved* "the necessity of speaking truth and avoiding untruth is emphasised in the most beautiful language, but unfortunately there are as yet no translations of these texts."

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* Chap. iv., par. 175. Let a man continually take pleasure in truth, in justice, in laudable *practices, and in purity; let him chastise those whom he may* chastise, in a legal mode; let him keep in subjection his speech, his arm, and his appetite.

Par. 237. By falsehood the sacrifice becomes vain.

Par. 256. All things have their sense ascertained by speech; in speech they have their bases; and from speech they proceed; consequently, a falsifier of speech falsifies everything.

This is somewhat similar to Bentham's description of truth, in his *Theory of Legislation* (p 260): "Every instant of our lives we are obliged to form judgments and to regulate our conduct according to facts, and it is only a small number of these facts which we can ascertain from our own observation. Then results an absolute necessity of trusting to the reports of others. If there is in these reports a mixture of falsehood, so far our judgments are erroneous, our motives wrong, our expectations misplaced. We live in restless distrust, and we do not know upon what to put dependence. In one word, falsehood includes the principle of every evil, because in its progress it brings on at last the dissolution of human society."

Par. 255. For he, who describes himself to worthy men, in a manner contrary to truth, is the most sinful wretch in this world: he is the worst of thieves, a stealer of minds.

Chap. vi., par. 92 Content, returning good for evil, resistance to sensual appetites, abstinence from illicit gain, purification, coercion of the organs, knowledge of Scripture, knowledge of the Supreme Spirit, veracity, and freedom from wrath, form their tenfold system of duties.

Chap vii., 26. Holy sages consider as a fit dispenser of criminal justice, that king *who invariably speaks truth, who duly considers all cases, who under*stands the sacred books, who knows the distinction of virtue, pleasure, and riches.

Mr. Crawford admits the commercial integrity among native merchants. Dealings in money, however, produce the greatest temptations to dishonesty, and when the commercial portion of a nation can stand this ordeal well, one would think it must tell much in favour of the general character of a people.

Mr. Crawfurd denies integrity even to the educated classes. I do not hesitate to give a direct contradiction to this statement. From my actual acquaintance and experience of the educated natives in the

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Chap. viii., par. 79. The witnesses being assembled in the middle of the court-room, in the presence of the plaintiff and the defendant, let the judge examine them, after having addressed them altogether, in the following manner:—

Par. 80. What ye know to have been transacted in the matter before us between the parties reciprocally, declare at large and with truth, for your evidence in this cause is required.

Par. 81. A witness, who gives evidence with truth, shall attain exalted seats of beatitude above, and the highest fame here below: such testimony is revered by Brahma himself.

Par. 82. The witness who speaks falsely, shall be fast bound *under water*, in the *snaky* cords of Varuna, and be wholly deprived of power to *escape torment* during a hundred transmigrations: let mankind, therefore, give no false testimony.

Par. 83. By truth is a witness cleared from sin; by truth is justice advanced: truth must, therefore, be spoken by witnesses of every class.

Par. 84. The soul itself is its own witness; the soul itself is its own refuge; offend not thy conscious soul, the supreme internal witness of men!

Par. 85. The sinful have said in their hearts: "None sees us." Yes; the gods distinctly see them; and so does the spirit within their breasts.

Par. 89. Whatever places of torture have been prepared for the slayer of a priest, for the murderer of a woman or of a child, for the injurer of a friend, and for an ungrateful man, those places are ordained for a witness who gives false evidence.

Par. 90. The fruit of every virtuous act, which thou hast done, O good man, since thy birth, shall depart from thee to dogs, if thou deviate in speech from the truth.

Par. 91. O friend of virtue, that supreme spirit, which thou believest one and the same with thyself, resides in thy bosom perpetually, and is an all-knowing inspector of thy goodness or of thy wickedness.

Par. 92. If thou beest not at variance, by speaking falsely, with Yama, or the subduer of all, with Vaivaswata, or the punisher, with that great divinity who dwells in thy breast, go not on a pilgrimage to the river Ganga, nor to the plains of Curu, for thou hast no need of expiation.

Par. 93. Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man, who gives false evidence, go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of an enemy.

Par. 94. Headlong, in utter darkness, shall the impious wretch tumble into hell, who, being interrogated in a judicial inquiry, answers one question falsely.

Par. 95. He who in a court of justice gives an imperfect account of any transaction, or asserts a fact of which he was no eye-witness, shall receive pain *instead of pleasure*, and resemble a man who eats fish *with eagerness*, and swallows the sharp bones.

Par. 96. The gods are acquainted with no better mortal in this world, than the man of whom the intelligent spirit, which pervades his body, has no distrust, when he prepares to give evidence.

Bombay Presidency, I can with confidence assert, in Mr. Crawfurd's own words, that integrity is most prevalent among them as among the educated in Europe. This mistake about the integrity of the educated is also like that about the capacity for education. There are many youths who know how to speak and write English without being educated, and Englishmen *often confound them with the educated.*

Polygamy.—The Parsees are strictly monogamists. The old and young, the most bigoted orthodox and the most liberal, all agree in their abhorrence of bigamy. They prevailed with government to make bigamy criminal among them. I am not able to refer to the books, but I have a strong impression that there is nothing in the religious literature of the Old Persians indicative of the prevalence or sanction of polygamy among them. It is the most universal belief among the modern Parsees that they have always been monogamists, and they consider concubinage, also, a sin. Greek testimony, however, is against the Persians in this matter. But at the same time, the Greek best authority lays the blame upon the Greeks themselves, for Herodotus

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Par. 97. Hear, honest man, from a just enumeration in order, how many kinsmen, in evidence of different sorts, a false witness kills, or incurs the guilt of killing.

[illegible] hands the goods of [illegible] by various degrees

Par. 257. Veracious witnesses, who give evidence as the law requires, are absolved from their sins; but such as give it unjustly, shall each be fined two hundred panas.

[illegible]

Chap. iv., par. 170. Even here below an unjust man attains no felicity; nor he whose wealth proceeds from giving false evidence; nor he who constantly takes delight in mischief.

Chap. v., par. 109. Bodies are cleansed by water; *the mind is purified by truth*; the vital spirit, by theology and devotion; the understanding, by clear knowledge.

Chap. ii., par. 97. To a man contaminated with sensuality, neither the Vedas, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor strict observances, nor pious austerities, ever procure felicity.

Chap. vii., par. 13. Let the king prepare a just compensation for the good, and a just punishment for the bad: the rule of strict justice let him never transgress.

Chap. viii., par. 111. Let no man of sense take an oath in vain, that is, not in a court of justice, on a trifling occasion; for the man who takes an oath in vain, shall be punished in this life and in the next.

Par. 86. The guardian deities of the firmament, of the earth, of the waters, of the human heart, of the moon, of the sun, and of fire, of punishment after death, of the winds, of night, of both twilights, and of justice, perfectly know the state of all spirits clothed with bodies.

Damayante, on being insulted by a hunter in the forest, uttered loud her curse of wrath :—

"As my pure and constant spirit swerves not from Nishadha's Lord,
Instant so may this base hunter lifeless fall upon the earth !
Scarce that single word was uttered, suddenly that hunter bold
Down upon the earth fell lifeless, like a lightning-blasted tree."*

On the subject of chivalry among the Hindus, Sir Bartle Frere, in a speech at the distribution of prizes to the girls' schools of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society of Bombay, says to the natives around him, after alluding to the spirit of chivalry and its effects in Europe, "There is no doubt that our ancestors regarded the female portion of the community as the great, almost the chief instruments in bringing back civilisation to Europe. I wish all my native friends to recollect, that this spirit, although if manifested chiefly there, was not confined to Europe. If they read any history of Rajpootana, they will see that this spirit was a desire to make them as far as possible equal to this. This spirit is essentially the spirit of the old Hindu races—a spirit which subdued India and drove out the barbarous tribes of those days, and formed such communities that they are now, after the duration of many centuries, still vigorous and still able to oppose to us a vital power, which in spite of this government and its forces, can command the respect of all who go among them."†

Lastly, I beg to draw Mr. Crawfurd's attention to the phenomenon of Mormonism among European races of the nineteenth century.

It is a matter much to be regretted that gentlemen, like Mr. Crawfurd, make sweeping denunciations against the character of the Asiatics. They naturally provoke recriminations like the following, with all their mischievous consequences.

A Parsee gentleman, during his residence in this country for nearly eight years, disgusted with these sweeping charges, used to say :— 'Look at all the mass of untruths in the daily advertisements and puffs ; in the daily language of shop-keepers ; how much swindling is there in the concoction of companies for the benefit of the promoters only ; see what the book on facts, failures, and frauds discloses ; what extremely watchful care one is obliged to have in his dealings in the city, where every kind of scoundrelism is so rife ; how many manufacturers always

* Story of Nala, p. 35.

† Stud. Lit. and Scientific Society's Report, 1864-5.

give you the best article only, at any price; how cleverly flaws are found in contracts; how artizans always require more time for wage-work than for job; how often you get goods different from patterns and samples; and he asked what grounds are there for Europeans to boast of higher commercial morality than that of the natives of India?' He asked;—'Look at the number of immoral haunts in London, read the account of *Life in Liverpool*, see the social evil and street immorality, cases of unfaithfulness in domestic life, great immorality wherever numbers of the two sexes work together, the amount and character of crime disclosed by police and law reports, and election corruption, and all this among a highly civilised people? Is there not more reason for humiliation than boasting on the part of Europeans as to their morality? See the constant changes of views in the papers about Indian matters as it suits the purpose of the writer at the moment; the mode in which India has been acquired.—

> "War, disguised as Commerce, came:
> Won an empire, lost a name"

'When it suits their purpose the Hindus are described as most loyal obedient, civilised, etc.; at other times they are cowardly wretches, disloyal, ungrateful, barbarous. They first give a bad name, and then cry out to hang them. They draw millions every year from India, and in return abuse its people, caring not so much for it as for a rotten English borough. They yield with the greatest reluctance and difficulty any of the just rights and privileges demanded by the natives. Look at that iniquitous annexation policy in spite of treaties; see how the cost of the Afghan war is clapped on the shoulders of India; their whole aim being how to get most money from India.' Reasoning in this way he concluded, 'the only God the English worshipped was gold; they would do anything to get it,' and he illustrated this by saying, 'that if it were discovered that gold existed in human blood, they would manage, and with good reasons to boot, to extract it from thence.'

He said 'the English boast of fair play, etc., and yet see with what different measures they deal it out sometimes to the European and native; with what flagrant injustice was Dr. Colah treated; how bullying they are towards the weak, and very polite and reasonable with the strong. Coercion alone, it seems, makes them do what is right.' He said that as long as an Englishman wanted anything he was the very embodiment of politeness, but the object gained, he was no more the same person, and pointing to the treatment of India generally, he thought gratitude was not a very prominent trait in the English character.

They pay native officials most wretchedly, and yet claim from them as efficient and honest service as they get from the highly-paid English officials, forgetting how rife corruption was among themselves in the days of small pay and much service. They complain of the untrustworthiness of native servants, but in their innocence they do not know how cleverly English landladies and servants manage to have their pickings and discounts.

Studying the English character in this manner, the gentleman formed his opinion that the English were the most hypocritical, the most selfish and unprincipled people, and had no right to boast of higher morality and integrity. Now, if such evidence as Mr. Crawfurd relies upon be conclusive as to the character of the natives of India, I do not see how this Parsee gentleman's conclusions cannot be also admitted as proved. Strange to say, the principal argument that was flung at our face against our attempt some sixteen years ago to establish female schools, was the state of English society, which the objectors, from superficial observations, urged was not highly moral, as female education afforded opportunities of secret intrigue and correspondence. I trust it is not such kind of evidence that will be considered sufficient by any thinking man to traduce whole nations.

When we left India in 1855 to come over here to open the first Parsee firm, the principal advice given by our European friends was to be exceedingly careful in our business in the city against the many rogues we should meet with there. "In India," said some one, "we keep one eye open ; in England, you must keep both eyes wide open."

In the cause of truth and science I do not in the least object to the proclamation of truth regardless of consequences; but I appeal to Mr. Crawfurd himself, and to Englishmen, whether, in the instance of the natives of India, the case at the worst is but doubtful, such wholesale abuse of the whole nation from persons of position and authority in science is not much to be deplored; it creates ill feeling and distrust, excites recrimination, and engenders a war of races.

India, gentlemen, is in your power and at your mercy; you may either give it a helping hand and raise it to your political and enlightened condition, to your eternal glory, or keep it down with the foot of the tyrant upon its neck, to your eternal shame! The choice is in your power, and, as I am happy to believe that, true to English nature, the first course is chosen, though not yet very energetically

pursued, is it not very necessary, for men of weight or influence, not to say or do anything to mar this great and good work?

Abuse from persons like Mr. Landon of Broach, or Mr. Jeffries of the East Indian Association, natives care not for. The natives know the men and their motives; but disinterested gentlemen of weight and authority ought to ponder well upon their responsibilities. I do not mean to say that you should not point out to the natives of India their real faults and shortcomings—in fact, you cannot do a better act of friendship; but pointing out real faults is different from traducing indiscriminately. I may demand, in the words of Horace Wilson, "Let whatever they urge be urged in charity."

In my remarks about the general moral character of the Parsees and Hindus, I do not mean to be understood that they are models of perfection; they have no doubt their fair share of black sheep also, and their faults arising from centuries of foreign rule and more or less oppression; but, judging from the experience of some past years, there is every hope of these faults being corrected by education.

The intercourse between the Europeans and natives is not, except in few instances, of that frankness and confidence which alone can enable them to judge of each other rightly. Coupled with this, they very often misunderstand each other; and the Englishman, generally being an educated man, judges of every native by the high standard of his own enlightenment and civilization. The result is often anything but a right conclusion, and hasty generalisation. Every wrong act of the native is at once condemned as innate in the native; similar acts of Europeans are of course only individual delinquencies, or capable of explanation!

There is nothing strange in the natives feeling shy and misunderstanding the rulers. The other day the Welsh farmers did not fill up government returns about cattle, after deliberation, on the ground that government wanted to tax cattle.

There is no doubt that owing to a colder and more bracing climate, the enjoyment of free institutions for centuries, the advantages of high educational establishments and high moral culture, free public opinion and the advancement in material prosperity and mode of life by the discoveries of physical science and mineral resources, the present Englishman is, in his physical and moral development, in his [illegible] and public spirit, in literature, science and arts [illegible]

Hindu ground down and depressed as he is by centuries of foreign rule and oppression, and possessing less advantages of climate and food for personal vigour. But the very fact that the Hindu has under all such unfortunate circumstances preserved his character for morality and virtue, for high commercial integrity, for his bravery and military aptitude, and that he has at one time produced his vast ancient lore, shows that there is no want of capacity, and that, under the influence of British rule rightly administered, and re-invigorated by modern western civilization, he may once more regain his former high position among mankind.

At present he has not yet fully recovered from the staggering blow of the most extraordinary revolution by which a small nation in the far West has become a ruler of his vast country. He does not yet quite understand his new rulers. He is only just beginning to see dimly that after all he has perhaps some reason to congratulate himself for the change. The higher classes, the rulers now displaced or still remaining, are in a bewildering state of mind. They lying prostrate, with all their energies fled, and smarting at their fallen condition, cannot be naturally expected to reconcile themselves suddenly to the loss of their power, and to find themselves, once rulers of millions, now of less importance than an ordinary English official, and sometimes treated with injustice or indifference. The revolution in all its aspects, military, political, social, or intellectual, is so extraordinary and unparalleled in the history of mankind, that it cannot but be a work of time before a people, numbering two hundred millions, though now a fallen, but once a highly civilised nation, can be reconciled and assimilated to the new order of things. Under these circumstances, coupled with some unfortunate social barriers between the rulers and the ruled, the ignorance of each other's language, and the little interest shown by Englishmen, the Englishman and the native of India are still at a wide distance from each other, and know therefore little of each other's true merits and faults. The time, however, I hope will come, when, as some who have taken a real interest in the people have already done, the English people will with better knowledge think well of the natives of India. It will be the fault of the rulers themselves if they do not find the Hindus a loyal and a grateful people, and capable of the highest degree of civilisation. Even Abool Fazul, the minister of the greatest Mohammedan ruler of India, has borne high testimony for them. Unfortunately, the mischief of distance between the Englishman and natives is aggravated by the conduct of a class of Englishmen in India, who, either from interested

motives or from pride of superiority, always run down the natives, and keep up an ill feeling between the races. Sometimes some English gentlemen claim ten or twenty years' experience who have hardly been on intimate terms, or have familiarly conversed, with as many natives, or have hardly learnt to speak as many sentences in the language of the natives as the number of years they claim experience for; and such gentlemen constitute themselves the infallible judges of the character of the people. Perhaps a parallel to this to some extent is to be found in the accounts about Englishmen themselves given by European foreigners. When Englishmen are incorrectly described by these foreigners, they of course open their whole artillery of ridicule upon such ignorance, and yet it does not always occur to them that in their judgment on natives of India, with less mutual acquaintance, they may be as much, if not more, egregiously mistaken.

There are several peculiar difficulties in India in the way of rapid progress. Education permeates the mass very slowly on account of many different languages; the efforts of the educated to improve their countrymen remain confined within small limits, while in this country an idea in the *Times* is known over the whole length and breadth of the land within twenty-four hours, and the whole nation can act as a man.

The natives are sometimes charged with want of moral courage. We have only to look at the difference of treatment by the Bombay Government between a native and an English judge—I mean Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee and Mr. Anstey—and one may ask what result can be expected from such circumstances.

However, though such unfortunate circumstances do now and then occur, the educated are beginning to learn that the rights of intellect and justice are the same for all, and that, though often snubbed and discouraged, they may rely upon the ultimate triumph of truth and justice.

Lastly, I think Mr. Crawfurd's treatment of this important subject is one-sided, and not judicial and scientific. The paper professes to draw a conclusion from certain facts, but to me it seems the facts are selected for, and adapted to, a foregone conclusion. All explanatory causes of difference are made light of and thrown into the background, and all tending to prove the conclusion brought most forcibly into the foreground. The whole reasoning is that, because there is a diversity in the intellectual, moral, and physical character of various nations,

they must therefore have separate origins, but the premises do not warrant the conclusion; moreover, there are several assumptions which are not correct.

In one place a comparison is made between different countries, and it is assumed that the greater the natural resources the greater must be the development; while a most important feature in human nature,—"necessity the mother of invention,"—greater difficulties compelling greater exertions, and calling forth the exercise of higher powers, and the bracing effects of colder climates, are ignored. In one place the Phœnicians, Jews, and Mamelukes are taken over to the European side as they seem to disturb the argument.

Mr. Crawfurd alludes to the bad governments in Asia as their own creation, as if bad governments had never existed in Europe, and no European kingdoms or empires had to thank bad governments and degeneracy for their fall.*

One principal objection to Mr. Crawfurd's paper is an unfair comparison between the old Asiatic civilisation and the modern European civilisation, with all the impetus given to its material advancement by the discoveries of physical science, both in the arts of war and peace. The ancient civilisation of both continents may be a legitimate subject of comparison. The Asiatics, after their fall from the first civilisation, had not new blood and vigour brought to them. The Goths and other wild tribes, mainly derived from Asiatic races, permanently settled in and brought new vigour to Europe, and created a new civilisation in it with the advantages of a ground work of the old civilisation. It would be interesting to make a fair comparison between the old civilisations of the two continents and between the modern condition of the people among whom ancestors the old civilisations prevailed. But to compare a hand armed with an Armstrong gun with an unarmed one, and thence to draw the conclusion of superior strength and word in spite of the former may be complacent, but does not appear to me to be fair.

Differences in the conditions of nations and their various peculiarities, arising from differences of political, physical, and social circumstances, and these circumstances reacting upon each other, require careful study and due allowance before attributing any changes to race difference.

* In the nineteenth century, and in the very heart of Europe, a King claims "divine right," and a minister sets at law and justice at defiance. Poland and the Duchies are a strange commentary upon the spirit or justice of Europe. Has not Italy till very lately groaned under bad governments?

I do not mean to undertake here the solution of the most difficult problem of the unity or plurality of races, or of maintaining or denying what may legitimately follow from Mr. Crawfurd's conclusions, that there are as many distinct races with distinct origins as there are countries or even provinces with peculiarities of their own. I leave to ethnologists to say whether the present philological and physical researches which Mr. Crawfurd has altogether ignored, and other ethnological inquiries, lead to the conclusion of the unity or plurality of races, or whether more light is still necessary upon the subject.

I shall only make a few remarks suggested by the paper. The races of Europe present a large variety in their size, from the Highlanders to the Laps. The Asiatic races have their Afghans, of the large size, and other races of different sizes. Herodotus writes:* "For in boldness and warlike spirit the Persians were not a whit inferior to the Greeks;" in another place he says:† "And in the mid battle, when the Persians themselves and the Sacæ had place, the barbarians were victorious, and broke and pursued the Greeks in the inner country." In the comparison between the Greeks and Persians, Herodotus accounts for the inferiority of the latter in deficiency of discipline and arms only.

Rawlinson, in his *Five Monarchies*, judges from the sculptures that the ancient Aryan race is a noble variety of the human species—tall, graceful, and stately; physiognomy handsome and somewhat resembling the Greek; and that on the authority of Xenophon and Plutarch the Median and Tromen Persians were remarkable for their stature and beauty. Palgrave calls the Arabs of inhabited lands and organised governments one of the noblest races of earth.‡ A large portion of the Sikhs and Afghans, and large numbers of Bramans in Central India, have fair complexions and fine features.

We must not also forget, in comparisons of nations, the part which accident, or commonly called luck, plays. We know what part storms played in the defeat of the navy of Xerxes and of the armada of the Spaniards.§ The European lives in a colder and bracing climate. I do not suppose the innate physical character of any European race will enable it to preserve its vigour and strength intact on the plains of India for

* Vol. iv., p. 354. † Vol. iii, p. 405. ‡ Vol. i., p. 24.

§ Now a single law sometimes fixes the character of a nation for a time for good - [illegible] tion of [illegible] glish of [illegible] ts, less

a long time. The European, says Mr. Crawfurd, enjoys walking, the Asiatic prefers sitting. The Asiatic, when here, enjoys walking as much as any European can do, for he must walk in this climate to preserve his health. The European in India, after the fatigue and heat of the day, often prefers sitting in a cool breeze. With the European dress, and in this climate, sitting with his legs tucked up under him, becomes irksome to the Asiatic also. The rigidity of the muscle of the European is much modified in India. I suppose it is a well known fact to ethnologists that animals are capable of acquiring a large variety of physical characters in different climates, though originally of the same stock. Mr. Crawfurd's statement, that the Jews of Asia are substantially Persian among Persians, Arab among Arabs, and difficult to distinguish from Hindus among Hindus, and that their social advancement in Europe is with the people of the community among which they dwell, tends rather against his theory, showing that external circumstances have modified the character of a people within historic times.

In estimating the character of a people, we must not forget that sometimes single events have given a peculiar direction to their character and history. Had it not been for taxed tea, we do not know whether there would have been a United States now. Had the confederates been victorious, what would have been the future history of the United States and of Slavery? Had Britain been connected with the continent of Europe, it is probable that it might have had a different history, either a large European empire, or a province of some other. What change was wrought in the character of the Britons when they complained, "The Picts drive us to the sea, and the sea drives us to the Picts?" Was that change in character, the result of external influence of the Roman civilisation and Government, or not?

The one-sided and partial treatment of the subject by Mr. Crawfurd is best illustrated by the comparison made between Greece and the Island of Java. The wide difference between the climate and products of the two countries is admitted, but the legitimate conclusion of its effects in stimulating or checking exertion are ignored; the rest of the comparison might as well not have been made.

The Guzerati-speaking Hindus are eminently commercial, and carry on the most extensive foreign commerce, while just on the other side of the Ghauts and in Concan the Maratha-speaking Hindus are quite uncommercial, except so far as some inland trade is concerned. Whether these may be considered as two distinct races by Mr. Crawfurd or not I

cannot say, but there is this marked difference in their character, arisi
to a great extent, from local and historical circumstances, the Guzer
people having commercial connections with Arabia and the West fro
ancient times.

Again, in Western India there is even now a marked difference in the educational, and therefore intellectual condition of the Mahommedans and Hindus of Concan; though they have the same physiognomy, speak the same language, and, in fact, are originally the same people, there are not half a dozen of these Mahommedans attending the English seminaries, while the Hindus swarm in numbers Should this state of things continue for some length of time, the difference in the characters of these two portions will be so great that, according to Mr. Crawfurd's theory, I suppose they will have to be put down as two distinct races.

I wish I had more time to examine more fully the several points I have touched upon, and also to examine a few more statements of Mr. Crawfurd's paper, especially about Hindu astronomy, music, and architecture, and Chinese literature and character The ethnologist should study man in all his bearings, and make due allowances for every cause of disturbance. Mr. Crawfurd's conclusion may be right or wrong, but, with every deference to him, all I wish to submit to the Society is hat the evidence produced is not only not sufficient but defective in tself, inasmuch as it is superficial, and several statements are not quite orrect.

I have not made these remarks for the pleasure of objecting, or simply r the sake of defending the Asiatics; truth cannot be gainsaid, and I e I shall be the last person to deny it wherever it is proved to exist, matter in howsoever unpleasant a form. The sole business of science, understand it, is to seek the truth and to hail it wherever it is d, and not to bend and adapt facts to a foregone conclusion.

II.

ENGLAND'S DUTIES TO INDIA.

(Read before a Meeting of the East India Association, London, May 2nd, 1867.)

Gentlemen,—I propose to discuss the following three questions—Is the British rule in India a benefit to India and England? If so, what are the best means to make it endure the longest time possible? Are such means adopted?

The political condition of India before the consolidation of the British rule was the usual Oriental despotism, with all its regular attendants of disorder, want of law, want of security of property and life, and general ignorance. True it is that now and then monarchs appeared who made the welfare of the country their anxiety and duty. Well may India rejoice in some great names. But it cannot be denied that India was for a long time politically a degraded nation. The intrigues and murders in the families of the many rulers in the different parts of India, their imbecility and their utter incompetence to understand their duties towards their subjects, left the people of India without that powerful political aid which is so vital to the growth and welfare of any nation; added to this, the constant internal wars between the different rulers completed the obstacles to healthy development. War, oppression, and exaction may be said to have been the normal political condition of India.

In their moral condition the natives of India have been equally unfortunate during centuries by the influence of an ignorant priesthood, superstition, and some unfortunate institutions, such as suttee, lifelong widowhood, female infanticide, &c. Materially, India was at a standstill. The agriculturist tilled the soil, reaped the crop, lived upon it and died, just as his forefathers did thousands of years ago. The artizan worked on in the same ancestral way and line. There was utter stagnation and gradual retrogression. All desire to progress and improve, to develop the resources of the country, had completely died out; on the contrary, the wisest course was that of our "ancestors." The division into castes and distinct professions checked any growth of genius and talent, and prevention from foreign travelling checked any expansion of ideas and general knowledge. On its intellect all the above baneful causes had their full effect. The literature of thousands of years ago is the literature of which the modern Hindu is proud. He can only point

to his Kalidas and his Panini, his Ramayan and his Mahabharata, his *Veds and his Menu's Institutes.*

Contrast with this the results of British rule. Law and order are its first blessings. Security of life and property is a recognized right of the people, and is more or less attained according to the means available, or the sense of duty of the officials to whom the sacred duty is entrusted. The native now learns and enjoys what justice between man and man means, and that law instead of the despot's will is above all. To the enlightenment of the country the results of the univerities and educational establishments bear witness. In place of the old general darkness and ignorance thousands of natives have derived, and millions will derive hereafter, the benefit of the highest degree of enlightenment which man has attained. In material progress it can be easily seen what impulse will be given to the development of the natural resources of the country by railways, canals, public roads, &c., and, above all, by the introduction of English enterprise generally. The social elevation of the people, their rescue from some of the most horrible rites ever known to mankind, and the better sense of domestic, social, and religious duties awakened in them, are boons of the highest importance to a nation sunk for centuries in a debasing superstition. The last but not the least of the benefits which India is deriving at the hands of the British is the new political life they are being inspired with. They are learning the most important lesson of the highest political condition that a nation can aspire to. The freedom of speech which the natives are now learning the necessity of, and are enjoying, and with which the natives can now talk to their rulers face to face for what they want, is another invaluable blessing.

Such, gentlemen, is the picture the Englishman presents to the natives of India, and asks whether the British rule is not a benefit and a blessing to their nation. Unfortunately, this question is sometimes asked in the manner in which the artist in 'Punch' asked the candid opinion of his friend, by first giving the friend a hint that whoever found fault with his picture should deserve to be knocked down. The answer naturally in such a case can be easily conceived. But there are Englishmen, both here and in India, who ask this question in all sincerity of purpose, who in a spirit of true patriotism on the one hand, and true philanthropy on the other, desire a candid reply as much for England's as for India's sake, and the candid answer is sometimes given. Various are the replies, according to the feelings, the interests, and the knowledge of the answerers, and the points of view from which they look upon the matter.

To those who are overthrown and who have lost their power, the question strikes as an impertinence. They are not in a mood to understand all this benefit and blessing, but, smarting under their fall, reply with a bleeding heart, "Blessing, indeed! Rulers of millions, we are now either beggars or rebels,"—a reply given unfortunately in lines of blood in some of the deplorable events of 1857.

Those who still retain more or less power and state, either real or nominal, and who have now commenced to understand the effects of English rule so far as they are concerned, say:—"It is true that Englishmen always proclaim their justice, honesty, and fair play, but what guarantee is there that their acts will always accord with their words?" The cases of several annexations and of Mysore are a strange commentary upon these professions. These princes naturally wish to be satisfied that the English are really just, that they would always subordinate might to right, and that in their dealings with them honesty and not "empire" would be their guiding principle.

The mass of the people, even up to the present time, understand but little the "benefits." To them the existing Government has always been the sircar; whether it was Mahommedan, Hindu, or British, has not mattered much. They can hardly be expected to understand and appreciate the various benefits in all their different aspects. They see them yet but dimly: in fact, they are often hopelessly puzzled if an attempt is made to edify them by a lecture on the benefits of the British rule. The poor labourer has hitherto had his simple criterion. If he is able to earn and enjoy his little without disturbance, and has his creed tolerated and his feelings not hurt, all is right with him, and his ideal of a happy political condition is realized, no matter who rules over him. If, on the contrary, any causes bring starvation to him, or outrage his religion or his feelings, all is wrong with him, and he curses his Raj, be it English, Mahommedan, or Hindu. But the fusion which railroads are now gradually effecting, and the various questions with reference to labour and the ryots now coming under public discussion, are, however, now teaching this hitherto apathetic and ignorant mass some new political lessons, and creating a new national life: with what result in the future will depend upon the character and conduct of their present British teachers. At present their ideas of benefits, or otherwise, of the British rule are confined to the conduct of the officials of their district. These officials are all sircar, all "Mabap." They can make the British Raj beloved or hated as they like.

But the reply which most concerns the rulers as well as the future of India, is that of the educated and the thinking portion of the natives. They admit fully the force of the question. They acknowledge the benefits to their fullest extent, and express gratitude. But they say all this is true, but it is not the whole truth. The picture has another side also. Security of life and property we have better in these times, no doubt, but the destruction of a million and a half lives in one famine is a strange illustration of the worth of the life and property thus secured. In the shape of "home charges" alone there has been a transfer of about 100 millions of pounds sterling, exclusive of interest on public debt, from the wealth of India to that of England since 1829, during the last thirty-six years only. The total territorial charges in India since 1829 have been about 820 millions. Supposing that out of the latter sum only one-eighth represents the sum remitted to England by Europeans in Government service for maintenance of relatives and families, for the education of children, for savings made at the time of retiring, the sums expended by them for purchase of English articles for their own consumption, and also the sums paid in India for Government stores of English produce and manufactures—there is then another 100 millions added to the wealth of England. In principal alone, therefore, there is 200 millions, which at the ordinary interest of 5 per cent. will now make up above 450 millions, not to say anything of the far better account to which an energetic people like the English have turned this tide of wealth. This addition to the wealth of England of 450 millions is only that of the last thirty-seven years.* Now with regard to the long period of British connection before 1829, the total of territorial charges in India from 1787 to 1829 amounts to about 600 millions. Taking only one-tenth of this for remittance for purposes mentioned above, there is about 60 millions in principal, which with interest to the present day, added to the acquisitions previous to 1787, may fairly be put down for 1150 millions.† Thus there are some 1600 millions, if not more, added to the wealth of England from the Indian territorial source; but, to avoid any possibility of over-estimate at all, say 500 millions, an amount not far short of all investments for railways in this country. From commercial returns also it can be shown that during the last fifty years only, England has made no commercial return to India and China for above 300 millions of imports independent of interest, or, in other words, kept this amount as the price of her

* Appendix A. † Appendix B.

rule in India.* England thus derives at present the benefit, in the shape of interest alone (not to say anything of commercial and manufacturing profits) of the above 500 millions, some 25 millions a year. In addition to this, the tribute in its hundred shapes continues to flow, and brings to England some 10 millions a-year more, or say 8 millions; England, therefore, is benefiting from its Indian connection to something like 33 millions a year, at an exceedingly low estimate. Besides this extraordinary accession to the wealth of England, India finds at present provision and career, to the exclusion of her own children in both respects, for about 12,000 from the middle and higher ranks of the people of this country, and above 60,000 from the lower ranks, affording much relief to the professions and industries of this country.† Then, there is the political debt of nearly 100 millions as the result of the British rule.

It is easy to speak of the elasticity and irrepressibility of the English revenue, and the honesty of the English taxpayer, and to contrast these favourably with those of India; but it is not borne in mind that out of the revenues raised in India, nearly one-fourth goes clean out of the country, and is added to the resources of England. Were it not for the opium revenue, so fortunate for India, though one cannot be sure of its morality, the condition of India would have been by this time not a very enviable one.

With regard to the expansion of the commerce of India under British rule, the question is whether India has profited by it. The British rulers may claim credit if it can be shown that India has derived some commercial profit from its commerce after paying the price for the British rule.

The foreign invaders of former times had their plunder once for all. They returned to their country laden with spoils, and there was an end of the evil. India by her industry perhaps soon made up the gap in her national wealth. When all other foreign invaders retained possession of the country, and became its rulers, they at least became *of* the country. If they plundered the rich and screwed the ryot, the wealth was still *in* the country. If individuals were plundered or oppressed, the country remained as rich as ever. But entirely different has been the case with the foreign rule of the British. In former times the country received blows and bruises here and there, but her vital blood was not lost. The natural action of her constitution sooner or later cured the wounds.

* Appendix C. † Appendix D.

But now, as the country is being continually bled, its vitality and vigour must get low, unless permanent improvements already made, or future development of her material resources, shall restore it to its former health. In point of security of life also, can it be said that there has been less loss of it during the British connection than for the same period previously?

There is again the almost total exclusion of the natives from a share and voice in the administration of their own country. Under former rulers there was every career open for the talented. For the voice of a few small boroughs Parliament has been wrangling for years, while the Indian budget of over 40 millions is voted before scarcely a dozen honourable members, and without a single voice to represent the millions who pay the taxes. Why should not 200 millions of your fellow-subjects who contribute so largely to your wealth and prosperity, and who form an integral part of the British empire, have a few representatives in the Imperial Parliament to give their voice on imperial questions?

Such is the reply of the educated and thinking. They admit all the benefits, but urge that if India is now deriving the benefit of law and order, England has also had the benefit of India having enormously contributed to her wealth, and of having rendered her one of the mighty powers of the earth. As the reply and feelings of the educated and thinking are of the greatest importance to the rulers, I think it necessary here to show that the opinions I have expressed above are not simple creations of my imagination. I shall cite hereafter a few instances out of many of the expression of these views from the native papers.

There is no doubt that the influence and enlightenment of the educated being not only entirely the creation of the English rule, but even of the English type, the educated class is grateful for the boon and thoroughly loyal. True it is that historical acts of patriotism, the staunch and deep-rooted patriotism of Englishmen—how they would fight to the last man before allowing an inch of their soil to be conquered by a foreigner, how as it were by the mere wave of the magic wand, to the call of patriotism, 200,000 volunteers suddenly sprang from the ground for the defence of their country—perplex the educated in India, and their patriotism is put to a severe trial. But, notwithstanding this perplexity, the educated or thoughtful patriot of India believes that his best patriotism consists in wishing the continuance of the British

as he hopes from the high sense of honour and duty of the Briton the future true welfare and regeneration of his country. For instance, while entertaining the views about the drawbacks arising from the present rulers belonging to another country, 'The Native Opinion,' an English paper conducted by educated natives, gladly avows that under English rule educated natives hope their country will doubtless progress, though slowly.* 'The Rastgoftar,' a vernacular paper, asks "What better means than education can be shown for not only the good and the prosperity of the people, but love and loyalty towards the Raj?† Contrasting the European and native rule, the same paper says, "The rule with which the subjects are distressed and dissatisfied, cannot last long. The chief reason why most of the natives like English rule better is, that the Government always strive and desire to promote the happiness of the people."‡ 'The Bombay Samachar,' a vernacular paper, in the course of an article recommending strongly this Association to the support of the natives, remarks, "that it is not at all wise to fight the present sircar and to raise the flag of independence."§ 'The Hindoo Patriot,' an English paper conducted by natives, says, "No educated native will prefer any other rule to British rule. England has done to India an amount of good which no other conquering nation has been able to do. So long as this fact is remembered, no feelings of disloyalty can exist in the mind of the Indian."‖ Besides the inference from the above extracts, I can venture to assert, from my own knowledge, that the loyalty of the educated is undoubted, and it is the more necessary that their views should be known and attended to by the rulers. I give you now the few extracts promised above, to show that the reply I have sketched before to the question of the benefits to India from the British rule, is not merely my own creation. Referring to "the state of India, the taxes collected in which are partly spent elsewhere," the 'Native Opinion' says:—"Native art and trade languish day by day, money becomes more and more scarce, and a general feeling is generated of despondency and despair of all future prosperity for the country and the race. . . . . But our would-be economists 'about town' would not let the people of India into the dangerous knowledge that their country has to pay a 'tribute'; nor would they like to lead England out of the unpleasant delusion that India is to her an unmitigated source of weakness and loss. It is true England gives a Government which we could secure at the hands of few other nations (though it may be a form

* 2-12-66 † 7-1-67 ‡ 27-1-67 § 15-1-67 ‖ 18-12-65

of mere hyperbole to say that India 'is indebted for all the prosperity and wealth it possesses to its annexation to the British Empire,' for before that connection was formed, classic Ind was not the poorest country in the world, and it was her riches, and *not* poverty, which has tempted one and all of her conquerors, and the company of traders especially, hitherward); but that is no reason why the price of the boon should be pitched so high, or why nothing should be done which fairly could be to lighten the drawback."* The 'Rastgoftar,' in alluding to the home charges, says:—"Though the subject is an old one, yet it is of extreme importance. Up to this day, by England's dragging away the wealth of this country, Hindustan is crushed down." † The 'Suriodaya,' a vernacular paper, has several articles on the duties and shortcomings of the British rule, in the course of which, in giving its opinion as to the undesirability of any other foreign power displacing the British rule, it says, in illustration:—"A fox having got entangled among some creepers, a swarm of flies pounced upon him to suck his blood. A crow asked the fox whether he might drive away the flies. 'No,' replied the fox, 'these flies are now satisfied, and if you drive them away another hungry swarm would take their place.'"‡ The paper further expresses a hope that England may now be satisfied with what it has acquired, and not covet more, and let the natives have a fair share in the government. The 'Bombay Samachar' thinks "the ryots are not so well off now as they once were."§ More than twenty years ago, to my knowledge, a small band of Hindu students and thoughtful gentlemen used to meet secretly to discuss the effects of British rule upon India. The home charges, and the transfer of capital from India to England in various shapes, and the exclusion of the children of the country from any share or voice in the administration of their own country, formed the chief burden of complaint. These gentlemen were otherwise very well disposed. They were no would-be agitators. They were, and have been, peaceful and good citizens and subjects, and have since been either efficient Government servants, or have followed successfully some independent profession. They were discussing the matter, I think, more to mourn over the event than for any active purposes. *At least, they were brooding over it gloomily.* The 'Hindu Patriot,' comparing Algeria with India, says:—"He (Napoleon) has proclaimed the eligibility of the Arabs for all military offices of the empire, and all civil offices in Algeria. The policy of the British Government in India has been rather illiberal in this respect.

* 30-12-66 † 23-12-66 ‡ 9-9-66 § 'Native Opinion,' 27-1-67.

Until a few years since the civil service of India was a close monopoly; and even now, when apparently all invidious distinctions have been swept away, the monopoly exists in practice. . . . Indeed, the Mahommedan government, which was admittedly a tyrannical government, was in this respect a more liberal one than that under which we now live. Some of the Hindus filled, during the reign of the Mussulman kings, the highest civil and military offices in the empire."* The 'Indu Prakash,' a Marathi and English paper, in complaining about the examination for the civil service being confined to England, says:—"In fact, if an honest experiment is to be made whether the natives are capable of the highest qualifications for government, there is no way but to open the civil service examination in India. . . . This is the only way of trying the experiment. And if England really governs India as a sacred trust, and is really to be an exception to the general historical truth that even the best government of a foreign people is a curse to the subject race, she cannot but adopt it."† Alluding to the establishment of a Parliament in Egypt, the 'Native Opinion' says:—"India under Britain must not be left behind the country of the Pharos under Ibrahim Patcha." ‡ If necessary, I think I can give a volume of extracts from various vernacular and English papers conducted by natives, corroborative of my statements that the educated are thoroughly loyal, and that they feel strongly the loss of wealth to the country, the great necessity for developing its resources, and the exclusion of natives from a reasonable participation and voice in the affairs of their own country. I hope the short, imperfect sketch I have given above will give some idea of the present thoughts and feelings of different classes of natives. I have endeavoured to give as faithful an account as I possibly could from my own personal knowledge, as well as my reading on the first question.

Now arises, therefore, the important second question I have given at the outset: What are the best means to secure to India the benefits of the British rule for the longest time possible, with the greatest benefit to India as well as to England, and with satisfaction to the people of India? The question has been treated in various ways. First, it is urged by some that India is conquered by the sword, and must be retained by the sword. This I may call the policy of the sword. Second, some advise to treat the natives kindly, but never to give them any share in the administration: or, the policy of kind despotism.

* 2-65 † 27-3-67 ‡ 3-2-67

Third, equality among all her Majesty's subjects and honesty with the princes of India: or, the policy of justice and honesty.

The first policy simply amounts to this—that England may keep India as long as it can by a strong grasp, and India may drive out England as quickly as it can. No prophet is required to foretell the ultimate result of a struggle between a discontented two hundred millions, and a hundred thousand foreign bayonets. A drop of water is insignificant, but an avalanche may sometimes carry everything before it. The race is not always to the swift. A disaffected nation may fail a hundred times, and may rise again, but one or two reverses to a foreigner cannot but be fatal. Every failure of the natives, adding more burdens, will make them the more impatient to throw off the foreign yoke. Besides, there are some other European nations who, I suppose, would be but too glad to see the British rule in India in such plight. Suppose that England is able to hold by the sword for ever, But is it the infamy of perpetual tyranny and inglorious avarice that is the highest aspiration of the British nation, or the regeneration of a nation and the progress and happiness of mankind? But I shall not do the British people an injustice by discussing seriously this narrow-minded and short-sighted policy. It is utterly contrary and repugnant to the genius and character of the English nation that it could or would, be a tyrant. It could, or would, no more inflict a despotism over others than it would submit to it itself. It is this circumstance, in fact, which is the principal, if not the only consolation to the natives of India against all the drawbacks of the foreign rule.

The second policy scarcely deserves better treatment than the policy of the sword. It is not possible in human nature that two hundred millions of people—a people who have known power, wealth, and civilization, government, laws, literature, and art, long before they were dreamt of in these islands; whose genius has given the world the most intellectual play yet discovered, and who are still unsurpassed in the application of art to manufactures—would quietly remain contented as merely something better than helots, and would be dead to all high aspirations and noble ambition. The expounders of this, as well as the first policy, forget that it is the thought that under British rule lies the hope of a political and mental regeneration, that so well conciliates and reconciles the thinking portion of the native community, and [illegible] their patriotism towards loyalty to the British rule. I [illegible] common-sense of Englishmen, whether a nation is more

long reconciled and grateful to benefactors or despots, even though kind. Declarations of policies like these, though futile, create unnecessary dissatisfaction and distrust in the minds of the natives. The short-sighted persons who make them little know the amount of mischief they do, and the obstacles they throw in the way of peaceful and rational submission to government, and in promoting the sentiments of loyalty which at present is naturally a delicate plant, requiring the utmost care of the rulers to foster and strengthen it. If such policy were actually pursued, India must continue to sink lower in degradation in a worse degree than under former rules or invasions, and the boast of benefits of British rule would only become a mere hypocrisy and delusion, and the rule itself a curse. Each such utterance creates the necessity of thousands of English bayonets. I must however pause, and not do the British people an injustice by discussing this policy any more than the first. Fortunately both for England and India these and such other policies do not find an echo in the British people. They have been and shall be idle words, with the only result of doing now and then some unnecessary mischief.

The third policy, the policy inaugurated by the great and good statesman Lord Stanley, and proclaimed to the people and princes of India in the name of our gracious Sovereign, is the hope of India and anchor of England. You can scarcely conceive the enthusiasm and heartiness with which this proclamation was welcomed by those who understood it. A new day dawned to them, full of brightness and hope. It is, gentlemen, fortunate and congratulatory that at the present stage of the British rule the policy to be pursued by England towards India is not a vexed question, at least so far as the actual rulers are concerned. The Sovereign and the ministers have finally decided that all-important point, to their great glory and to the satisfaction of the people of India. It is gratifying and hopeful to find that the statesmen who rule and the thinkers who guide the policy of this country have distinctly seen and clearly enunciated that India should be ruled for India's sake; that the true and only tower of strength to the English rule is not a hundred thousand English soldiers, but the willing consent and grateful loyalty of the people themselves; and that when the time comes for a separation, and which I trust is far distant, the world may rejoice in a glorious chapter added to its history, of the regeneration of an old, but long unfortunate race, and India may for ever remember gratefully the benefactors who restored her to more than her ancient splendour and civilization. There is no doubt in my mind that since

the "Stanley policy" has been proclaimed, every true patriot of Ind wishes a long continuance of the present rule. For he knows well tha it is by this means only that law and order, political elevation intellectual development, and material prosperity shall be attained that the greatest misfortune that can befall India, and plunge it again into anarchy after having already paid such heavy price for the benefit of the British rule, would be the withdrawal of the British sovereignty. She will have suffered all the evils of a foreign rule without deriving any of its benefits, which are yet but in the seed, and require time to grow and fructify. They hopefully look to a bright future.

The only right policy having been thus decided and proclaimed in the name of the sovereign, the third question arises, whether the best means are being adopted to fulfil it, to win the loyalty and attachment of the Indian subjects and princes. I am afraid as much is not done hitherto as is desirable and practicable towards the accomplishment of this great object. The difficulties thrown in the way of according to the natives such reasonable share and voice in the administration of the country as they are able to take, are creating some uneasiness and distrust. The universities are sending out hundreds and will soon begin to send out thousands of educated natives. This body naturally increases in influence. The native papers are mostly in their hands. Their loyalty s as yet undoubted. The native press is beginning to exercise a large nfluence on the mass of the people. The educated class are becoming heir natural leaders. The education, as I said before, is thoroughly nglish, and therefore highly favourable to the English rule. The olation of thousands of years is now being broken through. Calcutta, ombay, Madras, and other places of importance, now freely and fully change ideas. A common language among the educated is forging ong bonds of nationality. The railways are producing a similar effect he mass of the population. They see and know more of each other, so at least politically their sympathies are growing stronger towards other. In short, whatever may be the effect in other matters, the n is now gradually becoming assimilated for political purposes, r for good or for evil, as the rulers may choose. The time is come the rulers should seriously consider the question. As you now o will you reap hereafter. It is high time that some decisive steps be taken to turn the strong current of the gratitude a rising generations to the support of rule, er vitality and force to the opinion less

that the true patriotism of the native consists in his desire for a long English rule. Once this is achieved, once the leaders of the mass are with you, what shall there be to fear, or what will require the 80,000 or 100,000 bayonets? The loyal heart is a stronger weapon than any that the hand of the tyrant will ever forge. It is therefore necessary that some reasonable scope should be now given to their just and legitimate aspirations. Such timely concessions given with grace and without asking, will carry with them a force of gratitude, which cannot be attained by yielding to pressure and with a bad grace. All unnecessary obstacles should be removed. Something needs be done, by which those natives who have talents and attainments may be able to enter the various services, with only as much trouble as Englishmen are put to. The problem is clear, and there is no use shirking it. Either the educated natives should have proper fields for their talents and education opened to them in the various departments of the administration of the country, or the rulers must make up their minds, and candidly avow it, to rule the country with a rod of iron. The question has been however, to everybody's satisfaction, and to the great honour of the rulers, answered, by opening the competition for the civil, judicial, and other services to all her Majesty's subjects. The examinations being conducted, however, in this country is a virtual exclusion of the natives. By all means, these youths say, make your standards as high as you think proper, but let us have fair play. Let the disregard of creed or colour be not a mockery and delusion, putting us to unnecessary and improper disadvantages. They ask that the examinations for a portion, however small at first, of the appointments for the services should be held in India. If it be considered that a native would be better for a visit to England before entering the services, they would be, I think, quite willing to submit to that necessity after their nomination. In the case of the civil service, the selected candidates can be required to complete their studies and undergo their "further examination" in this country.

Whether a suitable military career should also be opened to the natives or not is a very important question, but I shall at present content myself with quoting the views of 'The Hindoo Patriot,' which I think deserve consideration. In the same article, "Algeria and India," which I have quoted from before, 'The Patriot' says,—"In India the higher ranks of the civil service are to some extent open to the natives, but as regards the military service, the natives can only enlist themselves as privates. The aristocracy of Northern and Western India

are born warriors, and they thirst for a military career, but the rules of the military service are such that their wishes cannot be gratified, and consequently they are condemned to a life of inglorious idleness, and discontent if not disaffection prevails in many parts of the empire. The British Government professes to rule us with justice and liberality, but their professions have been only partially made good. It is said that the British Government fear to throw open the higher ranks of the military service to the native aristocracy, lest they should turn their strength against the ruling power. If there be such a fear it is an idle fear. No educated native will prefer any other rule to British rule. England has done to India an amount of good which no other conquering nation has been able to do, and so long as this fact is remembered, no feelings of disloyalty can exist in the mind of the Indian. England has held and she is capable of holding, India at the point of the bayonet, but certainly no one will desire that she should continue in this attitude."

The question of the native army is a matter requiring careful consideration. I shall, however, remark that in my humble opinion, considering the exigencies of the vast interests of the British empire, and of the political relations in Europe and America, and the desire of some of the Powers to possess India, Britain can hardly do without confiding in a native army, and depending to a great extent upon the loyalty and gratitude of the leaders of native opinion. The English have come to India as merchants, and not as conquerors. The native army has been chiefly instrumental in the creation of the British Indian empire, and I feel that, with proper treatment of India, the same native army will maintain the empire they have contributed to create.

For the gradual improvement of the people at large, and to prevent the utter starvation that now and then overtakes millions of human beings, the least that the British people can do is to lend back to India the wealth derived therefrom, in order to develop its resources. The English people are bound by duty as well as interest to do all they can for India. Every penny invested in the development of that vast and naturally rich portion of the British empire will be repaid a hundredfold in a hundred different ways. The greater the prosperity of India, the greater will be the benefits of the commercial and political relations of the two countries. If strenuous and great efforts are n[illegible] ade to develop the resources of the country and th[illegible] liorat[illegible] ial condition of the mass of the population, o[illegible] ult[illegible] ly

follow—either, under incessant depletion, the patient may die of sheer exhaustion, or may rebel. If there is a nation on earth—and there is one—on which India has a claim for charity in the time of distress, or of assistance, with capital for the development of its material resources by means of railways, roads, works of irrigation, &c., it is England. But the great misfortune of India, is that the British public know very little of their duties towards India, and care less. Efforts are often made to keep them under the delusion that India is a source of weakness. Surely this is a very great joke. Thirty-three or more millions pounds a year, and provisions found for sixty thousand Englishmen as soldiers, and above ten thousand as civilians and officers, is a source of weakness indeed! How many European nations, or what other nation on earth, would not but be too glad to be subjected to such a source of weakness? During my pretty long residence in this country, I have observed that the English public as a body are very ignorant, and even to some extent misled, on Indian matters; but that whenever any subject is fairly and fully put before them, their decision is certain to be on the side of fair play, justice, and honour. It is painful to observe the utter indifference of the British public towards Indian matters, and the delusion of the natives when they think that an article in an overland paper is an expression of the public opinion of England. Fond are the hopes they cherish, and how grateful and satisfied do they feel, when they read a few words of kindness and of a just policy in these papers. But what is the actual state of affairs? The destinies of two hundred millions is not a subject of sufficient importance to attract and keep to their places a dozen members of Parliament, and the Secretary of State felt it necessary to make an apology last year to the few members who were present for entering into some details. Here is his apology. He said, "I am quite conscious of the reluctance with which the House listens to details so little affecting their own constituents: still, as it has imposed on the Indian Minister the task of making the statement, I think it my duty to make it tolerably complete." Of course, as the thirty-three millions or more a year are not directly handed over the counter to these constituents, these details do not affect them! One gentleman, high in office, asked me last year whether the educated natives of India took any interest in Indian politics! I hope the day is not [illegible]ant when the Parliament, press and people of this country will [illegible] heir [illegible]ty towards India, when they will fully understand and [illegible]nefits derived by the British nation from their Indian [illegible] he responsibility arising therefrom. I must confess,

with feelings of great pleasure and satisfaction, that the commencement is already made. The formation of this very Association, the names on its lists, and the more frequent appearance than heretofore of Indian topics in the leading journals of this country, though unfortunately sometimes misleading, are hopeful signs. If this Association will make the British nation familiar with the single fact, that India has contributed not a little to its prosperity, and that they owe and incur serious responsibility as its present rulers, it will have conferred a lasting benefit on India and earned its deepest gratitude. I repeat here, that the rulers ought to study more sincerely and earnestly the condition of the mass of the population. The rulers, as well as the whole British people must strain every nerve to save them from destruction which always stares them in the face. Vast public works of productive character ought to be undertaken with the assistance of loans from this country and this country, under proper precautions for the safety of their investments, should regard India, both for the interests of Britain as well as those of India, as the best field for investment and enterprise: I need not trouble you with statistics here, but you ought to know, or at least those that care to know do so well enough, how important India is as a commercial connection, and how vastly the present commerce may be enlarged and developed to the benefit of both sides by a proper development of its material resources. We are thankful for the sixty millions you have already lent us, and the twenty millions more you are to lend for the railways already projected. Of this eighty millions, however, you have already derived the benefit of above twenty millions having been spent already in this country. We trust you will continue to give your utmost aid to India, and you will find that you will have both the pleasure of having performed a duty and the profits of a goop investment.

There is another means which ought, I think, not to be neglected, of binding closer the ties of good feeling between the English and the Indians. Whenever there is any call of distress from India, Englishmen should respond to it generously and with sympathy. Each such instance will produce lasting good. I am sorry to see that the course adopted in England with reference to the Orissa famine has reasonably produced an unfavourable effect in India. The ground urged here for not doing anything was and is, that the Indian Government ought to do all that was necessary. Now this simply means that England, the mismanagement of whose officers is the cause of the disaster, should stand with hands folded, and that the relief must be provided from the taxes paid

by the natives of India, and that additional burdens should be laid upon them for the purpose. I do not at all mean to absolve the Indian Government from the blame of that defect in her administration by which they have not adopted means to prevent such disasters, by providing the necessary works of irrigation and by taking proper precautions to mitigate the horrors of a famine when expected to occur; but the worst of the matter is that the administrators are Englishmen selected by England, and the failure in the due performance of their duty is visited on the poor Indians, first by allowing famine to overtake them, and then taxing them to relieve it, and to make up deficits of revenue; and all this is done as if for the purpose of making the Indian Government do their duty. Certainly, if by making the Indian Government do their duty it was meant that the bungling English officials in the administration were made to pay from their own pockets for the relief, the reason urged by Englishmen here would mean something. As it is it simply means, we won't help you, you must help yourselves. I am sure the people here have not thus intentionally withheld their help, but they have acted under a misapprehension, which I also had at first thoughts shared; and unfortunately a very unfavourable impression has been produced in India. Of all the benefits that you can confer on the poor mass of India, help in their distress comes most home to them. Such benefits are remembered for ever, and such sentiments of gratitude are worth hundreds of legions to the British rule. I sincerely hope that England will always be ready to hold out a helping hand to India in distress, and thereby create a community of feeling and good-will towards each other to their mutual benefit.

I have before alluded to the necessity of turning the current of the present loyalty of the educated natives to account, and retaining and strengthening it by giving them some share in the administration of their country. Besides such exclusion, what these natives feel most is their exclusion from any representative voice in the government of the country. They are taught how their fellow-subjects in England fare, and they feel and smart under the contrast of their position. This is a subject requiring much discussion and consideration, which I cannot embrace in this paper. I may in short say here that, though I do not think the lower classes of the population even understand and much less care for a representative government, and that there are not as yet the necessary elements and qualifications for the introduction in its integrity of the representative system for the whole country; still I think some reasonable concessions should be made. I know with what feelings of

lively satisfaction was welcomed *the* admission *of natives to the legislative* councils as the earnest of better things to come, and how Sir Charles Wood's name was spoken of with gratitude. Some arrangements might be made to have a few representatives from India to the Imperial Parliament, and for local legislation at least those members of the legislative councils who are supposed to represent the presidency towns, might be elected by those towns instead of being selected by Government. These towns can now furnish very respectable constituencies. Such steps taken in time will go far to consolidate the British rule, and increase the loyalty of the people.

The subject of education is of great importance. I am glad to see that Government is fully alive to its value as the best means of elevating the nation and of securing to the British rule sincere gratitude and loyalty. The impulse, however, is given, the higher classes of natives are gradually perceiving the value and necessity of education; and before long I hope to see good results. For the education of the mass of the people, however, there is much room for more strenuous and greater efforts.

The last thing, though I think it is not the least, I have to say about the policy towards the "people" of India is kind treatment of and ordinary courtesy towards them. The natives have had enough of abuse and reviling. It is time that this thoughtless course should cease, especially on the part of those who are men of influence, position, and authority. The natives are as much human beings as others. They feel as others feel. It is not possible that you should call them liars and rascals, and yet expect that they should love you any more than you would in similar circumstances. Some of the horrors of the mutiny had some cause in the kind of conduct for which a lady, the author of the "Gup," in the Temple Bar Magazine, "felt the keenest sympathy." The 'Bombay Samachar' characterizes this "Gup" as real gup (falsehood). The natives, gentlemen, have their shortcomings, no doubt, but they deserve your pity and assistance, and not your abuse and your kicks. The servants and other people about Englishmen in India form their own opinions, and are influenced by such opinions in times of emergency. The meanest worm when trodden upon dashes its head against your foot. Of all dangers, those that arise from the outraging the feelings of a nation are the most to be dreaded, and the most disastrous in their results. Nowadays a large number of Englishmen from the lower classes, as mechanics, &c., go to India, and sometimes present not a favourable picture of English morals and manners, and

furnish the natives with materials for retaliation of any abuse directed against them. This circumstance also renders it highly necessary for Government not to fail in maintaining its high character for honesty and sincerity, and preserve that spell of higher morality and superior intelligence which has hitherto so deservedly commanded the admiration and confidence of the natives.

The princes of India, I think, are not quite in a satisfied state of of mind. The various annexations, and till very lately the special pleadings about and the uncertain fate of Mysore, have produced a feeling of distrust in the honesty of the British, and it will require some efforts to restore confidence. The late decision of Lord Cranbourne not to annex Mysore, and his lordship's views expressed in the last year's budget speech on English policy in India, will go far to restore this confidence, and his lordship's name will be remembered by the natives with respect and admiration, notwithstanding his decision about Mysore being based on policy instead of justice, and notwithstanding his few unfortunate remarks in the budget speech unnecessarily irritating and painful to the natives, which Lord W. Hay appropriately replied to. It is of no use now my discussing the justice or otherwise of former annexations,—that we can leave to the verdict of history,—but it is very necessary to satisfy the present princes that, whatever doubt they may reasonably or unreasonably have of the past conduct of Britain, hereafter the policy of honesty towards them will be strictly carried out. Towards these princes there is another duty to perform. The British Government should take all possible care, by good advice, influence, and rewards, to encourage them to introduce improved systems of government into their territories, and more particularly to bring up their successors in a way to fit them for their onerous and responsible duties.

These are the various duties before the British nation. The task is as good as it is great. Let them, true to their nature and genius, apply themselves courageously and honestly to it, and conjointly, with no little benefit to themselves, let them add to their name the glory of the benefactors of a great nation and of mankind.

The business of this Association will be to assist in the accomplishment of this great work. Those Englishmen who have retired from India owe as much filial duty to India as to England, to the mother who has provided for them as to the mother who gave them birth, and right well I hope will they perform that duty by assisting in the labours of this Association.

Before concluding, I wish to address a few words to my countrymen. Great as are the duties of England and the work before this Association, greater still are the duties and work to be performed on their part. They must show the same earnestness, perseverance, patriotism, and self-sacrifice, the same respect for law and order as the English do, if they deserve and desire to attain the same political condition as Englishmen and a reasonable share and voice in the government of their country. They must show the same enterprise and forethought in the development of the resources of their country as Englishmen do, if they desire and deserve to be as prosperous as Englishmen. They should also readily support English gentlemen of rank and influence who have now come forward to advocate their cause through this Association, and in the exercise of their constitutional right, in a constitutional way, persevere in their representations to the Imperial Parliament till their reasonable demands are accorded. I have no reason to doubt that my countrymen will show themselves possessed of these qualifications. The existence and conduct of the British Indian Association, the warm interest which educated and thinking natives are now evincing in the welfare of their country, and the growing native enterprise, are sufficient to inspire hope and confidence. If they should, however, contrary to all expectations, show themselves to be blind to their own interests, they should at least not do hereafter the injustice to complain that Englishmen in this country do not at all care for them. No one will be to blame or sorry if they do not get what they do not struggle for and show themselves to deserve.

Lastly, if aught in this paper appear to be as appealing to the fears of the British rulers, I at once disclaim any such intention on my part. I have simply tried to give as faithful a representation as I could of the views and sentiments of the natives as far as I know, and am desirous that the important question of the practicability of the long continuance of the British rule with satisfaction to the natives of India may be fully and dispassionately discussed in all its bearings. If I am shown to be wrong in any statements, nobody will be more happy than myself to correct it.

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APPENDIX A

Year.	Charges in India.	Charges in England.*	
	£	£	
1829-30	13,536,000	1,715,000	
1830-31	12,947,000	1,446,000	
1831-32	12,935,000	1,476,000	
1832-33	12,896,000	1,227,000	
1833-34	12,245,000	1,293,000	
1834-35	12,706,000	2,162,000	
1835-36	13,000,000	2,109,000	
1836-37	11,806,000	2,210,000	
1837-38	11,987,000	2,304,000	
1838-39	13,030,000	2,615,000	
1839-40	14,103,000	2,578,000	
1840-41	14,261,000	2,625,000	
1841-42	14,719,000	2,834,000	
1842-43	15,307,000	2,458,000	
1843-44	15,688,000	2,944,000	
1844-45	15,551,000	2,485,000	
1845-46	16,263,000	3,044,000	
1846-47	16,557,000	3,065,000	
1847-48	16,472,000	3,016,000	
1848-49	16,687,000	3,012,000	
1849-50	17,170,000	2,750,000	
1850-51	17,117,000	2,717,000	
1851-52†	17,366,000	2,506,000	
1852-53	23,816,000	2,697,000	
1853-54	25,292,000	3,262,000	
1854-55	26,007,000	3,011,000	
1855-56	26,599,000	3,264,000	
1856-57	26,316,000	3,529,000	
1857-58	35,078,000	4,492,000	
1858-59	43,590,000	6,051,000	
1859-60	44,622,000	5,042,000	
1860-61	40,408,000	5,394,000	
1861-62	37,245,000	5,209,000	
1862-63	36,800,000	4,943,000	
1863-64	38,087,000	4,777,000	
1864-65	39,452,000	4,802,000	
1865-66	40,615,000	4,982,000	
Total...	£818,276,000	£116,047,000	
Add		102,284,000‡	
		218,331,000	In Principal.
Add Interest at 5 per cent., about		270,000,000	
Total... ...		£488,331,000	Rough estimate of the wealth derived by England during the last thirty-six years.

* From Parliamentary returns of Indian accounts.

† The charges in India from 1829 to 1851-52 are exclusive of charges for collecting stamp duties, land, sayer and abakaree revenues and customs, and costs and charges of salt, opium, &c.

‡ One-eighth of charges in India as representing—1st. Remittances to England by European employes for support of families, relatives, &c.; for education of children; for savings; and for purchase of goods for their own consumption. 2nd. Purchases by them, in India, of articles of British manufacture and produce for their consumption in India. 3rd. Purchases in England and India of articles of British manufacture and produce for Government stores not included in Home charges.

APPENDIX B.

Years.	Charges of India *	
	£	
1787-88	5,275,000	This Table, as well as those in Appendix A, includes interest on public debt. Should it be considered that such interest must be treated as for money actually paid by English capitalists, an allowance made from the total result of this Table to the extent of £200,000,000 will be more than sufficient. Taking the booty and various other unascertainable sources, the total result may fully amount to above £1,500,000,000. Appendix C confirms this result from commercial returns.
1788-89	5,599,000	
1789-90	5,898,000	
1790-91	5,678,000	
1791-92	5,845,000	
1792-93	6,317,000	
1793-94	6,639,000	
1794-95	6,503,000	
1795-96	7,012,000	
1796-97	7,641,000	
1797-98	8,254,000	
1798-99	9,786,000	
1799-1800	10,111,000	
1800-1	11,653,000	
1801-2	12,547,000	
1802-3	12,594,000	
1803-4	15,052,000	
I have not been able to get these returns. 1804-5	15,000,000	Nearly.
1805-6	15,000,000	
1806-7	15,000,000	
1807-8	15,000,000	
1808-9	15,000,000	
1809-10	15,000,000	
1810-11	15,000,000	
1811-12	15,000,000	
1812-13	15,333,000	
1813-14	15,340,000	
1814-15	15,887,000	
1815-16	16,858,000	
1816-17	17,025,000	
1817-18	17,763,000	
1818-19	19,404,000	
1819-20	19,183,000	
1820-21	19,590,000	
1821-22	19,648,000	
1822-23	20,055,000	
1823-24	21,046,000	
1824-25	22,086,000	
1825-26	24,057,000	
1826-27	23,323,000	
1827-28	23,932,000	
1828-29	21,594,000	
Total ...	£596,528,000	
	59,652,000	One-tenth, for purposes mentioned at * in Appendix A.
Add, say ...	800,000,000	Interest till 1866.
Add, say ...	390,000,000	For acquirements by England before 1788, say £10,000,000 in principal, which, with interest to 1866, will be [illegible]
Add	488,331,000	
	1647,983,000	[illegible] benefit derived by England from India as the result of English rule.

* From Parliamentary returns of Indian accounts.

APPENDIX C.

The following Tables, from 1814 to 1858, are taken from the Parliamentary Returns of 1859, No. 38, Sess. 2. From 1859-65 from No. 15409 of 1866 :—

Years.	Importations into United Kingdom from India, Singapore, and China.	Exports from United Kingdom to India, Singapore, and China.	Exports from United Kingdom of Bullion to India and China.
	Official Value. £	Declared * and Official Value. £	Bullion exports before 1843 seem to be small amounts, and cannot be found in any returns I have seen.
1814	6,298,386	2,251,282	
1815	8 038,736	3,166,961	
1816	8,310,697	3,203.518	
1817	7,687,278	3,679,973	
1818	7,337,689	3,852,308	
1819	7,537.563	2,780,516	
1820	7,562,647	3,632,062	
1821	6,233.571	4,596,652	
1822	5,108.041	3,889,294	
1823	6,918,540	3,822,161	
1824	7,312,355	3,738,987	
1825	6,282,659	3,549,207	
1826	7,410.536	4,400,786	
1827	7,751.355	4,896,311	
1828	8,247,171	4,809,261	
1829	7,744,286	4,213.981	
1830	7,555,633	4,344,704	
1831	7,814,114	3,798,240	
1832	8,154,338	3,882,771	
1833	7,812,604	3,867,211	
1834	8,590,293	3,838,114	
1835	9,559,662	4,841,233	
1836	12,449,165	6,297,695	
1837	11,617,994	4,748,943	
1838	10.454,812	5,495,152	
1839	10,919,795	6,209,571	
1840	10,472,522	7,656,313	
1841	13,447,832	7,347,032	Real Value.
1842	13,543,625	6,710,890	£
1843	13,707,026	8,910,354	319,252
1844	16,348,284	11,005.868	88,841
1845	16,938,403	9,831,388	47,346
1846	16,271,702	9,095,707	16.495
1847	18,314,579	7,824,383	7,844
1848	17,011,194	7,393,731	8,185
1849	18,594,973	9,460,171	16,006
1850	20,007,928	10,423,621	240,125
1851	22,941,166	10,703,121	1,666,265
1852	21,360,626	10,445,270	3,227,734
1853	25,088,096	10,524,103	5,107.949
Carried forward			

The exports to and imports from India (including Ceylon), Singapore, and China, are taken together in these Tables, because the remittances to this country are not only made from India direct, but through other places also. The actual commercial balance between China and the United Kingdom should be considered as squared except so far as the amounts disbursed for Government purposes in China, which are not charged to India; but these amounts will be too small to affect the general conclusion that the balance, as shown in this Appendix, represents the amount retained by England as her territorial benefit from India.

Note for next page.

(*a*) Balance of imports over exports, or the amount in principal retained by England during the last fifty years on account of the British rule in India, and for which Britain has made no commercial return to India. If, however, all the further deductions suggested in note† (*next page*) could be made, this balance may fairly go much above £250,000,000. There is, moreover, another error which, if it could be properly corrected, would increase the balance still a great deal more. It will be seen in the Table that there are some figures given as "official values." Now, from the instance given

* Exports of British goods are "declared values," and exports of foreign and colonial goods are "official values."

18..				
18..				
18..				
1857.	32,542,940	16,167,916	16,290,000	imports over exports during the last fifty years will be far above £300,000,000, perhaps £400,000,000, say £350,000,000 These £350,000,000, with interest, will be above £1,000,000 000, while all before 1814, with interest, still remains to be added. My adoption of £500,000,000 may not be one-third of the actual benefit already derived by England.
1858	24,450,274	21,910,244	5,088,850	
1859	27,021,805	27,523,610	16,003,267	
1860	27,759,150	25,566,407	8,124,236	
1861	35,203,641	23,558,608	7,279,839	
1862	51,150,767	20,284,141	10,710,209	
1863	68,150,997	27,572,803	8,817,656	
1864	73,213,187	27,857,799	7,555,442	
1865	54,719,071	27,000,000	3,808,260	
	923,368,844	491,420,718	116,338,019	
			7,842,381	Deduct Bullion exported by Government in the years 1857-62
			108,495,638	
			7,594,624	Add 7 per cent. for charges and profits.
			£116,090,262	
		19,075,312	Deduct stores exported for Government purposes as far as they can be made up from returns of "Charges in England" from 1829 to 1865.	
		472,345,406		
		17,622,172	Deduct railway stores exported, which are paid from the loan. Return No 7066 of 1865.	
		454,723,234	+ Balance of commercial exports	
		113,680,808	Add 25 per cent for charges for transit to the place of destination and profits to the exporter ‡	
		116,090,262	Add bullion exported as per above Table	
Deduct	684,494,304	Total commercial exports, including transit, charges, and profits to India and China.		
	£238,874,540(a)	(See preceding page)		

* Table (*a*) from Appendix (A) of Second Customs Report of 1857 :—

Years.	Official Value		Real Value	
	Imports into the United Kingdom.	Exports from the United Kingdom	Imports into the United Kingdom	Exports from the United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£
1854	124,136,018	243,879,892	152,389,053	115,821,092
1855	117,284,881	258,414,653	143,542,850	116,691,300
1856	131,937,763	291,929,377	172,544,154	139,220,353
1857	136,215,849	286,194,531	187,646,335	145,419,872

+ From this the following unascertainable items also require to be deducted to ascertain the exact *commercial* exports as between two independent countries —

APPENDIX D.

The present yearly benefit to England from the annual Indian revenues may be roughly estimated in the following manner:—

Parliamentary Return.*	European Employés. Description.	No.	Salaries paid in India, about	
			£	
No. 116 of 1860 ...	Covenanted Civil Servants. †	1,775	2,250,000	Exclusive of furloughs in England.
No. 201—VI. of 1858	Uncovenanted Civil Servants, including Indo-Britons, are 3082, of whom say Europeans are	500	250,000	Taking an average of £500 a-year.
No. 201—IX. of 1858	Indian Navy .	305	70,000	
No. 251—I. part H, Grant, No. 3 of 1866.	Officers . . .	8,231	5,000,000	Exclusive of furloughs
	Army	67,121	1,150,000	
	Total . . .	...	£8,720,000	

Half of the salaries may represent transfer to England for support of families, relations, &c., for education of children, for savings, and for purchase in India and England of British goods for consumption in India	£4,360,000
Add Home charges, about	5,000,000
Total	£9,360,000

If to this total be added purchases in India of Government stores of British manufactures, the amount of annual transfer to England may be fairly taken above £10,000,000; but, to make allowances that may be necessary, such as for interest paid in England for public debt, and to avoid any over-estimate, I have put down only £8,000,000 in the paper.

* I cannot obtain any later returns.

† This includes Governors, Judges, Bishops, and Chaplains.

III.

EXPENSES OF THE ABYSSINIAN WAR.

(Read before an Afternoon Meeting of the East India Association, London, Friday, November 29th, 1867. Lord William Hay, M.P., in the chair.)

My Lord and Gentlemen,—In our views on Indian matters we shall sometimes agree and sometimes differ with the Indian Government. When we agree, we shall be only too glad to express our views accordingly. When we differ, either from looking at the subject from a different point of view, or from more or less information, we shall respectfully lay before the Government our views. In doing so, it cannot be supposed that our object is to set up an opposition party. On the contrary, our object is co-operation, as the aims both of the Government and of ourselves are the same, viz. the good government and welfare of India. I believe that Government would rather be glad than otherwise to know our independent views, provided we always confine ourselves to a dispassionate and careful examination of their acts, and lay our reasons of difference before them in a becoming manner, especially making "measures, not men—arguments, not abuse," our rule of conduct. I hope, therefore, I shall not be misunderstood for laying before you my views, and you for expressing yours on the subject of this paper.

I beg to submit for your consideration that the decision of the Cabinet not to pay the ordinary pay of the Indian troops employed in the Abyssinian expedition is an injustice to India, and an injury to the prestige of England; that the decision is not only unfair in principle, but contrary to the reasonable practice of former days. I first examine whether there are any past events or precedents which can guide us to a just decision.

When the English Government was only one of many independent Indian Powers, and when temporary assistance like the present was needed from each other, on what principles was such assistance given and taken? I find that in these cases the English had acted on the fair and equitable principle that the party receiving assistance should pay the *whole* charge of the troops during the period of assistance. I shall not take up your time with many extracts, I shall give only three or four short ones. In the treaty with Hyder Alli, 1769, it is provided (Article 2)—

"That in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall, from their respective countries, mutually assist each other to drive

the enemy out. The pay of such assistance of troops from one party to another to be after the following rates, viz. to every soldier and horseman fifteen rupees per month, and every sepoy seven and a half rupees per month. The pay of the sirdars and commandants to be as it shall be agreed on at the time."*

The treaty of 1770 contains similar stipulations, which are again confirmed in the treaty of 1792.

In the treaty of alliance with Bazalut Jung, 1779, it is provided (Article 4)—

"If the Nawab Shujah-ool-Moolk's territories be invaded by an enemy, we shall, besides the troops that are stationed with him, send such a sufficient force as we can spare to his assistance. The ordinary and extraordinary expenses of such troops, whatever they may amount to, shall be paid agreeably to the Company's established customs by the Nawab, who will sign the accounts." †

Again, in the treaty with the Nizam, 1790 (Article 4)—

"If the Right Honourable the Governor-General should require a body of cavalry to join the English forces, the Nawab Asuph Jah and Pundit Prudhan shall furnish to the number of 10,000, to march in one month, &c. . . . . . The pay of the said cavalry to be defrayed monthly by the Hon. Company at the rate and on conditions hereafter to be settled."‡

In the "Articles explanatory of the 3rd Article of the Treaty of Mysore, concluded in 1799," Article 3 provides—

"If it should at any time be found expedient to augment the cavalry of Mysore beyond the number of (4,000) four thousand, on intimation to that effect from the British Government, His Highness the Rajah shall use his utmost endeavours for that purpose; but the *whole* expense of such augmentation, and of the maintenance of the additional numbers at the rate of (8) eight star pagodas for each effective man and horse while within the territory of Mysore, and of an additional sum or batta at the rate of (4) four star pagodas a month after the expiration of one month from the period of their passing the frontier of Mysore, as described in the 2nd article, shall be defrayed by the Hon. Company."§

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* Aitchison's Treaties, vol. v., p. 128.

† Aitchison's Treaties, vol. v., p. 36. ‡ Ibid., p. 44. § Ibid., p. 168.

Now I ask why this reasonable and just practice should have been subsequently departed from. I hope the standard of fair play of the Crown is not to be inferior to that of the Company. Next, I ask a few questions. Suppose the tables were turned, and England sent some troops for India's assistance, will the English tax-payer and Parliament allow the assistance without charging India with the *whole* expense?—or rather, has the British Government ever given any assistance to the British Indian Government, or the British Indian Government to any native Power, of the sort without making the receiver of the assistance pay *fully*? Suppose some subjects of the Nizam were held in captivity by some Arab chief, and the Nizam, to liberate his subjects and to maintain his honour, deciding to send an expedition to Arabia, requested his allies, the British, to assist him temporarily with troops; would such assistance be given without charging the Nizam with the pay of the troops, as well as any extra expenses? If not, then on what grounds of equity or fair play should England now get the Indian troops without being charged for their pay? Why, instead of the British Government having ever given any assistance of the kind, it has a few accounts to settle with its conscience for having made India pay even more than what could be fairly due from it.

It is said that India will lose nothing. What is it that the troops are kept in India for? Whatever that is, that India loses. If it is nothing, then the army should be reduced by so much. If it is something, then India is not losing nothing. If the troops are required for security, then it is unfair that India should be deprived of that security, and yet be made to pay for it. The question resolves itself into this: Should the pay of the troops be allowed to be a saving to India or to England? For if India is made to pay, it is so much a saving to England, and if England pays, India saves so much. Now whether on the grounds of equity, or of need, or of ability, certainly India has the claim to be allowed to save what it can. England has always charged for everything she has given on similar occasions, so she should not now shrink from paying when it is her turn to do so. The need of India to save whatever it can, is greater than that of England. Famines, intellectual and physical, are its crying evils, and the weight of a large army keeps some of its urgent wants in abeyance. Lastly, England is the richest of the two, and well able to pay for what it receives. The very circumstance that England is able to avail herself of a ready-made army, a very convenient ba[illegible] of operations, and the services of Indian officials and of [illegible] officers, is in itself a great advantage to the F[illegible]

It is urged, that because the prestige of England is important, therefore India must contribute. But what prestige is it that England has and needs to maintain? Is it that England is poor in means and unfair in dealing, or that her resources are as great as her arm is strong, and that her sense of justice is above suspicion? Here England sends her envoys to Abyssinia, and finds in its ruler a troublesome customer. Her honour is insulted, and her representative is kept in captivity. The prestige which England has to maintain under such circumstances is to show that she is *herself* able to hold her own, from her own resources; not that she is so poor or unfair that she is unable or unwilling to pay for the very troops which are employed in vindicating her honour, and liberating her own representative, and helps herself from the Indian purse. Can the world be blamed if they consider it strange that the England which is ready to spend some four millions or more for her honour, should shrink to pay a few hundred thousands?

However, even the question of the few hundred thousand pounds is not of so much importance. A far more important question, of the principles of the financial relations between the two countries, is involved in the present course of the Cabinet: Who is the guardian of the Indian purse? and are the British Government and Parliament absolute masters and disposers of it, or is it a trust in their hands to be discharged on some equitable principles? I should think that in the present condition of the political relations of England and India, the Indian Secretary ought to be its natural guardian; that he ought, when English and Indian relations are to be adjusted, to act as if he were an independent Power representing Indian interests, and negotiate with the Foreign Secretary on terms fair and equitable to both parties. If this position of the Indian Secretary is faithfully acted upon, India will have the satisfaction to know that they have some one here to protect them from any unjust treatment. Parliament being the ultimate court of appeal. The Indian Secretary, instead of offering to make a present to the English tax-payer from the Indian revenue, ought to protect it from any encroachment. India is unable to protect itself, and as the British Government and Parliament hold its purse in trust, it is the more necessary for them that they should not be generous to themselves with others' trust-money, but, on the contrary, adopt the only proper course of treating the trust with the strictest justice and care, especially in the relations with themselves.

Clause 55 of the Indian Government Act of 1858, runs thus:—

"Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, or under sudden and urgent necessity, the Revenues

of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by Her Majesty's forces charged upon such revenues."

The evident object of this clause, I submit, is to prevent the application of Indian revenues except for Indian purposes, or otherwise the clause means nothing. If Indian revenues can be applied for the payment of troops beyond the Indian frontiers, then the clause becomes simply useless, for England then can use Indian troops under any circumstances, as the two grounds—viz. of Indian purposes, and of loan to England for her own wars—will embrace all cases.

I have now laid before you as briefly as possible my reasons why England should pay the *entire* expense of the Expedition, under any consideration, whether of justice and fair play or prestige, with the hope of eliciting an impartial discussion from you. Upon the necessity of the expedition, and when and how Englishmen should vindicate their honour, it is not for me to tell them. Among the nations most able to uphold their honour, the English have never held a second place. Their whole history, and their instinctive love of liberty and honour, are enough to satisfy the most sceptical that England is well able to take care of herself, and to know what her honour is and how to uphold it.

When I wrote this paper I could not know the reasons of the Government; therefore I must crave your indulgence while, in continuation of the paper, I make a few remarks on the debate of last night. But, in making those remarks, it is far from my intention to make any personal reflections on any speaker. Parliament has accepted the reasons, and decided upon the resolution; consequently any remarks I may make apply as much to Parliament itself as to any of the individual speakers. To make my remarks as few as possible, I shall just read a few extracts from some of the speeches of last night, which give nearly the pith of the whole argument, and give my views upon them. Sir S. Northcote said—"From the first moment that this expedition was thought about, early in the month of April last year, in reply to communications addressed to the Secretary of State in Council, we stated that we were willing to place the resources of India at the disposal of the Home Government, but must stipulate that; as the matter was one in which Indian interests were not concerned, India should not bear any portion of the charge. At that time it was clearly understood, though we did not put that into the despatch to the Treasury, that, though we were determined to resist any attempt

to charge the revenues of India with any new burthen, we did not, to use a homely expression, want to make money by the transaction." This amounts to saying that India must pay under all circumstances. If Indian interests were concerned, then, of course, India must pay all; and if Indian interests were not concerned, then also India must pay for the troops in order "not to make money." Can this be considered right? Sir Stafford Northcote says—"It is said, and we have said it ourselves, that India has no interest in this matter. That is perfectly true if by 'interest' you mean material interest. But there are principles which should be upheld in the interest of both countries, even at the cost of blood and treasure, and one of them is this—that envoys of the Sovereign of this country should be protected by us. That is a leading principle of international law, and we should be untrue, not only to ourselves, but to the civilized world, if we fail to uphold it." If that principle is to be admitted, if the envoys of England are to be protected everywhere at the expense of India, then India could be made to share in the expenses of a European or American war. Also, in other words, if the United States dismissed an English ambassador, and insulted the dignity of the Crown, and if the Crown went to war with America, India must contribute for it; or if the Crown embarked in a European war, India must contribute. This, I trust, would not be allowed by Englishmen as just. Again, the interests of the Colonies are as much, or perhaps more, involved in this principle. What are they contributing to the present expedition? And would they be always ready to act according to the principle laid down in the extract I have read? Sir Stafford Northcote has been at great pains to show that the news about the Abyssinian captives, and the efforts made to release them, is carried to the natives of India, and that in undertaking this expedition the opinion of the people of India about the power and resources of England is most important to be taken into consideration. If it be considered so important that the prestige of England should not suffer in the slightest degree in the estimation of the natives of India, then that is just the reason why Parliament should not have passed the resolution. For it will be naturally thought that though the English Government admit that the war is for their own purposes, that it is for liberating their own captives, that it is for vindicating England's honour; yet they, while ready to spend five millions, or ten millions if necessary, to protect their country's honour, and to punish its insulters, take from India a little because India cannot help herself. That cannot increase the prestige of England in India; it is likely to have just the contrary effect, not only among the natives of India, but perhaps among all Asiatics.

Let us now consider the precedents brought forward by Government for what they propose to do now. We have the Persian war and the Chinese war referred to. There is one important difference between the precedents I have brought before you and those of the Government. In the precedents I have referred to there were two parties, both able to take care of themselves, who negociated with each other, and who were able to strike the right balance between them; whereas in the case of Government precedents the holder of the purse was also its disposer, without any voice from the owner, and therefore the transactions themselves required examination. Even granting, for argument sake, that former transactions were in just proportions, they are not at all applicable to the present expedition. The Persian war and the Chinese war do not bear analogy to this. In the Chinese and Persian wars we can, at least, trace some Indian concern—with the former commercial, with the latter political, the alleged necessity of arresting Russian progress; but Government itself acknowledges that, in the present expedition, Indian interests are not concerned. All these present complications have arisen without the India Office or the natives of India having anything to do with the matter. It is entirely the Foreign Office affair. Even at present it is the Foreign Secretary who takes the whole brunt of the battle in Parliament, and the only way in which India is brought forward is that it is the best agency through which the Foreign Secretary can accomplish his object of carrying on the war in the cheapest and most expeditious way possible. Sir Stafford Northcote says—"All that India undertakes to do is to lend her troops, without charge, as long as she can spare them. That is the principle upon which we have proceeded, and which, I contend, is a just and liberal one. I say it is just, because India really loses nothing whatever in point of money; she only continues to pay that which, if the expedition had not been ordered, she would still pay; and it is liberal, because India places at the disposal of Her Majesty forces which the Imperial Government could not obtain without paying for them." If to be prevented from saving when saving can be made, is not losing, then I do not know what losing means. Again, if India loses nothing, then how can there be any liberality? I have no doubt if England ever needed aid or liberality, India, from very gratitude to England for the position in which it now stands, ought, and would, strain every nerve to give it. But is the present such a case? The world naturally does not like trustees to be liberal to themselves. It is a matter of regret more on account of England herself, that she should present the spectacle of, on the one hand, being able and ready to spend any number of millions for her honour,

and on the other of taking a few hundred thousand pounds from India for the pay of the very troops to be employed in vindicating that honour. However, had Government stopped at the argument of liberality, or sense of gratitude, or friendly feeling towards England, there would not have been much to complain of, and the natives, perhaps, would have been glad to have been looked upon as friendly; but by citing precedents for justification, and arguing for rights, the question assumes a different aspect, and occasions the present discussion. Then the Government has taken very great pains to prove that after all what India has to pay is very little, and that if all the former precedents were followed, it would have had to pay more. But suppose it is a small affair, then it is a greater pity that they should have made so much fuss about it, and not paid this little themselves, and should not have taken this opportunity to show that they are as just as they are strong and rich. Sir Henry Rawlinson says—"Our system of Government in India was essentially for the maintenance of our power, and when we spoke of Indian interests we meant our own interest as the ruling power of India." If that is the case, and that is the guiding principle of the Government, then against such argument of the rights of might there can be no discussion. But I believe the English Government to be guided by the principles of justice and truth and not of the rights of might. Sir Henry Rawlinson says—"The Royal Navy now fulfilled gratuitously all the duties connected with the defence of India, that were formerly discharged by the Indian navy—a service which drew heavily upon the Imperial Exchequer; and in many instances the Home Government had sent out, at its own expense, expeditions of which the objects more nearly related to India than to the rest of the British Empire." I have no right to question the truth of that statement. I only say if it be true, and as it is also intimated by Mr. Gladstone, that India is better off in its financial relations with England, it is indeed a great pity that the natives of India should be allowed to remain under a false impression. If it be true that England has, on occasions, performed services for India to which India has not contributed, it is in the first place necessary, for the sake of justice to both parties, that the financial relations between the two countries in respect of those services should be fairly examined and adjusted; and next, if India has been so benefited as alleged by England, it is proper and just that India should know and feel that benefit, and knowing it be grateful for it. At present India is under the impression that England, having the purse, appropriates it at its own pleasure, and that unjust burthens have been placed upon her. As Sir Henry Rawlinson has not given us any instance of what he refers to, we

are left in the dark; but against his statement there is one of another authority, equally, if not more important. Lord Cranbourne says—"At all events the special injustice of the course now about to be pursued consists in this—that when we employ English troops in India they are paid for out of the Indian revenues from the moment they land in that country; but when we employ Indian troops on English duty, we say that India must pay for them.". I do not, of course, impute to Sir Henry Rawlinson, who has only lately given a signal instance of his sense of justice to India, that he would state anything that he did not thoroughly believe. I wish he had given the cases, for it is very desirable, for the sake of both countries, that the real state of the case, in regard to this matter, should be known. It is also necessary to know how far the Colonies, which also benefit by the Royal Navy, contribute to it. Then there is some stress laid upon this, that India benefits by this expedition; that by the expedition going from India, stores are brought there, and money is poured into the country; but nobody can seriously urge that, therefore, India must contribute to the expedition. I do not suppose that cotton merchants, or ship owners, paid anything towards the American war because they benefited largely by its occurrence. The fact is, that India is resorted to on this occasion in order that the interests of the English tax-payer may be served in the best possible manner. Lord Stanley distinctly stated that he referred to the Indian Secretary, and to the Indian authorities, in order to carry out the expedition in the most successful way. He found in India a ready machinery for carrying out the expedition. That induced the English Government to make India the basis of operations. In concluding my remarks I once more suggest that the discussion should be confined to the one point which I have brought before you, and I hope that we shall follow the advice of our noble Chairman, and not be guilty of any personalities, but shall confine ourselves entirely to the arguments of the case. It is my sincere conviction that Lord Stanley or Sir Stafford Northcote would never allow any injustice intentionally. All their acts would at once refute any contrary assumption. I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Fawcett and the other twenty-two members, and the English press, for their advocacy of justice to India.

IV.

MYSORE.

(Read before a Meeting of the East India Association, London, Friday, July 5th, 1867. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., M.P., in the Chair.)

I trust the meeting will make some allowance for the imperfections of this paper, hurriedly prepared within two days; and by their own temperate, disinterested, and judicious discussion, make up its deficiencies.

It is discovered by Lord W. Hay that Lord Wellesley drew his pen through the words "heirs and successors," and it is therefore argued that Lord Wellesley therefore intended the subsidiary treaty to be only a personal one. The question then naturally arises, whether any alterations made in drafts can affect the actual compact ultimately agreed upon? Next, had Lord Wellesley any right to depart from the stipulations of the partition treaty, which is the sole authority for the subsidiary treaty? The very draft of the subsidiary treaty goes to show that the drawer of the treaty naturally felt that the subsidiary treaty was to be an hereditary treaty. If we accept the argument now based upon the new discovery in the British Museum, we are driven to the necessity of casting a reflection upon the character of Lord Wellesley. For leaving aside, for the present, the consideration and proper interpretation of the words "unnecessary and dangerous," this discovery, as it is proposed to be interpreted, would mean that a British statesman, knowingly and intentionally, just left *in* words enough to lull any suspicion, and left *out* words enough for some private ulterior motives. Here are the words left *in*: "A treaty of *perpetual** friendship and alliance"—and, "as long as the sun and moon shall endure;" just sufficient to lull any suspicion, and yet, behind the back of the other contracting party, "heirs" and such words are omitted, in order that when the opportunity came, advantage might be taken of the omission. I sincerely trust that the present English statesmen are not going to hold out this as an edifying and statesmanlike course of conduct to be learnt by the natives from their enlightened English teachers. No, I do hope that a more reasonable and satisfactory explanation may be given of the discovery which Lord William Hay has brought to light. I shall revert to this point again further on. It is urged that the words "as long as the sun and moon shall endure" are only conventional

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* The italics in all the extracts are mine.

terms; and in support of this, the following sentence is quoted from Sir T. Munroe:—"The terms employed in such documents, 'for ever,' 'from generation to generation,' or in Hindu grants, 'while the sun and moon endure,' are mere forms of expression, and are never supposed, either by the donor or the receiver, to convey the durability which they imply, or any beyond the will of the sovereign." On what authority or grounds this proposition is laid down I cannot say. If it means anything, it means that there are no such documents as were really intended to mean perpetuity by the donor and receiver. According to this proposition the British Government can make one clean swoop of all property possessed under any grants whatever; for even the words "generation to generation," and "for ever," are not safe from its grasp. Then again, were there ever perpetual grants made or not under the former rulers? and how could they ever be considered so if words like "for ever" and "from generation to generation" were meaningless? It is true that high-flown compliments, raising one to the seventh heaven, or becoming one's most humble servant or slave, are mere forms, but to say that words expressing the duration of an engagement mean nothing, is more than I ever knew among the natives. I wonder how such duration can or was ever expressed, if not by the words "during life," or "for ever," or "from generation to generation," &c. To me it appears that it is not correct to assume that both the receiver and the donor did not understand the words to mean what they said, but that the Hindu sovereign, being in the very nature of his position a despotic sovereign whose will *was* law, and *above* law, and at whose mercy lay, not only any grants, but even any property whatever of his subjects, as well as their lives, did sometimes confiscate by his will such grants, though originally intended to be perpetual. Such arbitrary exercise of power could not, however, make the contract the less binding, but there was no power above that of the will of the sovereign to compel him to abide by his contract; it was simply the power of might over right. But this treaty is not of a Hindu sovereign. It is drafted and made by Englishmen for an English sovereign. Is the English sovereign the same despotic ruler? Is it right for the Englishmen to boast of their superior political condition, in which the sovereign is no less subordinate to law and bound to good faith than the meanest subject, and yet, for a purpose like this, suddenly to sink down to the level of the despotic Hindu rulers? Whatever may have been the conduct of the Hindu rulers in such matters, certainly the English rulers ought to set a better ex[illegible] [illegible]se

when they are parties to the words "as long as the sun and moon shall endure," not only in the Mysore treaty alone, but quite pointedly again in another treaty of 1807, explanatory of the third article of this very subsidiary Mysore treaty: by the words, "these four additional articles, which, *like the original treaty of Mysore*, shall be binding on the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure."

Such pointed expression of the duration of the treaty of Mysore, coupled with the words "treaty of *perpetual* friendship and alliance," at the very heading of the treaty itself must certainly make any English statesman who has the slightest consideration for the honour of his country's word, pause before trying special pleading. I appeal to you as Englishmen to say whether, had such pleas been put forward by a native ruler, the most indignant denunciations would not have been poured out, not only against himself but against the whole Hindu race? How loud and angry would have been the uproar of the virtuous indignation of the upright Englishmen against the innate depravity and treachery of the Hindu race? And yet it is calmly pleaded by English statesmen, that in their language, in treaties made by themselves, when it suits the occasion, "perpetual" means "temporary;" that the duration of the existence of the sun and moon means only a man's lifetime; and that "treaties" mean "deeds of gift." But, strange to say, as the sun and moon sometimes send a ray through the heaviest cloud, to assure poor mortals of their existence, the sun and moon of this treaty have sent one stray ray through the heaviest cloud. In the dispatch of August 31, 1864, from Sir John Lawrence to Sir Charles Wood, it is said:—"By the favour of the British Government, and in the exercise of its sovereign right, acquired by conquest, the Maharaja was raised from a prison to the government of a large principality, *subject to conditions*; which, if fulfilled by him, would have been the safeguard of his authority, and the guarantee of *the continuance of a native rule* in Mysore." Now, I leave to you, gentlemen, that if this treaty was simply a personal treaty, what is meant by "subject to conditions which, if fulfilled by him, would have guaranteed the continuance of a native rule in Mysore?" Are there, then, certain conditions in the treaty guaranteeing the continuance of a native rule in Mysore? Then what becomes of the personal character of the treaty?

Now, revert to the question, whether Lord Wellesley had a bad intention in drawing his pen through certain words, or whether he meant to do something consistent with a faithful performance of his obligation

under "the partition treaty." The only explanation I can at present see of Lord Wellesley's proceedings, is this. There is no doubt in my mind that Lord Wellesley did not mean to act in bad faith; that in allowing the words perpetual, and about the sun and moon, to remain, he did mean what he said; but that his object in striking out the word "heir," &c., was to keep such full control over the native principality as to enable the English Government to oust any particular oppressive sovereign, and put some other in his place, or, in cases of disputed succession, that the English may be able to decide in favour of one or the other without being encountered by the difficulties which the word "heir" might occasion; that the word "unnecessary" in the margin means that as far as permanency of native rule was concerned, the words "perpetual" and "as long as the sun and moon shall endure," are sufficient; and that the word "dangerous" means the strong title which an "heir" may maintain, and thereby lessen the complete English control; and that according to practice a new treaty may be made with every successor, with such modifications as time and circumstances may require. I venture to offer this explanation for your consideration, leaving alone the question whether any departure from "the partition treaty" was justifiable. I cannot, however, persuade myself that a statesman like Lord Wellesley would be guilty of such a mean act as the present discovery of Lord William Hay is made to imply. I do not stand here as the advocate of either the Raja or the English. I wish only for justice and truth, be it on the one side or the other.

Much has been said about Lord Canning not having sent the adoption *sunud* to the Raja. Was Lord Canning justified in doing so? Did he do so as a punishment for the Raja's past offences? This is not the case, as the Raja was declared deserving of reward for his thorough loyalty. Two reasons are urged: first, it was because Lord Canning knew that the Raja intended to leave his territories to the English. By admitting this position, Lord Canning admitted the power of the Raja to bequeath; but it was subsequently urged that the treaty itself did not entitle him to any such adoption. Now, I ask, do English words mean one thing in one treaty and another thing in another treaty? If not, I request explanation for the following anomaly.

The treaty of 1805, with the Raja of Travancore, is, *word for word*, in *all* its important portions bearing upon the present issue, the same with the treaty of Mysore. I give these portions in the Appendix.

Now I trust it is a fair question to ask, why the very same words which in the Travancore treaty entitled the Travancore Raja to the

adoption *sunud*, did not mean the same-thing with the Mysore Raja. The parallel, however, does not end here. The Raja of Travancore, like the Raja of Mysore, also incurred the displeasure of the British Government, and the latter were going to assume the internal administration of the country. But the Raja died. Nobody, however, then thought of interpreting the treaty of 1805 as a personal one, and the heir was allowed to succeed. The difference, then, in the cases of the Raja of Mysore and that of Travancore, seems to be that the latter, by his death, made the treaty of 1805 an hereditary one, and the former, by living longer, has rendered, in some mysterious way, a similar treaty a personal one. It is pressed that Sir Stafford Northcote ought not to have reversed the policy and gone against the opinion of three governor-generals and two secretaries of state. Sir Stafford can well be left to hold his own. He needs no defence at my poor hands. But I ask, Is it because the others were right that Sir Stafford should not have reversed their acts, or is it meant that even they were wrong, Sir Stafford should have abided by their decision? I know full well what English prestige means in India. In fact, it is the settled opinion of the natives for the English high character, that is your principal charm and spell over them. When once that is broken, half your strength is gone. But it is not by special pleadings, or persisting in a wrong course, that the prestige will be increased. Howsoever vehemently or authoritatively may assertions be made of honest decisions, the natives can think for themselves, and can know where there is real honesty and where there is sham. If Sir Stafford has subverted the decision of fifty governor-generals and as many secretaries, if he has but done what is right, he will have increased your prestige far more than any amount of persistence in a wrong course. I trust the objectors on the ground of authority do not mean to contribute a wasp of an idea to Mr. Buxton's collection, that "the perpetration of a wrong is a justification for persisting in it." If the objectors mean that the former decision was right and Sir Stafford is wrong on merits, then let them discuss on merits only, instead of holding up the bugbear of high and many authorities.

Again, it must be remembered, that we look for authorities when the subject is exclusively a study for few students; when the materials for ordinary judgment are not sufficiently accessible, and when therefore decisions for action can only be based on authority, the number and positions of authorities are matters of importance; but as in the present case, when the materials are at the command of all who choose to see

them, when Sir Stafford Northcote is exactly in the same position as any other individual, to judge for himself, how could mere priority of time give to the others an infallibility? On the contrary, Sir Stafford ought to be, if he make a right use of his opportunities, under a proper sense of responsibility, in a better position to decide rightly, having the views and arguments of his predecessors before him.

There is again the argument of the good of the people of Mysore. I hope I am not dead to a desire for the welfare of any people, and more especially of my own countrymen. The picture of an Englishman holding off the savage ruler from his victim is no doubt a very pretty and gratifying one, but unfortunately there is a little want of truth in it, and a little daub in it. First of all, the Rajah repeatedly offered to allow such arrangements for the welfare of the people as would be satisfactory to the British, and so there is no savage king tearing up his victim. But then, is not in that case the Rajah a mere puppet? How strangely does this exclamation come from persons who pride in their sovereign being not a despot, but subject to law and order, and guided by wise and able ministers. What constitutional sovereign is not a puppet, if to govern under fixed and well-regulated administration be to be a puppet? Besides, it is a strange reflection upon the British Government that with their control and influence they do not bring up the native princes in the way they should go. Besides there being some untruth in the picture, there is this daub. In the corner of the picture the natives of Shorapore and the assigned districts restored to the Nizam stand surprised at this turn of philanthropy. Now is it possible for the native to increase his esteem and believe in your sincerity with such inconsistent conduct before them, notwithstanding the most vehement assertions of your desire for the good of the Mysoreans?

To destroy the native rule in Mysore it is pressed that as Englishmen have settled there, it ought to be taken into English possession. This I suppose is an invention of the nineteenth century. What a fine prospect this opens up of conquering the whole world without much trouble. Some Englishmen have only to go and settle in a country, and then the English Government has simply to say, "You see English people cannot be managed by you, therefore you should give up the country to us;" and there is a conquest!" But, unfortunately for the inventor, those stupid fellows the French and other continentals, the Americans and such others, won't see it.

Then again, is this an encouragement to the ... ...tive ... allow Englishmen to settle in their country, ... the

the contact of English enterprise and knowledge? If they take such a step the result is loss of rule, on the plea that Englishmen cannot be managed by natives. If they do not, then they are blamed for being apathetic, and indifferent to the best interests of their dominions and people.

The important question constantly arises, Who is to judge when the British Government and a native prince are at issue? How can the decision of the stronger party in its own favour be free from the suspicion of being interested? Cannot, when such important questions of the rights of Government arise, an important judicial commission of some of the best judges of this country be appointed to try the matter? I should think that, considering the confidence the natives of India have in the integrity, uprightness, and independence of English high judges, the natives would feel satisfied to have such issues tried by such impartial tribunals: otherwise the native, like anybody else, naturally thinks when the decision is against him, that injustice is done to him; and it is only when the justice of the decision is so clear as to be *entirely* above suspicion, that the British Government does not run the risk of being considered as having taken advantage of their might against right.

I have not here entered upon the general question of adoption, as in the present case the reason urged is that the Rajah is by the treaty itself not entitled to leave his territories even to his own son, any more than to his adopted son. Nor do I here enter into a discussion of the general question of annexation, nor into that of the rights of the Nizam, as the present decision of the Secretary of State renders this discussion unnecessary.

I would not take up much of your time upon the subject of the relative position of the Nizam and the British power at the time the subsidiary treaty was made, and the real source of that treaty. I shall simply quote a few sentences from two or three treaties, leaving you to draw your own inferences. In the treaty of 1790, between the English, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, Article 6 says—

"The three contracting powers having agreed to enter into the present war, should their arms be crowned with success in the *joint* prosecution of it, an *equal* division shall be made of the acquisition of territory."

In the treaty with the Nizam of 1798, in the preamble it is said—"And the present juncture of affairs, and the recent hostile conduct and

evil designs of Tippoo Sultan, so fully evinced by his sending ambassadors to the Isle of France, by his proposing to enter into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the French republic against the English nation, and by actually receiving a body of French troops into his dominions, and immediate pay, rendering it *indispensably necessary* that effectual measures for the *mutual* defence of their respective possessions should be immediately taken by the three allied powers united in a defensive league against the aforesaid Tippoo Sultan," &c. &c.

In the treaty of 1800 with the Nizam occur these words:

"Who, with uninterrupted harmony and concord having *equally shared the fatigues and dangers of war and the blessings of peace, are, in fact, become one and the same in interest, policy, friendship, and honour*."

The partition treaty of 1799 says—

"And whereas it has pleased Almighty God to prosper the just cause of the said *allies*, the Honourable English Company Bahadoor, and his Highness Nizam-ood-Dowla Ausuph Jah Bahadoor, with a continual course of victory and success, and finally to crown their arms by the reduction of the capital of Mysore, the fall of Tippoo Sultan, the utter extinction of his power, and the unconditional submission of his people; and, whereas the said *allies* being disposed to exercise the rights of conquest with the same moderation and forbearance which they have observed from the commencement to the conclusion of the late successful war, have resolved to use the power which it has pleased Almighty God to place in *their* hands for the purpose of obtaining reasonable compensation for the expenses of the war, and of establishing permanent security and general tranquillity for themselves and their subjects as well as for all the powers contiguous to their respective dominions. Wherefore a Treaty for the adjustment of the territories of the late Tippoo Sultan between the English East India Company Bahadoor, and his Highness the Nawab Nizam-ood-Dowlah Ausuph Jah Bahadoor, is now concluded by . . . . . . according to the undermentioned articles, which, by the blessings of God, *shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure*, and of which the conditions shall be reciprocally observed by the said contracting parties."

The above extracts show what the relative position of the English and Nizam was, and the last extract shows that "the partition treaty" was binding on both parties for ever.

This partition treaty, binding, as above stated, on "heirs and successors" of the contracting parties, provides in Article 4—

"*A separate government shall be established in Mysore*; and for this purpose it is stipulated and agreed that the Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor, a descendant of the ancient Rajahs of Mysore, shall possess the territory hereinafter described upon the conditions hereinafter mentioned."

Again, in Article 5 :—

"The contracting powers mutually and severally agree that the districts specified in Schedule C, hereunto annexed, shall be ceded to the said Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah, and *shall form the separate government of Mysore, upon the conditions hereinafter mentioned.*"

Article 8, again, throws some light on the relative position of the Nizam and English :—

"Then the right to the sovereignty of the several districts hereinbefore reserved for eventual cession to the Peishwa Rao Pundit Prudhan Bahadoor, shall *rest jointly* in the said *English East India Company Bahadoor, and the said Nawab Nizam-ood-Dowlah Ausuph Jah Bahadoor* WHO *will either exchange them with the Rajah of Mysore for other districts of equal value more contiguous to their respective territories, or otherwise arrange and settle respecting them, as they shall judge proper.*"

Article 9 gives the conditions referred to in Article 5, and is the authority of the subsidiary treaty.

So the facts are these : A *separate* government of Mysore was to be formed, and which stipulation is binding on the heirs and successors of the contracting parties. The question then simply is, Was Lord Wellesley justified in introducing anything into the subsidiary treaty that would in any way destroy the "separate government of Mysore," or anything beyond the condition contained in Article 9 as to the provision for a subsidiary force ?

This is Article 9 :—

"It being expedient, for the effectual establishment of Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah in the government of Mysore, that his Highness should be assisted with a suitable subsidiary force, it is stipulated and agreed that the whole of the said force shall be furnished by the English East India Company Bahadoor, according to the terms of a separate treaty to be immediately concluded between the said English East India

Company Bahadoor and His Highness the Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor."

In accordance with Article 9 of the partition treaty, given above, the subsidiary treaty was made, and the preamble simply recites the same purpose, as it in honesty ought.

The heading begins with the words, "A treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance;" then the preamble says, in accordance with the partition treaty :—

"Whereas it is stipulated in the treaty concluded on the 22nd of June, 1799, between the Honourable English East India Company Bahadoor and the Nawab Nizam-ood-Dowlah Ausuph Jah Bahadoor, for strengthening the alliance and friendship subsisting between the said English East India Company Bahadoor, his Highness Nizam-ood-Dowlah Ausuph Jah Bahadoor, and the Peishwa Rao Pundit Prudhan Bahadoor, and for effecting a settlement of the territories of the late Tippoo Sultan, *that a separate government shall be established in Mysore*, and that His Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor shall possess certain territories, specified in Schedule C annexed to the said treaty, and that, for the effectual establishment of the government of Mysore, His Highness shall be assisted with a suitable subsidiary force, to be furnished by the English East India Company Bahadoor, wherefore, in order to carry the said stipulations into effect, and to increase and strengthen the friendship subsisting between the said English East India Company and the said Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor, this treaty is concluded by Lieutenant-General George Harris . . . . . and by His Highness Maharajah Mysore Kishna Rajah Oodiaver Bahadoor, *which shall be binding upon the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure.*"

Nothing can be clearer than the preamble, distinctly based upon the partition treaty, which binds for ever the English for a "separate government in Mysore," and providing for a suitable force. And yet this is the treaty which is endeavoured to be made personal, and by which some Englishmen have created a right of annexation

Let us see the treaty further on. The very first article treats the two parties on an equality of duties, like two independent powers :—

"The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered as the friends and enemies of both."

Further articles relating to the question are given in the Appendix.

I shall make only one more short extract, which shows that the assumption of power by the British Government was not to be perpetual, but temporary. These are the words in Article 5 :—

"Provided always, that whenever and that *so long as* any part or parts of His said Highness's territory shall be placed and shall remain under the exclusive authority and control of the East India Company," &c. &c.

I leave now to you, gentlemen, to say whether the subsidiary treaty could, under all these circumstances, be considered as a simple personal treaty, and that the English have the right to annex Mysore on the death of the Rajah ?

This paper is written by me not for complaint, but for thanksgiving. To Sir Stafford Northcote, as well as to Lord Cranbourne and the few councillors who sided with them, sincere thanks are due not only from the natives of India, but even from Englishmen, for having to the former done an act of justice—or if you will have it, a proper and politic act of generosity—and for the latter, vindicated and maintained to the natives of India and to the world the character of the English nation for justice and liberality.

What gratitude and admiration such noble words as the following from Sir S. Northcote deserve, needs no comment from me :—"And we should endeavour as far as possible to develop the system of native government, to bring out native talent and statesmanship, and to enlist in the cause of government all that was great and good in them."

The following letter was addressed to Lord William Hay in connection with the above subject :—

32, Great St. Helen's, London,
8*th July*, 1868.

My Lord,

I again take this opportunity of thanking you for pointing out to me without hesitation what you considered as an oversight on my part. I have no object in this matter except truth and justice. We may now see whether I have really made any mistake. You will please first remember that the words "perpetual," or "for ever," or "as long as the sun and moon shall endure," or words of that character, are not admitted by you as of any consequence in giving to the treaty a permanent character. You want the words "heirs and successors," or either of them, to make the Mysore Treaty a permanent one.

In the Travancore Treaty of 1795 the word "heirs" does not occur anywhere. The word "successors" does occur often; but, as you will see below, in the Treaty of 1805 *great care* is taken not only to strike out this word "successors," or any other words of similar import, but even pointedly to describe the Rajah of Travancore as one of the contracting parties, as "His Highness the Rajah of Travancore *for himself*," which words "for himself" are not used even in the Mysore Treaty. This itself would be sufficient to show that if the subsidiary Mysore Treaty was a personal one, the Travancore Treaty of 1805 was especially, by the special wording of that treaty, a still more personal one for the Rajah with whom that treaty was concluded.

Now, if under the 5th Article of the Mysore Treaty the English were entitled to take the administration of Mysore into their own hands and afterwards to claim that the country should not be restored because the Mysore Treaty was a personal one, it was the more logical, that as the Treaty of 1805 was concluded by the Rajah of Travancore "for himself," and as the special stipulation made "*by himself*" was infringed by the Rajah, that therefore under the treaty his country should have been annexed. I say that this single circumstance of the words "for himself" would have been enough, according to the argument adopted with Mysore case, to annex Travancore to British India, which was not done.

But I proceed further, and show that the Travancore Treaty of 1805 was, *with all possible care*, made to correspond in every possible way with the Mysore Treaty, and whatever may have been Wellesley's objects (which it is not at present my purpose to search for), it is clear that the Rajah of Travancore was put in the same position as the Rajah of Mysore, or if anything in a worse one, by the words "for himself."

In the preamble of the Treaty of 1795* the Rajah, as a contracting party, is described not only by his own name, but is further described as "the *reigning Rajah* of Travancore," while in that of the Treaty of 1805 the Rajah, as a contracting party, is described simply as "His Highness the Rajah of Travancore *for himself*."

Article 2 of 1795 is modified by Article 1 of 1805. It will be seen in this that while in the Treaty of 1795 the words used are "the country of the said Rajah or of his successors," in that of 1805 the words "his successors" are omitted.

* See Appendix, in which both the Treaties of 1795 and 1805 are given.

Article 3 of 1795 is modified by Article 3 of 1805. It will be seen that in the Article 3 of 1795, "The Rajah of Travancore doth engage for himself and *his successors*," while in Article 3 of 1805 the words "his successors" are omitted, and only "His Highness engages to pay," and only "His said Highness further agrees."

Article 4 of 1795 is modified by Articles 3 and 4 of 1805. It will be seen that while in Article 4 of 1795 the stipulations are on behalf of "the Rajah and his successors," in the corresponding Articles 3 and 4 of the Treaty of 1805 the words "his successors" are omitted, and instead of "the Rajah and his successors" the words are only "the said Maharajah" or "His Highness."

Articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty of 1795 are modified in the 7th and 8th Articles of the Treaty of 1805. Now it will be observed, that while in the Articles of 1795 the Rajah is described, "the Rajah present and *future*," "the Rajah or his successors," and "the reigning Rajah of Travancore *for the time being*," in Articles 7 and 8 of 1805, we have neither "Rajahs future," nor "his successors," nor "reigning for the time being," but only "His Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor," "His said Highness," or "His Highness."

Article 7 of the Treaty of 1795 is repealed by Article 2 of 1805 Now in the Article 7 of 1795 we have "the *said reigning* Rajah *for the time being*," while in the 2nd Article of 1805 we have only "Ram Rajah Bahadoor." I do not suppose it was intended, or that it has been, or that it is likely to be, so acted upon, that after the death of this Ram Rajah Bahadoor of the Treaty of 1805 "his successors" would, by the 7th Article of the Treaty of 1795, cancelled, as above shown, be made to pay again what was released and discharged in this Article 2 of 1805.

Article 9 of the Treaty of 1795 is altered by the Articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty of 1805. Now it will be seen, that while in Article 9 of 1795 there are the words "Rajah or his successors' country" in the Articles 5 and 6 of 1805, the words are only "the possessions of his Highness Ram Rajah Bahadoor," or "his Highness."

The above Articles 5 and 6 of 1805, are the most important Articles by which the British Government came to have *any right* to interfere in the administration of the country, and in providing for this new right, Wellesley not only omitted the words "successors, &c.," but adopted almost entirely the language, word for word, of the stipulations of the

Mysore Treaty. This right of interference is essentially the of the Treaty of 1805, and can be exacted in terms of that tre without any reference to any previous treaty, for previous treat nothing to say on this point: and so far as any interference is co it is with Ram Rajah "for himself," as the contracting party, arrangement was made by Wellesley.

Now, is it a fair inference or not, that by so deliberately and ca omitting in *every* Article of the Treaty of 1805 the words "succes "for the time being," "Rajahs in future," &c., Wellesley delibe intended to bring the position of the Rajah of Travancore to the of the Rajah of Mysore? And is it not also fair to infer, that had part of Article 9 and Article 11 of 1795 which are the only Arti (out of the few which have not been modified) that contain the w "successors" by implication or directly, been also modified or repeated in Treaty of 1805, the word "successors" would have been deliberately carefully struck out? If not, then why were they struck out througho the *whole* of the Treaty of 1805, However, whether you admit th inference or not, what does the Article 9 of the Treaty of 1805, fro which you quoted, amount to? It cannot certainly renew and confir what is altered in the Treaty of 1805. It renews and confirms tha part of the Treaty of 1795 which is not modified in that of 1805. Now there are only part of Article 9, and the Article 11, which contain directly, or by implication, the word "successors," to which this confirmation can be of any consequence for the present argument (if the confirmation is at all such as you suppose, which is not the case, as I shall show hereafter). But I ask again whether, had these clauses been at all touched in the Treaty of 1805, Wellesley would have allowed the word "successors" to remain? However, be this as it may, for whom does the Article 9 of 1805 "confirm and renew" the remaining Articles of 1795? It is distinctly for the "contracting parties." And who are the contracting parties? The Indian contracting party of the Treaty of 1805 is not, as in the Treaty of 1795, the "Rajah and successors," or "Rajahs future," or "for the time being," but only "His Highness the Rajah of Travancore for himself," and nobody else any more than I.

Now what I say is this, be the intentions of Wellesley what they may, they were the same with regard to the Rajahs of Travancore and Mysore, and the two treaties are on the same footing; and that this is clear by his having so carefully and deliberately expunged the words successors, &c.

in *every* Article in the Treaty of 1805, by adopting the very phraseology of the Mysore Treaty in that of 1805, as far as possible, and by "confirming" in the 9th Article, for the "*contracting parties*" only, and not for "successors," &c.

I hope, therefore, you will now be satisfied that I have not been inaccurate in my statement, and that I had carefully compared the Treaties of 1795 and 1805; and I am correct in stating, and in accordance with the Travancore Treaty of 1805 and the Mysore subsidiary Treaty, the Rajahs of Mysore and Travancore were deliberately put on the same footing by Wellesley, whatever that footing was.

As you do not desire any controversy upon the merits of the Mysore case annexation, &c., I do not enter into that discussion, and content myself with the simple remark, that in my humble opinion your remarks on that subject are refutable.

I remain, yours truly,

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

LORD WILLIAM HAY.

V.

ADMISSION OF EDUCATED NATIVES INTO THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

(Read before a Meeting of the East India Association, London, Friday April 17th, 1868. E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., in the Chair.)

GENTLEMEN,—Since our deputation waited on the Secretary of St for India with the Memorial* relative to the Indian Civil Service, I fi several objections urged from different quarters; and, as I see that M Fawcett is going to move a resolution, I beg to submit for your cons deration my views on those objections. They are, as far as I have me with, principally these.—

1. That the natives are not fit, on account of their deficient ability, integrity, and physical power and energy.

2. That Europeans would not like to serve under natives.

3. That native officials are not much respected by the natives, and that when a native is placed in any position of eminence, his fellow-countrymen all around him are ready to backbite and slander him.

4. That natives look too much to Government employment, and do not show sufficient independence of character to strike out for themselves other paths of life.

5. That though natives may prove good subordinates, they are not fit to be placed at the head of any department.

6. That natives who seek for admission into the Civil Service should be Anglicised.

7. That natives ought not to be put in positions of power.

8. That the places obtained by the natives will be so many lost to he English people.

9. That natives are already largely employed.

To avoid confusion, I give hereafter the replies to these objections arately, but it is necessary to guard against being drawn into a

* Appendix B.

necessary that *all* the candidates both of this country and of India should be subjected to the *same* examination, papers for both written and *vivâ voce* examinations can be sent from here, to be opened in India in the examination rooms on the same day as they are opened here; and in the case of the *vivâ voce* examinations (whether papers are sent or not, or questions additional to those given in the papers are put by the examiner for obtaining fully the object of the *vivâ voce* examinations), if the examiners are required to write down all the questions put and answers given, with such remarks as may occur to them as to the manner of the replies of each candidate, the Commissioners here will be well able to control the whole examination, and bring it to a common standard. If, on the other hand, the Government of India be left to carry out the examination in India, there will be no difficulty whatever in finding a competent staff of examiners. It is neither desirable, nor should it be expected by the natives, that the English portion of the service should not be larger than the native; and a small portion of the annual appointments left to be competed for in India, is all, I think, that they can at present fairly ask. In that case the latter plan of leaving to the Government of India to conduct the examinations would be preferable. The chief objection to this latter plan is that by a separate examination a native may come in who may be inferior to the English candidates rejected here. To avoid this difficulty, either the first plan of "same papers" must be adopted, or, if the Government of India adopt a sufficiently high standard of examinations and a high minimum, considering that the number of appointments will be very small indeed compared with the number of candidates who are likely to compete in such a large population, the successful candidates will not only be comparatively, but absolutely, good and superior men. Again, on the other hand, the chief objection to the "same examination for all" is that as the number of candidates will be in the course of time much larger in India than here, on account of the immensely larger population from which they will come, there is some chance that the Commissioners may find a much larger number of natives coming high than the Secretary of State may think desirable to give appointments to. If, therefore, any natives are then rejected and their English inferiors are selected, the cry of injustice will naturally arise, which contingency ought, I think, to be avoided. Upon the whole, therefore, I think leaving the examination to the Government of India, with a sufficiently high standard, will be the most practicable plan, as the chance is very slight of inferior men passing in a very large competition. Again,

whether the examinations should be held in some one place only, or at all the Presidency towns, is another question. This can be well left to the Viceroy. Each Presidency is so large a country by itself that, if a distribution of the appointments were made among them, the work of the examiners will be ample, and the civil servants being thus drawn from the different localities of India, a larger and more varied experience will be introduced into the service than if they were all or most of them drawn from one province only, which I think will be an advantage. These details, however, had better be left to the judgment of the Secretary of State.

As to the general character of the candidates, the certificates will be mostly from the English heads of their colleges, about whom certainly nobody can object that they would not be as conscientious and honest as the heads of the colleges here. The weight of any other certificates that may be produced by the candidates can easily be judged of by the examining authorities. In short, Government may adopt such rules as they may deem necessary to get the Indian candidate of the same level with the English, whether in acquirements, *character, physical energy*, or in any other particular. If the natives fail in coming up to a fair standard, it would be their own fault; *they only ask a fair trial.* Now suppose any inefficient person by some accident found admission into the service (which is very unlikely in a large competition for very few places), or suppose that after admission the integrity of any was not found satisfactory; there is no difficulty for Government in discharging such a person. By his appointment once he does not become a permanent fixture. Nor is it incumbent upon Government to promote any servant who does not prove his fitness for promotion. So there is no reason whatever why the enactment of Parliament or the proclamation of our Sovereign should not be fairly carried out, and the mere bugbear of the fear that some native *employé* may misbehave himself be allowed to interfere with a necessary act of justice and policy.

As to the locality for the examinations, Clause XXXII. of the Act of 1858 does not fix any. The Secretary of State for India is not prevented from holding examinations where he may think necessary.

The second question will be the necessary expenditure, but it is only natural and quite evident that the natives would only be too glad to have any necessary portion of the revenue devoted to such purposes.

I need not here do more than simply state that the two requests made in our memorial have been by some confounded with each other as alternatives, but you are aware they are not so. The very wording of the second request and the speech of Sir H. Edwards shows that the two requests have two different objects, the first to give a fair, free, and impartial chance to the natives to enter the Indian Civil Service on the same footing as Englishmen, and the second to send out natives in various independent professions to India, "where by degrees they would form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence on native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and their English rulers."

When I moved the memorial, I did not go further into this matter than pointing out that our Sovereign and the Parliament, and the press as representing the people of this country, and the present Government were of the one opinion which is expressed in the words I have quoted before from an Act of Parliament and from the proclamation of our Sovereign. Even now the press of this country, while commenting on the Blue Book of the comparison of the British and native rule, have almost unanimously declared that a fair field for the aspiration of natives of ability and character is one of the most important wants of the British rule, both to make it beloved as well as as efficient. I also then urged that the best interest of the service required that the first competition for selection should take place in India, in order that selection of qualified natives may not be made from a small body only, but to select the *best* talent and character from the *whole* talent and character of the country.

With such a clear case of law, justice, and necessity, we may think, and properly too, that I should have nothing more to say, and that my paper should end here. So I had thought on the occasion of proposing the memorial, but as some objections have been since started from quarters, no matter of whatever character, and as it is likely that some members of Parliament may desire to know the value of these objections, though, as I have explained before they are all now quite irrelevant, I discuss them one by one.

1. "That the natives are not fit, on account of their deficient ability, integrity, and physical power and energy.

The reports of the education department of India and of the administrative departments show what the abilities and acquirements of the

natives are, and how offices of trust and responsibility hitherto entrusted to educated Indians have been discharged by them.

The testimony as to the ability and intelligence of the natives is now complete, that the intellect of the natives of India is equal to that of any other people. Its ancient literature speaks for itself, and the result of modern education is that its universities declare, year after year, that their work is successful, and that graduates begin to number by hundreds, and undergraduates by thousands. I shall revert to this point again shortly, in connection with the question of integrity.

With regard to the general integrity and character of the whole nation, it would be too long to go over the ground I have once treated in my paper on the European and Asiatic races. Nor is it at present necessary for me to do so, as the question now before us is not the indiscriminate employment of natives generally in high offices of trust and responsibility, but only of that class which proves itself qualified by its high education, ability, and character. Now, it would be a strange commentary on the educational results of the English colleges in India (which are very justly regarded, both by the English nation and the natives, as one of the greatest boons and blessings conferred by England upon India), and on the character of all English intellectual, moral, and scientific literature, if the highly educated youths of these colleges did not also attain to high moral character. But as in the immutable order of nature a good seed can never produce bad fruit, especially in a soil that has once proved itself fertile, it is not the fact that the education of these colleges does not raise the sense of moral duty of the students. I might here reason out a long argument to show why the natives ought to be and are as good as any other people under similar circumstances; but, as any length of argument or number of assertions will not carry conviction home to those who have now to pronounce on this point so completely as a few actual facts, I applied myself to this task. Before I give you the result, I have to make one observation. I do not do this in any spirit of recrimination, or ill-feeling, nor do I wish to urge the delinquencies of any one class as any justification for those of another; but it is only in simple fairness and justice that I ask English gentlemen to make proper allowances. Those gentlemen who so often cast stones at the want of integrity and the corruption of the natives, should not forget how some Englishmen in India, in former days, were suddenly transformed into rich nawabs; how Mr. Drake got his Rs. 280,000, or how a number of others got their lacs to side

with one or other of the contending native princes, to the tune of some millions sterling within nine years, from 1757 to 1766,* and how, after selling their power and influence in India in the above manner, the Company bought their power in the English legislature, by bribing in the legislature to something like 90,000*l.* in the year 1693;† how the Company's servants cheated their own masters; how, in Mr. Mills' words, in one matter, "The conduct of the Company's servants upon this occasion furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice, and even of shame."‡ It is natural for gentlemen who have received a high education, and who begin their Indian service or life with high pay or profits, and high prospects, to feel indignant at the bribery and corruption of the poor people with low education, low pay or profits, and low prospects, and exclaim how can such things be. But if those gentlemen would only observe a little more around themselves, observe the amount of fraud and "doing" in this metropolis, if they would only remember the cry very recently raised against butchers and grocers, and discounts for servants, the convictions for false weights, the puffs of advertisements, the corruption among the "independent and intelligent electors," and their respectable corruptors, that, as said above, English gentlemen bought and sold power, and that several Englishmen from the lower classes are not behaving quite creditably in India now, &c., they will then see that such things not only can be, but *are* to be found even in this country under similar circumstances, learn to make allowances for similar phenomena among other people, and agree in the "decided conviction" expressed by the Court of Directors,§ that "we have no right to calculate on them (the natives) resisting temptations to which the generality of mankind in the same circumstances would yield."

The real question now, gentlemen, is whether, when natives are as highly educated as Englishmen, they attain to the same character for integrity or not, whatever may be the difference of opinion about the character of the whole nation, or of native agency generally.

I have collected a large amount of testimony with regard to native agency. Here I have in my hand a pamphlet of ninety-five pages, entitled 'Evidences relating to the Efficiency of Native Agency in

* Mills' 'British India,' vol. iii., ed. 1826, p. 326. † Ibid., vol. i., ed. 1826, p. 115

‡ Ibid., vol. iii., ed. 1826, p. 300.

§ Letter to Bengal Government, dated 23rd July 1824.

India, published under the superintendence of the British India Society, reprinted with a supplement by the British Indian Association, Calcutta, 1853.' This pamphlet contains a collection of the testimony of Indian officials up to 1853. We have further in the Parliamentary reports of the same year a large amount of evidence on the same subject, and also a good deal scattered over in different works, or in periodical literature. But for our present purpose nearly the whole of this mass of evidence is inapplicable; and therefore useless to lay before you. All this evidence has been chiefly upon the question of native agency *generally*, but the present question is not the efficiency and integrity of the natives generally, but of the particular body who can pass the ordeal of a high examination and produce satisfactory testimony of character. I therefore thought proper to request several Indian officials now resident in this country to give me their opinion. I addressed the following letter:—

"I shall be exceedingly obliged if you would kindly give me your opinion as to the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives employed in the various departments of the Indian service in offices of trust and responsibility."

To this inquiry several gentlemen have kindly replied. I give you all these replies in Appendix A, and leave you to judge for yourselves. Out of the testimony already published I give you a few extracts only in the same appendix, which directly bear upon the present question. It will be observed that the appended testimony represents *all* parts of India. Sir W. Denison's opinion appears unfavourable. He admits that there *are*, even though as exceptions, some natives who *are* serving the state with efficiency. Now it is only for men like these, and who can also prove their character, no matter whether they are few or many, that our memorial asks for free admission. It is only those natives who can prove their ability by passing through a severe ordeal, and who can also prove their character by satisfactory testimony (and not natives indiscriminately), that we ask admission for. And even after such natives are admitted, if any is found wanting, either in efficiency or integrity, there is nothing to prevent Government from dismissing him. Nor is Government bound to promote, unless satisfied with the merits of any servant. Against Sir W. Denison's opinion representing Madras, we have, on the other hand, a different opinion from Lord Harris, Sir C. Trevelyan, General Briggs, and Mr. Edward Maltby. On a fair estimate of the whole evidence, I venture to conclude that the educated natives of India, when employed in the public service,

have proved their efficiency and integrity. My humble testimony may be worthless, especially in a matter in which I am one of the petitioners; but I think I may at least say what I conscientiously believe, that as a native, and therefore having good opportunity of knowing the private character of the educated natives of the Bombay Presidency, many of whom were my students, fellow-students, friends, acquaintances, or fellow-labourers in public movements (without undertaking to give an opinion as to their efficiency, though I know well their ability), I conscientiously believe that their integrity is undoubted, and that they are actuated by a true and genuine sense of moral duty in their good conduct and public spirit. Among them a spirit of condemning any lapse of duty, to the want of which, among natives generally, Sir R. Wallace alludes, is getting very strong, and the severest reproach that any one administers to another is to tell him that he did not behave in a way worthy of his education. The feeling among them is very strong, that their high education demands from them a high moral character, and a performance of their duties. I can give extracts of open censure from the native press. Our present rulers may well be proud of such result of their educational establishments, and point to it as one of their strongest claims upon our loyalty and gratitude. It only now remains for our rulers to let such results bear good fruit, instead of running into discontent and mischief, by giving a fair and reasonable scope for the talent evolved. The question is simple: either the natives must be allowed to have a fair share in the administration of the country, or the nation must be kept ignorant, and the rulers take the chances of the results of such ignorance and hatred for foreign rule combined therewith.

I am glad to say that as far as I am aware of the views of some of the English principals and professors of the colleges in the Bombay Presidency, they are the same with mine, and it is with much pleasure I find that Sir A. Grant, the present Director of Public Instruction, has distinctly recorded his opinion as follows. In his report as Principal of Elphinstone College,* for 1862-63, he says, "As far as my experience goes, nothing can be more untrue than the common notion that English education is injurious to the moral principle of natives. In the College, I have invariably found that students improve in trustworthiness and respectability in direct ratio to their improvement as scholars." Any doubts about the physical energy or pluck of the candidates can easily be removed by requiring any tests for the purpose. Certainly the

* Bombay Education Report, 1862

people with whose assistance, as the native army, the British Indian Empire has been mostly built up, cannot be pronounced as wanting in physical power and energy. They ought to have a fair trial. From the political cause of long subjection to foreign rules, and several religious and social causes, it cannot be denied that the people of several portions of India are enervated,—those of Lower Bengal I am told especially; and some Englishmen, observing the effeminacy of these people, have drawn the general conclusion with regard to all India. But about this very people Mr. Anstey told us the other day*: "Who were the Sykhs when their prophet first found them out? Poor miserable starving fugitives from Bengal, of whom their great founder, knowing well the stuff from which Asiatics were made, looking with a prophetic eye into the future, said, 'I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle.' In comparison with the great dignity of Aurungzebe, it was the sparrow as compared to the eagle, and in less than a century the sparrow did strike the eagle."

Let, therefore, the natives once feel that it is time for them to shake off this effeminacy, and that, under the blessing and ægis of the British rule, there is full scope for the head, heart and hand, and I have no doubt that they will prove themselves worthy of the power and civilization they once possessed, and of the blessing of the new regeneration now bestowed upon them by the light of the higher enlightenment and civilization of the West by their British rulers.

In short, whatever may be the value of the objection as to the efficiency, integrity, and energy of the natives, the very fact that none can find admission into the service who are not qualified as required, removes the objection altogether. I once more wish to impress that it is not only the willingness of a native to be examined that will find him admission into the examination-room, but he will have to prove to the satisfaction of Government that he is a person of character, in the same way as the candidate is required to do here; that his further promotion will be entirely in the hands of Government, and his failure will bring dismissal.

2. "That Europeans would not like to serve under the natives."

This I cannot help considering as a libel on the English character. I have a much higher opinion of it than to believe that Englishmen are not capable of appreciating and respecting true merit. Moreover, facts

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* Journal of the East India Association, No. 2, p. 182.

disprove this objection. The native judges of the high as well as the subordinate courts, and natives in any other position of eminence, are respected by English subordinates. Englishmen serve both here and in India native masters with every respect. In the Bombay dockyard, Englishmen served under native superiors. In short, it would be strange if it were otherwise, for Englishmen are especially alive to merit. Why, if there be any Englishmen in the service, who should be so lost to their sense of duty and appreciation of true merit as to be reluctant to serve under natives of merit, they do not deserve to be in the service at all.

3. "That native officials are not much respected by the natives, and are envied and slandered."

This objection can only be the result of the ignorance of the feelings of the natives towards officials of real merit, be they Englishmen or natives. The gratification of seeing their own countrymen rise in dignity and honour is naturally as great among the natives as among any other people. That narrow minded or interested people will *envy others is a trait which can be met with as much among any other* people as among the natives of India. Only some weeks ago I read in the 'Hindu Reformer' of Bombay, of 15th January last, "We hail with excessive joy the selection of Mr. Mhadeo Govind Ranade, M.A., LL.B., Niayadhish of Kolapore, to fill the chair of English Literature and History in the Elphinstone College. . . . . The honour which is thus conferred on Mr. Ranade is as much deserved by him as it is suggestive of his superior accomplishments as a scholar, and we have not the slightest doubt that it will cause much satisfaction to all who take an interest in the cause of the education of the youth of this Presidency." This is a fair specimen of the feelings of the natives towards their countrymen of merit. I can give more extracts if necessary. When I was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the same college, I can candidly say that I think I was looked upon with very kindly feelings by my countrymen around me generally, as well as by the students of the College and the masters of the school departments. The feelings of my European colleagues were so kind towards me that I shall always remember them with pleasure and gratitude.

Turning to official testimony, I think none can be more satisfactory and complete than the following :—

In one of the Government Gazettes of Calcutta, of last year, the following paragraph appeared :—"The Governor-General in Council has

received, with sincere regret, official intimation of the death of the Honourable Shamboonath Pundit, one of the Judges of Her Majesty's High Court at Fort William. The Honourable the Chief Justice in communicating this intelligence to the Governor-General has said, 'So far as Mr. Justice Shamboonath Pundit was concerned, the experiment of appointing a native gentleman to a seat in the High Court has succeeded. He had a considerable knowledge of his profession, and a thorough acquaintance with the natives. I have always found him upright, honourable, and independent, and I believe that he was looked up to by his countrymen with respect and confidence.' The interest which both in India and England attaches to the experiment of placing a native gentleman in the highest judicial situation in the country has induced the Governor-General in Council to make public the opinion of the Honourable the Chief Justice, in which His Excellency entirely agrees."

Certainly the above extracts prove anything but envy. They also disprove the first objection as to the ability and character of the natives. Sir A. Grant is no ordinary judge of scholarship, and that *he* should appoint a native as Professor of English Literature and History speaks volumes. The testimony of the Governor-General and the Chief Justice about Pundit Shamboonath speaks for itself.

The Court of Directors say, "The ability and integrity of a large and increasing number of the native judges to whom the greater part of the civil jurisdiction in India is now committed, and the high estimation in which many among them are held by their fellow countrymen," &c.*

The North-West Provinces report that the Courts of Honorary Magistrates appear to possess the confidence of the people.†

4. "That natives look too much to Government employment, and do not shew sufficient independence of character to strike out for themselves other paths of life."

This is also contrary to facts, and has its origin in superficial observation, or in the knowledge of particular localities. That they should look to Government appointments, and wish to aspire to a share in the administration of their own country, is only as natural with them as with Englishmen here. Until lately there were very few openings for educated men. The legal profession being now open to them, many

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* 'Educational Despatch of 1854', p. 77.

† 'Return, Moral, &c., Progress, 1867', p. 88.

are going to it. The medical profession is availed of as far as it can be, in spite of the prejudices against dissection. But except at the Presidency and some other large towns, an educated doctor can hardly get practice suited to his position; the number, therefore, of well-educated practitioners who can at present pursue this profession with profit is limited. The fact that European doctors chiefly confine themselves to the Presidency and some few other towns, shows that the field for educated medical men is not yet very large. The educated theological profession has yet to be created, except among native Christians. The Gujurati Hindus of India have been merchants from time immemorial, and they are still as enterprising as ever. There is a large internal commerce carried on by the natives. Many among educated natives would gladly become merchants, or follow other professions, if they had the requisite capital or means. During the years 1862-64, when there was such a rush for trade and speculation, many natives left Government service. The manufactures of England, especially textile, have broken down very much the corresponding industries of India; and now, as the establishment of manufactories is a question of large capital, it is naturally shut to those who do not possess it. Still, several natives get employment in such as are established. In railways and other works they are ready to be employed. Besides, civil and marine engineering is adopted by several.

In short, this objection may be answered briefly in this way—that there are only about 400 natives in Government service at a salary above 300*l.* per annum and upwards (see Return 201-206, 1858, 223; sec. ii, 1859). What do all those other thousands of natives do who are also earning as much? So far as the native finds an independent opening, he does not fail to take advantage of it. I know from my experience of the educated natives of the Bombay Presidency, that they are very glad to have independent careers.

So far was I convinced of this and of the necessity of affording facilities for new careers, that I made an attempt in 1864 to adopt some means to enable highly talented natives to continue their studies for professional careers *after* completing their college education. One of the natives of Bombay offered a lac, and some others Rs. 1,75,000 for two fellowships of Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 per month respectively, and asked Government to contribute as much; but unfortunately the offer was not accepted by Government.

In addition to these fellowships, which were intended to encourage high education and high independent careers, there was also started for the less educated, and the enterprising spirits generally, a "Students' Loan Company," to lend money at moderate interest to persons wishing to visit England and other places, to complete their education or to learn any trade, art, or profession. The Rs. 300 fellowship and the Students' Loan Company were intended for the benefit of all India. The commercial crash broke down all these proposals. I don't think that there can be any question that the natives do *not* look to Government employments any more than the people of any other country in similar circumstances. Supposing, however, for argument's sake, that there was among the natives some tendency to look a little too much to Government employments, that certainly can be no good reason that they should therefore be debarred from aspiring to a reasonable extent to a share in the service of their own country when *qualified* by their ability and character. It is said that this tendency was observed in Lower Bengal, but, even in that part of India, the tendency, if it ever existed to any unreasonable extent, is now changing. The body of independent barristers, solicitors, and vakeels, doctors, and merchants shows that even the Bengalees are not blind to the advantages of independent careers as they become open to them.

5. "That, though natives may prove good subordinates, they are not fitted to be placed at the head of any department."

Without giving a fair trial, such an objection is, to say the least, very unreasonable. Besides, the objection is not borne out by facts. In any instances in which natives have been put in positions of trust and responsibility, they have shown themselves equal to their duties, as you must have seen from the evidence I have read to you. If, in any case, Government found inefficiency, there could be no difficulty in removing it, just as it does with English servants. Moreover, after getting admission into the service, the natives would not be put at the head all at once. They will have to show their efficiency, and to work their way up; and Government will have every opportunity of testing whom they can trust and whom not with higher positions.

6. "That natives who seek for admission into the civil service should be first Anglicised."

The education that natives receive in India is in itself a process of Anglicising them, with this advantage, that they retain the sympathy and knowledge of their own country; and if a native is required to

visit this country after his selection by the first competition, the object of the visit to this country will be realized. If it be thought that two years' visit to this country is not enough, there can be no difficulty in arranging and requiring the native successful candidates to spend a little longer time here; beause the reasons why English candidates are required to go India at an early age do not apply to the natives, as the natives do not require to be acclimatized, nor do they require the same time to learn the character, thoughts and habits of the people that foreigners do.

I do not mean to say that young boys should not also be brought here for education. But there are many difficulties and troubles for taking care of them. Unless good care is taken to keep them within the charm of the circle of good society, there is some danger of evil instead of good resulting. When those educated in India come here at a mature age, everything they see is novel to them, every moment of their sojourn here is valuable, and spent in comparisons; they return to India *enthusiastic*, and do much good. We know what good a Karsandas Moolji or a Dosabhoy Framjee has done to their country by their visits here. Now, it is not to be understood that the objections given above to very young boys coming here, or what I have said in favour of visits at a greater age, apply generally. There are some youths under my care for several years, who I am sure, will do credit to themselves and benefit to their country. I give the above *pros* and *cons* not as a speculation, but the actual result of my experience during the past twelve years, during which time a good many youths have been under my care, coming here at different ages, from about ten to twenty-one. Upon the whole, I think that the necessity of coming here at an early age cannot be reasonably urged against holding examinations in India. There is much to be said in favour of both early and late visits to this country, and the best course will be to have a proper proportion of both. As I shall point out hereafter, there are strong objections urged to making compulsory any visit at all to this country, either before or after selection, on account of the caste difficulty for the Hindus, who form the majority of the native population.

7. "That natives ought not to be put in positions of power."

If the British rule is to be based on willing consent and sincere loyalty, it is necessary that means be adopted to give the natives an interest in and a gratitude for the British rule, by giving them a reasonable share and voice in the administration of the country. If India is a trust for

the good of India, that trust ought to be faithfully discharged. It is rather strange that there should ever have been at this day a necessity to ask whether the British or native rule was more liked by the natives The question should have been by this time put beyond all doubt. There is no comparison between law above sovereign and sovereign above law. I must wait for another opportunity to give my views fully on this subject. If, instead of fearing to give a reasonable share of power to the natives, our rulers would do what remains to be done, they may well challenge the whole world to say whether they have not acted nobly. Unless the people are taught what British rule and machinery of administration are, and are brought up with the idea that the British rule is a blessing to them, it is simply unreasonable to hope that they could appreciate what they do not understand. We may as well expect the blind to appreciate a painting. If with this knowledge, by national education, is associated a gratification of the high aspirations and patriotic feelings of the educated native for a voice and share in the government of his country, and if the material prosperity of the mass is promoted by a bold policy for public works to develop the resources of the country, and if the princes and the aristocracy be sure of good faith with them, and receive the benefit of good advice, Britain may well point to its handiwork with pride, and India may for ever remember with gratitude the hand that raised it. If, in consideration of the interest which England has to retain her power in India, it gave India the benefit of all her influence and credit, by guaranteeing the Indian debt, the relief to India of some two millions a year will go far to the attainment of the other objects. Great indeed would that statesman be, the benefactor of India, who would achieve this glorious work of regenerating a nation of 200 millions. If the British don't prove better rulers, why should they be in India? However, be the value of the above remarks what it may, one thing is certain, that among the remedies pointed out, and those I think as necessary to make the British rule popular and beloved, this one at least, of giving freely and impartially to the natives a share in the administration of the country, is admitted on all hands by those who have given their opinions to the Viceroy, and their reviewers in the Press and Parliament. I will just remark here that, in connection with the necessity of giving a voice in the application of the revenues, the very modest proposal made in a petition by the British Indian Association of Calcutta, reported in the 'Times of India' Summary of 7th March last, will, I hope, have due consideration from the Secretary of State for India.

That there is no danger in entrusting power to educated natives is

proved by the well-known fact that they understand and appreciate *most* the benefits of English rule, and, in the words of Sir B. Frere, "And now, wherever I go, I find the best exponents of the policy of the English Government, and the most able coadjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the natives of India, among the ranks of the educated natives," &c. &c. I also showed this at some length in my paper on "England's Duties to India."

8. "That the places obtained by the natives will be so many less to the English people."

The mere statement of this objection is its own condemnation as to its selfishness and want of a due sense of justice, statesmanship, and the high moral responsibilities of the British in India It is the plain duty of Government to secure the most efficient service they can, and for that purpose let the words proclaimed in the name of the Sovereign be honestly fulfilled, "that as far as may be our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be *freely* and *impartially* admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity to discharge." To compel the natives to come to England for competition for service in their own country is no more reasonable, free, or impartial, than it would be to compel Englishmen to go to India or Australia for admission into the Civil Service in England.

9. "That natives are already largely employed."

The facts, however, are these. There are above 1,700 Europeans in the covenanted services in India at a cost of above three millions per annum, at a salary of from 240*l.* to 25,000*l.* per annum (Return 116 to 1860). There are 849 Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the uncovenanted service, at salaries of 300*l.* and upwards; while of *natives there are only about 600 at a salary at and above 240l. a year* (Return 201—vi. 1858, 223, sec. ii., 1859), of whom about 350 are between 240*l.* and 360*l.* per annum. This return will also show how very few—only about a dozen—natives there are at salaries at and above 840*l.* a year. Since these returns there have been some few more *high positions given to the natives*, but I cannot say whether there is yet any or more than one or two above the salary of 2,000*l.* per annum.

In my remarks of course I don't mean to say that there are not, and would not hereafter be, found black sheep among the educated natives as among any other people, but that in a fair trial the natives will come up to the average of ability and honesty of any other pec

There is only one more point to which I wish to draw your attention. To the Hindoo the caste question is socially of great importance till the system is broken down. It may be said that a candidate for the Civil Service ought to show that he has the moral courage to break through such trammels. This he would do by his visit to this country *after* his selection, but it is certainly not reasonable to expect that any one should subject himself to great sacrifices both of money and social position on the risk of the uncertain result of his venture. If he succeeds in his competition in India, he acquires a certain position of respect, and he can then well undertake the journey to this country with the 100*l*. for the first year, and 200*l*. for the second year, which will be allowed to him by Government, with the double object of completing his qualifications and of giving a finish to his education, and of dealing with the trammels of caste with advantage. It is not proper to sneer at the cowardice of submitting to the caste system. The English even now have their trammels in other shapes, as of fashions, society, &c., and had till very lately their exclusive guilds. The English ought also not to forget at what cost reformations have taken place in Europe, and what previous preparation of the revival of knowledge has been necessary, and has led to them. The Hindu institution of caste has a growth of centuries, and over a people numbering above a hundred and fifty millions. It is so intimately mixed with some of the most important social relations of births, deaths, and marriages, that due allowance ought to be made for the difficulties and sacrifices of overcoming its difficulties.

Some English and native gentlemen, with much effect, urge that the Hindus should not be subjected to this sacrifice at all, by being required to come to this country even *after* selection. When I consider the advantages of travelling in foreign countries, which is so much considered of for the youth of this country even, when I see the necessity of the natives in high positions being able to deal with English officials on a footing of equality in the knowledge of the world, especially of the English world, I cannot help still urging that the visit to this country after the selection should be insisted on; though I think the first Hindus coming here, even *after* the selection, will have to put up with much inconvenience and sacrifice, and be something of martyrs in a good cause.

I am also emboldened to adhere to this opinion by finding that some of the native papers of Bombay, conducted by *Hindus* themselves, have

also expressed their views that the visit to this country after selection is desirable. Moreover, in the petition from the Bombay Association, adopted at a large and influential meeting at the house of its President, the Hon. Munguldass Nathoobhoy, and by last advice being extensively signed by *all* classes of natives, it is also proposed, "that if necessary they (the selected candidates) may be required to proceed to England to receive a course of special training, prescribed by the existing regulations, for which there are greater facilities in Europe than in India." Besides, though there may be some inconveniences to the first native civilians, the respectability of their position, and the certainty of the number of such officials increasing every year, will give them in time sufficient weapons to fight their battles against losing caste. Also, if I am not mistaken in my impression, I think the following circumstance has already met the difficulty, or at least prepared the way for the visitors to this country, *after* their selection, being able to deal with some ease and power with the question of losing caste. I remember, whether from reading or from conversation I cannot tell, that his Highness the Holkar intended to send some pundits to this country He called a meeting of the learned Brahmins, and asked their opinion. It was decided in that assembly, that persons going abroad for *State* purposes do not lose caste, because in the glory and height of Hindu power, ambassadors went to different courts for state purposes. If so, that will be just the proper argument for *selected* candidates. After their selection, being servants of the *State*, and being required by their Sovereign to visit this country for qualifying themselves for State purposes, they cannot lose caste.

It is said by some that if Government grant the second part of our memorial, by conferring scholarships upon youths after a certain competition, those youths will be able to study for the service and compete here; and the object of opening the service freely and impartially to the natives of India will be gained. Nothing can be a greater mistake, I think. Now it must be borne in mind that the scholarships are intended to leave the scholars holding them free to pursue whatever professional study they like, in order especially to create an independent class of educated native gentlemen. If the stipend of these scholarships is sufficient to enable youths to come here, its natural effect will be that most of them will prefer other independent professions, as certain in their results, to studying for the Indian service with the risk of failure, and the want of opportunity to learn any profession afterwards. Then to the Hindu the failure in the competition here will be

the greatest injury possible ; for having first incurred the penalties of losing caste, and the displeasure of his friends, the mark of failure on his forehead, no matter whether deserved or not, would render him an object of ridicule among his countrymen. Such an amount of sacrifice it is utterly unreasonable and cruel to exact. But after he is selected in India, and is sure of his position, it is reasonable for important purposes that some sacrifice and inconvenience should be asked from him. There is another way in which mere dependence upon these scholarships will not secure the free admission of the *best* talent of the country. We must remember that it is not the horse who makes the best start that always wins. So by this plan of scholarships, if even all studied for the Indian service, contrary to the real object, the State well be spending money upon good starters only, whether they may ultimately succeed or not. But by allowing the competition in India, the State without this expenditure gets the actual winners of the race in a competition of a large number, who have proved their mental calibre as well as their character, by their stay through a trying college course and by fulfilling all the conditions of ability and character for admission, and who at an advanced age can be left by their friends to act as they like, and are able to take care of themselves. While the boys are very young, many parents would be unwilling to allow their sons to go to a distant country out of their own care, and thus again the area of selection for the scholarships will be much limited, but young men at the age required for the competition are more free to act and more able to take care of themselves. So that we then have a competition among all those who have proved talent and character. You will see, therefore, that though these scholarships may remove the obstacle of money, there are, in the case of the Hindus especially—who, it must be borne in mind, form the principal population of India—other most serious obstacles, which can only be dealt with by transferring the examination for a portion of the selection to India.

The Governor-General in his resolution last year admits that "he is fully alive to the urgent political necessity that the progress of education has created, for opening up to natives of ability and character a more important, dignified, and lucrative sphere of employment in the administration of British India;" and as the remedy, his Excellency recognizes the eligibility of natives for only some higher grades in the non-regulation provinces. First of all the natural effect of this will be that those serving and living in those provinces will very likely have in time the little benefit thus held out, while in the regu-

lation provinces—those in which education has advanced most—the natives of which have the greatest claim for a share in the administration as British subjects of long standing, should be required to incur all the sacrifices and risks (which to the Hindu are of no ordinary order) involved in a visit to this country for several years as youths. If the political necessity is so emphatically admitted by the Viceroy, I do not see how it is possible to rest satisfied with offering a few situations in the non-regulation provinces. Mark again, it is only to men of ability and character. If so, how can anything short of a free competition in India give a satisfactory fulfilment to this political necessity, and an honest performance of the promise of our gracious Sovereign?

Such honest and candid declarations of necessity and justice, when followed by poor and inadequate fulfilment, naturally create dissatisfaction and irritation.

It is said that high appointments in the uncovenanted service may be given to natives in the regulation provinces also, but if qualified natives are to be trusted with such high appointments in the uncovenanted service, in regulation or non-regulation provinces, why are they unfit to enter the covenanted service? Certainly no one means to say that high uncovenanted appointments require less trustworthiness, responsibility, respect, or confidence than covenanted appointments. Has the word "uncovenanted" such a charm that it at once removes all those objections which are urged against the free and impartial admission of qualified natives into the covenanted service? If the declarations of Government are sincere, of which I have no doubt, then I see no escape for the honest fulfilment of the words of our Sovereign and Parliament from holding examinations in India, as proposed by us, so as to put *all* Her Majesty's subjects on a fairly equal footing.

Again, in the uncovenanted service also, the principle of appointment or promotion should be fitness, no matter whether the right person be European or native, only that the principle should be honestly adhered to.

It is sometimes urged that natives do not learn for learning's sake. It is strange anybody could be expected to appreciate a thing before he knows what it is. Educated natives fully appreciate learning.

I hope, gentlemen, I have satisfied you that educated natives have already shown ability and character as among any other people (and which is tacitly admitted by the Viceroy himself), and that the only

honest way of fulfilling the promise of our Sovereign and Acts of Parliament, of securing the best talent for the service, and of increasing the loyalty and gratitude of India, is by giving a free admission to such natives of ability and character by competition in India.

You will have observed that I have not entered into any discussion of the great benefit to the administration and of the encouragement and inducement to high education, not only among the people generally, but among the higher and aristocratic classes, by the granting of our petition. The whole of India will by this concession be quite electrified. But as on this point there is no doubt or question, it is unnecessary for me to take up your time, nor could I enter on it fully in this paper.

Now, gentlemen, I have said my say, and leave to you to say or act as you think proper. I conclude by moving the resolution of which I have given notice:—

"That a letter be addressed to the Secretary of State for India, with a copy of this paper, to request him to take it into his consideration, and in reply to Mr. H. Fawcett's motion, to accede to the memorial presented on 21st August last by a deputation from this Association."*

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* Appendix B.

VI.

THE WANTS AND MEANS OF INDIA.

(The following paper, which had been previously circulated among the Members, was taken as read, in a Meeting at the Society of Arts, London, Wednesday, July 27th, 1870. Sir Charles Trevelyan, K.C.B., in the Chair.)

GENTLEMEN,—After the able paper of Mr. Prichard, and the calm, earnest, and thoughtful address with which we have been so kindly favoured by Sir Bartle Frere, I intended to plead some justification for troubling you to meet a fourth time upon the subject of finance. I think, however, that now I need not offer any apology, as the occasion of this meeting will give us the opportunity of knowing the views of our Chairman, of whose long experience and ability you are already well aware. In order that he may have sufficient time for his address, I circulate this paper beforehand, so that all the time saved in its reading will be turned to much better account by him. I propose the following question: Is India at present in a condition to produce enough to supply all its wants?

I shall first see what its wants are.

1st. Sufficient food, clothing, and shelter for the whole population, to keep it in a healthy condition.

2nd. Sufficient to provide for all its social wants, arising from various social duties and positions.

3rd. A sufficient saving by each individual, and of the wealth of the nation generally every year, to meet any unforeseen contingency of natural calamity.

4th. Means for improvements or new public works.

5th. Means to pay for the high price of foreign rule, which causes a great and continuous drain in consequence of the amount withdrawn from India to the extent of 10,000,000*l.* annually.*

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* "Home charges" (exclusive of railways) are nearly 8,000,000*l.*, and out of about 9,000,000*l.* paid in India to English employés of all classes, I take only [illegible]

as assumed by me. (I have treated this subject at some length in my paper "On England's Duties to India." 'East India Association Journal,' vol. i., No. 1.)

The first four wants are common to all nations; but the fifth want is peculiar to India. It is one of the principal elements of disturbance which causes our financial troubles. The whole question of the existence of a foreign rule depends upon this peculiar circumstance. No foreign rule can maintain itself unless it manages to enable the country to produce not only sufficient for the ordinary wants of a civilized nation, but also for the price of the foreign rule itself. If the foreign rule fails to produce this result, its existence is naturally felt as a crushing burden to the nation, and either starvation, decimation, and poverty, or rebellion against the foreign rule, is the inevitable consequence. If therefore our British rulers desire to perpetuate their rule, and I sincerely trust they may be able to do so for a long time to come, with benefit both to England and India, they must look this question in the face. Let them distinctly ask themselves whether India is at this moment producing enough for all its ordinary wants and the 10,000,000*l*. or so more that must be remitted to England every year for the price of the English rule. It is no use blaming the Finance Minister or the Viceroy if they are required to supply all these wants while India is not producing enough for the purpose, for they cannot produce something out of nothing.

One would think that India, on account of this one circumstance of having to remit some 10,000,000*l*. clean out of the country, was heavy weighted enough in its race for prosperity. But in addition to this, it has 100,000,000*l*. of national debt. If the whole interest of this debt were being retained in India, it would not be a matter of so much consequence economically, but out of the total registered debt of India some 15,000,000*l*. are held in this country, besides the loans raised here of about 30,000,000*l*. This makes an annual interest of about 2,000,000*l*. to be remitted to this country. Again, of the registered debt of India, which is about 60,000,000*l*., nearly 30,000,000*l*. are held by Europeans, so that a portion of the interest on that amount is also transferred to this country. There are besides 600,000*l*. for interest on East India Company's stock. Thus, then, there is another item of about 3,000,000*l*., besides the 10,000,000*l*. sterling for the price of the English rule, which India has to produce every year over and above its ordinary wants. Moreover, I shall take the total item at 12,000,000*l*. to be on the safe side, or even 10,000,000*l*. Again, during the past twenty years while the railways have been building, the present generation has been put to the strain of providing some 30,000,000*l*. in the shape of guaranteed interest for railways. Of this about 14,000,000*l*. have been recovered from railway income. But what we have to bear in mind is that the burden of providing these 30,000,000*l*.

was first thrown upon the present generation when it could least afford to do so, for the benefit of the future.

But there is not an end to all yet. The present generation has been compelled to spend within the last twelve years in what are called "original ordinary public works," somewhere above 30,000,000*l.*, independent of repairs amounting to about 9,000,000*l.*, and all this heavy outlay at the sacrifice of the present generation for the benefit of the future, or as if all these public works were only to last for the year when they are built!

Such is the strain to which the present generation has been put, and now I ask, Can any one prove that our English rulers have, while putting on such heavy burdens, enabled India to produce enough to meet these wants? or has India been to some extent starved to meet these requirements? If so, is it an act of justice to the present generation to crush them so heavily for the benefit of the future, instead of arranging matters in such a way that the present and the future should be made to contribute in the proportion of their capabilities and their benefits?

The next question is, What does India produce? I do not presume to be able to answer this question completely. My chief object in this paper is to set the friends of India here to discuss this vital question. If anybody can satisfactorily show that India *is* producing sufficient for its wants, none shall be more glad than myself. I shall be glad because I have as much desire to see the British connection with all its moral benefits continue for a *very* long time, as that India should not be starving and in distress. Now let us see what the economical condition of India is.

I am obliged under the pressure of the current work of our Association to prepare my paper at much disadvantage, and am therefore not able to place all such figures before you as I might otherwise have done. I am compelled to content myself at present with those ready at hand.

In the United Kingdom the imports of the ten years 1858 to 1867 are (including bullion, &c.) 2,640,000,000*l.*, and exports 2,110,000,000*l.* These imports include all remittances, such as interest on or repayment of loans to foreign countries and India, and say, a good deal above 100,000,000*l.* of political remittances from India. On the other hand, we have to deduct from exports about 80,000,000*l.* of railway loans and other public loans during the period raised for India, as also any loans

remitted to foreign countries. I omit taking minor items into account. Upon the whole, I think it will be admitted that the non-commercial exports must be greater than the non-commercial imports. In other words, the actual excess of the commercial imports over commercial exports must be a good deal more than the difference of the figures I have given above, *i.e.* 2,640,000,000*l.* minus 2,110,000,000*l.*, equal to about 530,000,000*l.*, giving something like 25 per cent. profit on the amount of exports. In order to be quite within limit, I suppose no one will object if we put down the commercial profits of any nation to be 15 per cent. or even 10 per cent. Such is the economical condition of the United Kingdom. I may just remark here, whether it is not unjust or mistaken to make any comparison between the position of the finance ministers of England and India. The former has a highly prosperous country, in which nearly the whole revenue of 70,000,000*l.* returns back to the taxpayers themselves, and which is further aided by the political remittance of some 10,000,000*l.* a-year from India, while the latter has a poor country, of which the whole revenue of 50,000,000*l.* does not return to the taxpayers, but some 10,000,000*l.* of it go clean out of the country.

Let us further see how the Colonies are faring—for instance, Australia and Canada. The imports of Australia, including bullion, &c., during the same ten years (1858-67) are 309,000,000*l.*, and exports (including bullion, &c.) 268,000,000*l.*, leaving excess of imports over exports of about 41,000,000*l.* The imports of Canada (including bullion, &c.) are 148,000,000*l.*, and exports 120,000,000*l.*, leaving excess of imports 28,000,000*l.*

This shows how the Colonies are prospering; while under the same British rule, as I shall show hereafter, India is "very poor."

Let us take the United States before examining Indian figures. The total imports for the years 1868 and 1869 are 381,000,000 dollars and 468,000,000 dollars, while the corresponding exports are only 341,000,000 dollars and 365,000,000 dollars.

Now with regard to India, I again take the ten years 1858-67. Before I give the figures for these years, it must be borne in mind that, as I have shown in my paper "On England's Duties to India," England has down to the year 1858 derived from India during the connection of the two countries as the price of English rule, at the lowest computation, without adding anything for interest or booties or bribes of former times, more than 500,000,000*l.* This amount on the one hand has fructified in

the hands of the energetic and enterprising people of this country,—I cannot venture to say how many fold,—and on the other hand diminished so far the productive power of India. This drain has to be made up by some wise, statesmanlike policy of our rulers. Leaving this, however, for the present alone, and taking India as it is, we find that even with the help of opium and the productive benefits of the railways, as well as irrigation and other works, increased land under cultivation, &c. &c, in short, with everything you may name as having contributed to increase production, the total exports (including treasure) for the years 1858-67 are 456,000,000*l.*, and the imports (including treasure) are only 419,000,000*l.*! But even this amount of imports (short as it is of exports by some 37,000,000*l.*, or about 4,000,000*l.* a-year) includes about 72,000,000*l.* of railway loan and other public-debt loans raised during these ten years, and the whole profits of the cotton trade during the American war. Were it not for this railway loan, &c. &c., which to some extent modified the effect of the political remittances, in what a sad condition would India have been now!

India's exports say, are about 50,000,000*l.* a-year at present. Now can this sum earn enough of profit to pay 10,000,000*l.* a-year of the political remittance, and leave something to be added to its capital? As it is, the opium revenue which is paid by China makes up some 7,000,000*l.* for the political drain, and the rest must be withdrawn from the production of every year, reducing the productive capital so much.

In addition to this, India has to suffer another economical disadvantage, which in Mr. J. S. Mill's words is this.—

"A country which makes regular payments to foreign countries, besides losing what it pays, loses also something more by the less advantageous terms on which it is forced to exchange its productions for foreign commodities."*

It cannot be therefore wonderful, under such circumstances, that Lord Lawrence should have recorded his deliberate opinion in his minute of the 26th March, 1864, that "India is, on the whole, a very poor country. The mass of the people enjoy only a scanty subsistence. They are impatient of taxation, except where it is of that peculiar nature to which they have long been accustomed. The tendency of new modes of taxation is to irritate and even to oppress. We ought to avoid, so far as may be practicable, such fruitful causes of discontent." In the year 1864

* Mill's 'Political Economy', vol. ii., p. 178, 3rd ed.

when Bombay went mad with the cotton prosperity and revelled in fictitious share-wealth—when the imports of India were the highest, say 50,000,000*l.* (though even then less than exports by 16,000,000*l.*), the highest official in India, the Viceroy himself, declares that "India is, on the whole, *a very poor country*, and the mass of the people enjoy only *a scanty subsistence*," and Mr. Grant Duff, the highest Indian official sitting in the House of Commons, so late as 10th May last (after all the progress made by the help of such railways and other public works as have been already constructed), asks the House, in reply to Mr. Lawson's motion about opium, whether it would be tolerable to "grind an *already poor population* to the very dust?" Can it be then a matter of any surprise that the very first touch of famines should so easily carry away hundreds of thousands as they have done during the past twelve years? I appeal to the British nation whether such poverty should be the result of their rule in India, or whether this is to be their mission in that country? I say it as much in the interest of Great Britain as in that of India, that if the British people and Parliament do not pay their most serious attention to India, and repair the impoverishing effect of a foreign rule by the importation of large foreign capital, I am afraid they will have an Indian difficulty in time, far more serious and disastrous to the natives than any they had ever to deal with. But, moreover, we must also remember that the opium revenue may at any time slip through our fingers, and unless great efforts are made to increase the quantity and improve the quality of cotton, I am afraid that trade will also fail us when most needed, for America is making great exertions to regain its lost ground. It has already produced 3,000,000 bales, is likely to give $3\frac{1}{2}$ next year, and hopes to produce 5,000,000 before five years are over. How great is the necessity that our British rulers should take every care!

Let us see whether we can apply another test regarding the poverty of India.

The whole produce of India is from its land. The gross land-tax is put down for 1870-71 a [illegible] above 21,000,000*l.* Now I suppose I shall be within the m[illegible] at Government takes for this land-tax on an average on[illegible] ss [illegible] not more. This gives for the gross pro[illegible] 000,000*l.*; add t[illegible] oss opiu[illegible] evenue, 6,[illegible] fore [illegible] odu[illegible] of [illegible] ts

let us say 200,000,000*l.* to include the produce of half a million tons of coal, of alienation lands, or anything else there may be. Now the population of the whole of British India is nearly 150,000,000, giving therefore less than 27*s.* a head for the annual support of the whole people. But unequally distributed as this produce must be, *viz.* 10,000,000*l.* remitted to this country, the rich and middle classes keeping a larger proportion for their share, and provision for a large administrative and military expenditure, what a "*scanty subsistence*" indeed must remain for the "very poor" mass! I am sorry I have not time at present to work out this test of the total production of India fully; I take it at present very roughly.

Some may say that I had not taken excise revenue into account. It or other manufacturing industry does not affect the estimate of raw produce. The manufacture of spirits and drugs from which this excise is derived is for 1870-71 about 2,250,000*l.*, and if I make this to represent 10,000,000*l.* of value added to the production of the country, I shall be above the mark. As to other manufacturing industries of the country, we know that the exports of manufactured goods do not make up 2,000,000*l.*, and the inland manufacturing industry is limited and confined to a low stage. If therefore I raise the total production from 200,000,000*l.* to 300,000,000*l.*, I shall be, I think, making a high estimate. This makes 40*s.* a head for the gross production of India. Add 75,000,000*l.* more if you like, and make the gross production 50*s.* a head; and what is that after all! The people of the United Kingdom pay above 48*s.* a head for *revenue* only. While the imports of the United Kingdom are above 9*l.* a head, those of India are not 9*s.* a head.

If I am wrong and if somebody will show that India does produce equal to her peculiar wants, none shall be more glad than myself. If Lord Lawrence and Mr. Grant Duff are right, then the question must be carefully considered how the remedy is to be provided. If India does not produce what it needs, the evident reply is, Make India produce more. If Mr. Grant Duff's desire, expressed in the same speech I have alluded to, of making "the already poor" India "one of the most prosperous portions of the earth's surface," the only remedy is—increased production. England is bound to do this for the consolidation of its power in India, as well as to fulfil its beneficent mission of making India what Mr. Duff desires. I think Sir Bartle Frere's proposition is the most suitable remedy; that *large* public works are [illegible]ly ne[illegible], that the necessary capital must be supp[illegible] [illegible]'s [illegible]

that in order that this capital be used without waste and judiciously, Parliament must enquire from time to time how it is employed. Moreover, as long as the Supreme Legislature of India is not composed of a sufficient number of independent and representative members to examine every item of the Budget every year, as is done here by the House of Commons, the control of Parliament and investigation, not only for the application of such funds, but for the whole general administration of India from time to time, is absolutely necessary. I do not mean the slightest reflection upon the officials of Government, but it is only human nature that when one has the fear of being called to account, he will take greater care in his work.

Mr. Mill says, in his 'Political Economy,'* "In countries where the principle of accumulation is as weak as in the various nations of Asia, where people will neither save, nor work to obtain the means of saving, unless under the inducement of enormously high profits, nor even then, if it is necessary to wait a considerable time for them, where either productions remain scanty, or drudgery great, because there is neither capital forthcoming nor forethought sufficient for the adoption of the contrivances by which natural agents are made to do the work of human labour; the desideratum for such a country, economically considered, is an *increase* of industry, and of the effective desire of accumulation. The means are, first, a better government, more complete security of property, moderate taxes, and freedom from arbitrary exaction under the name of taxes; a more permanent and more advantageous tenure of land, securing to the cultivator as far as possible the undivided benefits of the industry, skill, and economy he may exert. Secondly, improvement of the public intelligence, the decay of usages or superstition which interfere with the effective employment of industry, and the growth of mental activity, making the people alive to new objects of desire. Thirdly, the introduction of foreign arts, which raise the returns derivable from additional capital to a rate corresponding to the low strength of the desire of accumulation and the importation of foreign capital, which renders the increase of production no longer exclusively dependent upon the thrift or providence of the inhabitants themselves, while it places before them a stimulating example, and by instilling new ideas and breaking the chains of habit, if not by improving the actual condition of the population, tends to create in them new wants, increased ambition, and greater thought for the future. These considerations

* Vol. i., p. 230, 3rd ed.

apply more or less to all the Asiatic populations, and to the less civilized and industrious parts of Europe, as Russia, Hungary, Spain, and Ireland."

Now India has not only all these requirements, but also those of a foreign rule, which renders her case still more urgent for suitable remedies.

Again, Mr. Mill has shown that production depends upon natural agents, labour and capital.

Now let us see how matters stand in India.

Natural agents we have in any quantity in the waste land, in the capability of much greater production in the lands already under cultivation, with any quantity of water if properly utilized, not to say anything of its vast mineral and other undeveloped resources. The utilization of the waste land is a great necessity, but how can it be utilized or improved, cultivation introduced, and all the facilities of communication supplied without labour and capital, and without Government paying the best attention to the matter? Labour we have enough if famines are not allowed to carry away hundreds of thousands, and emigration checked by the supply of work at home. More than a quarter of a million of able-bodied men have emigrated during the years 1858-67. The natives of India are not very fond of emigration if they can find work at home. At all events this is a fact, that during the three years 1862, '63, and '64 of the cotton prosperity of the Bombay Presidency, not one man emigrated from that part, but a commencement has again set in. But land and labour are both useless unless we have sufficient capital: Mr. Mill distinctly proves that industry is limited by capital, that law and government cannot create industry without creating capital Capital, then, is the great and imperative want of India, as much for the existence of the foreign rule as of the people themselves. Next we may consider the requisites described in the long quotation given above:—1st. "Better government, more complete security of property" (these we have). As to "moderate taxes,"—when the mass of people enjoy only "scanty subsistence," what taxes can be moderate? On the subject of "proper tenure of land," &c. &c., I shall not speak at present, as the great doctors of land tenure disagree, and it is too important and wide a subject to be treated off-hand. 2nd. "Improvement of public intelligence," &c. &c. This is increasing, but if Government showed confidence in the great importance of this element, they would and ought to do far more than

what they have done. 3rd. "The importation of foreign arts," &c. &c., "the importation of foreign capital," &c. This last is the most vital point. If sufficient foreign capital is brought into the country, and carefully and judiciously laid out as suggested by Sir Bartle Frere, all the present difficulties and discontent will vanish in time. But that by any tinkering or legerdemain we can create something out of nothing is simply impossible. The Calcutta correspondent of the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' of 18th inst., quotes Mr. Hunter (the author of 'Rural Bengal' and the editor of the 'Imperial Gazetteer,' now being compiled) as saying in his yet unpublished statement about the necessity of the Gazetteer, "No country ever stood in greater need of imported capital than India in its transition stage." The railways and other public works, though few, are the hope of future good, and far more is necessary in the same direction.

Hitherto I have spoken on the supposition as if the whole present administrative and military expenditure were reasonable and necessary.

But our Chairman had said in his Budget speech of April, 1863, "I agree with those who are of opinion that with proper economy 12,000,000*l.* may be taken as the standard of the expense to be incurred in India for the military force of all arms, even supposing it to be maintained at its present establishment. . . . The great interests of our nation in India require that the estimate of the Indian army should at least undergo the sifting to which the War Office estimate is subjected before it is laid before Parliament."

And now in December, 1869, as Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee has pointed out to us, His Grace the Duke of Argyll says, "The necessity of effecting every practicable reduction of expenditure was fully apparent to me when my financial despatch of 2nd January last No. 62, was written. In that despatch I called your attention to the military charges, and stated the grounds on which I consider that those charges should be reduced to at least the scale of 1863-64, and that it might be possible to bring the whole military charges in India, including stores, a million and a half below the present amount." Mr. Grant Duff also says, "Its (army's) weakest part was its enormous cost" (Speech, 3rd August, 1869).

The Hon. Mr. Strachey, in his speech on the 28th April last, in the Supreme Legislative Council, traces the causes of the present financial difficulty to the circumstance, "that although the growth of the revenues has been very great, the growth of expenditure has been still more rapid. . . . I think it clear that the increase has gone on at a far greater rate than was either right or necessary;" and he gives in proof the re-

ductions made within six or seven months of the discovery of the financial difficulties. He further says, "Our financial system requires radical and fundamental changes."

His Excellency the Viceroy, in his speech of the same day, says, "If I am asked whether I think the main principles of future budgets should be the same as the present, I would frankly confess that I do not think so, and agree with Mr. Strachey that there is great room for improvement."

About the waste of every sort in the public works department we have heard enough, especially in Sir B. Frere's address.

There is another point of view from which the question of State expenditure may be seen. In the year 1856 the total expenditure was less than 32,000,000*l.* For the year 1870-1 the estimate is some 49,000,000*l.* I leave out the provision for "ordinary" original works from revenue, for there is nearly universal condemnation of that plan.* The increase of expenditure is therefore some 17,000,000*l.* Now the question is this: In order that India should be able to find 17,000,000*l.* a-year of more revenue, how many times 17,000,000*l.* must its production have increased to make such increase of State expenditure justifiable?

Can any one show that there has been even so much as four times 17,000,000*l.* of more production than that of 1856, so as to allow Government to take 25 per cent. of it for the use of the State? Moreover, what a hardship it is that of this addition of 17,000,000*l.* more than 3,000,000*l.* are made up by salt revenue!

During the period of this increase of 17,000,000*l.* of expenditure, what a loss there has been of life and property, and therefore of the power of production, by the mutiny and by famines; and what a mercy it is that railways, irrigation works, and the windfall of cotton profits have to some extent counteracted their evil effects and made up to some extent the

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* The Right Hon. Mr. Massey in his Financial Statement of 9th April, 1868, says in reference to works like barracks, trunk roads, &c.:—"But if the question lay between new taxation and providing for these works wholly or partially by loan, we put it to the Secretary of State whether it would not be the preferable course to borrow, rather than strain the resources of the country by additional taxation for the mere purpose of constructing great works, of which posterity would reap the benefit."

[illegible]

political drain. But will it be seriously contended that the progress of production has been such as to justify an annual increase of 17,000,000*l.* of State expenditure in 1871 over that of 1856?

I hope, therefore, that I have shown that the only salvation for India is large irrigation works, railways, and roads, and other public works of necessity, and parliamentary inquiry from time to time into the administration. Till the commercial exports are sufficiently large to pay from their profits the price of the foreign rule,—or in other words, till the amounts of the commercial exports and imports will be equal, leaving the profits on the exports to be retained by England for the price of its rule,—India cannot be said to be producing enough for its wants; and it will be only when the commercial imports begin to exceed commercial exports, that it will be making any addition to its wealth by the instrumentality of the British rule.

There is one important way to contribute to India's wants, in which England, as a good manager, can give to India the benefit of its credit and moral power without taxing the English public a shilling. If England guaranteed the public debt, a saving will be made in the interest which India has now to pay on it. I propose, however, that this saving be not allowed to remain in the pockets of the Indian taxpayers, but be used in paying off the debt itself. The consequence will be that the whole debt may be paid off in a limited period, without England being required to contribute a single shilling from its own revenue. I cannot on this occasion treat of the moral duty of England to give this help, or enter into the subject at any length.

In Sir B. Frere's speech on Mr. Prichard's paper, he first tells us that elastic as the Indian revenue is, its requirements are still greater, and then he wants us to find out new sources of revenue. I venture to submit, with every deference, that what the anxiety of the Finance Minister or any Indian statesman should be, is not so much to discover new sources of revenue as new sources of production or prosperity. There is no royal road to prosperity or finance. Blood cannot be got out of stone. When prosperity is fairly secured revenue will take care of itself, and the Finance Minister, as in this country, will have to be embarrassed, not with deficits, but surpluses.

Sir Bartle does not see much objection to the present guaranteeing system. I agree with Mr. Fitzwilliam that it is objectionable in principle and not very effective in practice. I do not think the railway

builders have much right to throw stones at the so much condemned public works. I am very sorry this question of guaranteed railways *versus* State railways was not fairly fought out at the Society of Arts upon Mr. Andrew's paper. I am morally certain that there has been great waste in the construction of the guaranteed railways; but it is enough for us to know that such is the opinion of Mr. Juland Danvers, who ought to know. By all means let there be private enterprise, but it must be real and not sham enterprise. Mr. Sumner Maine's proposal, mentioned to us by Sir Bartle, of the association of Government and private enterprise in works in which Government control is necessary, so that each takes its risks and profits according to its share, is a fair proposal. This plan is very well adapted to supply the element of "self-interest," the want of which Sir Bartle so clearly showed to have a great deal to do with the evil of waste. We shall then also have the full benefit of the knowledge and experience of business men as directors on behalf of the private shareholders, for if anything went wrong, the shareholders will soon call them to account.

Now, with regard to the thoughtful scheme of Sir Bartle Frere,* I give it as a note, with only two alterations from myself, which are in italics.

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* Propositions for providing the capital required for public works in India.—

1. The capital required for public works in India, undertaken by the Govern- [illegible]

[illegible]

in Council, a sum not exceeding [illegible] millions. The interest on such loan to be paid by the Secretary of State in Council from the revenues of India, [illegible]

[illegible]

conditions hereinafter mentioned.

4. The local governments and administrations to which advances may be made to be the following:—

The Governments of Madras.
" " Bombay.
Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.
" " North-West Provinces.
" " Punjab.
The Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.
" " Oude
" " Central Provinces.
" " Mysore.
The Commissioner of Sind

5. The Commissioners to certify—

1st, That in the case of each advance, they have received copies of the working plans and estimates, or contract spec[illegible]

For the alteration in No. 2 I shall give my reason in the words of the despatch of the Indian Government, of 9th March, 1865, on irrigation: "Practically the charge of interest on the money sunk until the work is in a condition to pay, is just as much a part of the first cost as the direct outlay on the construction. There is no reason whatever for regarding such an interest charge as a burden on the revenues, and it may with perfect propriety be paid from the loan. The only essential point is to be assured that all the works undertaken shall, in the end, at least bring back to the State the interest on the capital expended on them, and with a proper system of management we do not doubt that this may be always accomplished."

As for my second alteration, I rather think that in the case of the reproductive works, the repayment of capital should be provided for from the income only of the works and not from revenue. However, taking the scheme as it is, the principle of my alteration is that if on the one hand you should not burden posterity, it is also necessary that you should not be unjust to the present generation, especially because the benefit of all these works will be enjoyed more by the future than the present. I don't think, therefore, that I am asking anything unreasonable to distribute the burden over less than two generations in the one case and four in the other. When, last October, I said something to the same effect at our meeting on the occasion of Mr. Hyde Clarke's paper, I was little prepared to find that Nemesis was pursuing the Indian Government so rapidly for their injustice to the present generation. Sir Bartle's propositions appear very large to some persons, but they forget the large size and population, and therefore the large requirements of India. In

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indicate clearly the limits of the work to be done, and to satisfy them that there is a reasonable prospect of the work specified being executed with the aid of the sum applied for.

2nd. That they have received an assurance of the loan required for the work being repaid by the authority to which the sum has been advanced, with interest sufficient to cover all expenses, within a period not exceeding years, *but not less than forty years for "ordinary" works, and not less than eighty years for "extraordinary works,"* and that they are satisfied with the security given for such repayment.

6. The Commissioners to make an annual report to Parliament, specifying the sums raised, applied and repaid under these rules, up to the 31st December in each year, with the following particulars—

(*a*) The Government or Administration to which money has been advanced.
(*b*) The names of the works for which the advance was required, and the total sum which each work was estimated to require, and, in each case, the total sum advanced, expended, and repaid up to the end of the year preceding.
(*c*) The nature of the security given for punctual repayment.
(*d*) An enumeration of projects on behalf of which loans have been asked for and refused, with the reasons of refusal in each case.

the United Kingdom, with only 30,000,000 of population, 500,000,000*l.* are invested in railways, not to say anything of other works. I express this much of difference of opinion from Sir Bartle Frere, with every deference. Mr. Maclean says the income-tax as a war-tax is useless in India, and Government must depend upon its credit. He is right in the case of a rebellion; but in that case, if Government will not be able to collect the income-tax, it will not be able to collect any tax. In the case of a foreign invasion, however, if the English rulers have done their duty by the people, they, in their turn, will submit to any reasonable burden when necessary; and if the public debt is guaranteed as I have proposed, the credit upon which he depends most will be much improved. On the subject of the income-tax I shall not say more, as I hope we shall have the benefit of our Chairman's views, who, as you are aware, once sacrificed himself on this very account.

We have had now much discussion both here and in India. We have seen how very various are opinions on the subject of the present condition of India and its administration, and we see now more clearly than ever that Parliament should step in and make a searching inquiry into the whole matter, for Parliament after all is the fountain head, and Parliament I hope will not shrink from doing its duty to a nation of 200,000,000.

As Mr. W. Tayler's proposal completely embraces the scope of this paper, as well as of former ones, the discussion would be best begun by Mr. Tayler moving his resolution after the Chairman's address is finished.

We have Sir Bartle Frere's weighty opinion, that Parliament should be asked to institute inquiry into the conduct of the Administration. Our Chairman has expressed to me a similar opinion, and we have Mr. Fawcett expressing his belief that "there never was a time when the finances of India more urgently required the keen and scrutinizing investigations of the House of Commons."

This inquiry I think will do as much service to the Indian Government itself as to the people of India, if not more.

VII.

ON THE COMMERCE OF INDIA.

(Read before a Meeting at the Society of Arts, London, Wednesday, February 15th, 1871. Sir Bartle Frere, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., in the Chair.)

The commerce of India is one of the most important subjects that can engage the attention of the public of England. I do not think the audience before me needs to be told the reason why. They know well enough how the prosperity of this country, as of any other, depends chiefly upon its commerce, and how important it is to them that the vast continent of India, with its teeming population, should be opened up for their commercial enterprise. It is a calamity to India, and a great loss to this country, that the subject of the commerce of India is not fully considered by the public or press of England, and that even the merchants and manufacturers do not give to it the attention it demands. I am constrained to say, after my residence in this country for fifteen years, that the knowledge of the public here about India is not only imperfect, but in some matters mischievously incorrect. But why should I blame the English public or others, when those who ought to know best, and upon the information furnished by whom the public must depend, the past India House itself has made statements entirely at variance with facts? I do not wish to blame anybody, but set it down with grief to the misfortune of India. The Parliamentary return No. 75 of 1858, gives "A Memorandum (prepared at the India House) of the Improvements in the Administration of India during the last thirty years." This return, at page 11, gives a paragraph entitled "General Prosperity." In the part referring to the commerce of India, after giving figures for exports and imports of India, at the interval of twenty-one years (from 1834 to 1855) the paragraph ends, in relation to the commerce of India for these twenty-one years, with the strange words, "The great excess of exports above imports (of merchandise) being regularly liquidated in silver." It also states that the exports of merchandise increased 188 per cent., and imports 227 per cent., during the same twenty-one years.

I cannot trouble you at present with several other fallacious statements in this paragraph. I confine myself at present to those I have mentioned about the trade of India. It is a wonder to me how this statement about the liquidation in silver of the excess of exports over imports could have issued from the India House. A return (No. 369) made by the India House itself, on Mr. Bright's motion, in the year 1853,

gives the total imports and exports of India. The total exports, according to this return, *including* all treasure for the first fifteen years (1834 to 1850) out of the twenty-one to which the return of 1858 refers, are given as a little above 231,000,000*l*, and the total imports of India, *including* all treasure, a little above 163,500,000*l*., leaving a difference of 67,500,000*l*. of excess of exports above imports, for which, neither in the shape of silver nor of any other goods, has there been any import whatsoever into India. So far, therefore, for the first fifteen years' "regular *liquidation in silver" for 67,500,000l. of excess of exports was simply a* creation of imagination.

Now, let us see about the remaining six years. The return (No. 3891 of 1867) gives the total of exports, including treasure, about 125,500,000*l*., and the total of imports, including treasure, about 105,000,000*l*. These imports include the loan for railways remitted up to the year 1856. I take this remittance to be only 10,000,000*l*., as a low figure, as I cannot get from official returns the exact amount. Deducting this, and not making any allowance for any remittances on account of public debt made during the same period, the total amount of imports is about 95,500,000*l*., or "the excess of exports above imports" of about 30,000,000*l*. which was *not* liquidated either in silver or in any other goods. Thus we have a total of about 97,000,000*l*.; and allowing, to some extent, for the amount of public loans raised in England and remitted to India during the twenty-one years under consideration, an "excess of exports above imports" of above 100,000,000*l*. which was never liquidated in silver or in other goods. To this must be added about 30,000,000*l*. of profit on exports, thus making about 130,000,000*l*. for which India has received no return in imports. And yet the India House coolly told the English public, in the year 1858, that during the twenty-one years previous to 1856, "the great excess of exports above imports was regularly liquidated in silver." I appeal to you, gentlemen, to say whether there ever was a more misleading statement made; and is it a wonder that the English public are indifferent to the complaints of India? The India House would have been correct if it had said that the great excess of exports above imports of India, during the twenty-one years, amounting to above 130,000,000*l*., was retained for the benefit of England. Now I would not have alluded to a statement made twelve years ago, were it not that I have seen its mischievous effects to the present day. So far as my reading goes, I have not come across a single statement in the subsequent Parliamentary returns which distinctly and directly corrects it, and in my conversation generally, except

few instances, I have found that this misleading statement has led to the almost universal belief that India is rich and prosperous, when it is not so. No more have the imports, with all silver included, been equal to exports after 1856. Notwithstanding the so-much-talked-of wealth poured in during the American war, the total figures are, for 1856 to 1869,* exports (including treasure), about 588,000,000*l.*; imports (including treasure), about 545,000,000*l.* Out of these imports, about 72,000,000*l.* (the total expended till end of 1869 being 82,000,000*l.*, of which I have taken 10,000,000*l.*, the total to 1856) are railway loans, about 27,000,000*l.* are public loans raised in England, and about 15,000,000*l.*† of registered debt of India, transferred to this country, leaving the actual imports in exchange for exports about 431,000,000*l.* This gives an excess of exports above imports of about 157,000,000*l.* during the last thirteen years, which is not liquidated either in silver or in any other goods. Add to this the profits of the export, say about 60,000,000*l.*, making a total of above 210,000,000*l.*, for which there is no commercial imports into India.

Now, instead of a misleading statement, that the "great excess o exports over imports was liquidated in silver," if the English public were told that during the past thirty-four years exports for about 260,000,000*l.* have had no corresponding material return in imports, nor the ordinary commercial profits of these thirty-four years, to the extent of some 90,000,000*l.*, had been returned to India, its attention would be naturally directed to the strange phenomenon; for everyone knows that in the ordinary course of commerce every country gets a full return with some profit for its exports, and that it is simply impossible for any country to carry on such a commerce as that of India without being impoverished, unless special means are adopted to counteract the evil.

I propose to consider, 1st, the real extent of the commerce of India; 2nd, the reason why it is extremely limited, notwithstanding the progress it has to some extent made; 3rd, what suitable remedies should be adopted for such an unsatisfactory state of affairs. First, we may see what the extent of the real commerce of India is. I take the latest year for which I can get returns. The table for exports from India, as given in return C., 184 of 1870, including treasure, gives the amount for the year 1868-9 about 53,700,000*l.*, and imports including treasure, about 51,000,000*l.* Now, we must examine whether these figures repre-

* 'Parliamentary Return' 3891 of 1867, and C. 184 of 1870.

† 'Parliamentary Return' 258 of 1869.

sent the commerce of India. I have no doubt every gentleman here reads the little paragraph in the money articles of the daily newspapers, about the bills drawn by the Secretary of State for India. I would not undertake to say how many readers of that little paragraph understand its full significance, or care to do so. I am afraid the number is not large. The total of these bills for the last official year was estimated at about 7,000,000*l.* What are these bills drawn for? Certainly not for any commercial purpose. What is the operation of these bills? It is simply this, that out of the proceeds of the exports from India the Indian Secretary keeps 7,000,000*l.* here, and India receives no corresponding commercial import for the amount. In this manner, what are called "the charges in England on the revenues of India" are paid, that is, India exports about 7,000,000*l.* worth of produce to pay for these charges.* You will therefore see that out of the so-called exports of India, about 7,000,000*l.* are not commercial exports at all. Next, in India there are about 2,500 English civilians, covenanted and uncovenanted, about 5,000 English military officers, and some 60,000 soldiers. All these naturally remit to this country, for the education of their children, and for the support of their families and dependent friends, and bring with them their savings. The total of their pay is about 9,000,000*l.*, and I put down what an English friend, who ought to know well, tells me is a low estimate, about half for the remittances I have alluded to. There are, besides, certain English goods especially wanted for the consumption of Europeans in India. If I, therefore, take 5,000,000*l.* as the exports of India for all these purposes, to say nothing of remittances by non-official Englishmen, such as barristers, solicitors, doctors, merchants, planters, &c., making up a large sum, I shall be found much under the mark. Thus, then, we have a total of about 12,000,000*l.*, out of the so-called exports, which do not form a part of the commerce of India at all, whatever else they may be. I cannot discuss what they really are, or what their significance is, before this Society. I may just tell you that Sir George Wingate calls this item the "tribute" India pays to England; or that another intelligent Englishman calls it the "salary of England" for ruling over India. Be that as it may, one thing is clear, that these 12,000,000*l.* are not a part of the commerce of the country, and for which there is no liquidation either in silver or any other goods. India must send out annually at least 12,000,000*l.* worth of

* The "charges on the revenues of India," disbursed in England, are 1869-70, above 7,700,000*l.*; and those for 1868-69 about [illegible] say 7,000,000*l.* Return 231 of 1870.

produce, whether it will or no, without any corresponding commercial return. Besides the above two items, there is another which strictly is not commercial. I mean the remittance of interest from India on railways, irrigation, and other such loans. I must not be misunderstood, however. I consider these loans as one of those things for which India is under special obligations to this country. I do not allude to this item in any spirit of complaint. Far from it. On the contrary, I always think of it with great thankfulness. It is a blessing both to the recei- and the giver. I only mean that the interest, even supposing it t all earned by the railways, though forming a part of the expo India, is not a part of the commerce of India. This item is 4,000,000*l*., making altogether about 16,000,000*l*. of expor India which are not commercial. The balance of the expo senting the real commerce of the country is therefore about 37, for 1868-9.

Let us now analyze the imports. The total is about 51,0 We must deduct the following items as not commercial :—Railw for the year, about 5,000,000*l*. ; irrigation, State railways, an loans which I have not been able to ascertain, say about 2,000 Government stores, about 1,500,000*l*. ; payment on account o Abyssinian expedition, about 1,250,000*l*. ; leaving about 41,250 as commercial imports. So we have roughly considered about 37,000, exports and 41,000,000*l*. imports. This shows something like a nati commercial profit of about 4,000,000*l*. But as, on the other ha India has had to pay to this country 12,000,000*l*. for its administrati the real balance of India's profit and loss account is some 8,000,000 on the wrong side for the year.

Leaving the question of the nature and consequences of this balance alone for the present, we have this remarkable fact, that while the exports of the produce of the United Kingdom are nearly 6*l*. 10*s*. a head of population, of British North America about 3*l*. a head, and of Australia about 19*l*. a head, for 1868, those of India are scarcely 4*s*. a head, or altogether, including political and non-commercial remittances to this country, about 5*s*. a head. Even deducting the gold exports, the other exports of Australia are about 11*l*. per head.

I may remark here, that just as the India House liquidation in silver of excess of exports is incorrect, so does its assertion of the increase of 188 per cent. in exports, and 227 per cent. in imports, require explanation. From what I have already said, you may have seen that a good

portion of this increase is owing to causes other than commercial, *viz.* increase of political charges in England, of national debt, and the increasing remittances of official and non-official Europeans.

The question is often asked, why India does not take largely of British manufactures? Why is it that, with a population of 200,000,000, there are only about 17,500,000*l.* worth of British manufactures, or less even than 2*s.* a head, exported to India, while Australia, with a population of less than 2,000,000, takes about 13,000,000*l*, or more than 6*l.* a head, and British North America, with its population of about 4,500,000, about 5,000,000*l.*, or about 25*s.* a head? Before I proceed to a discussion of this scantiness of the export of British manufactures into India, I must clear away two misapprehensions. On account of such misleading statements as those of the India House, and a quantity of silver being annually imported into India, it is a general impression here that India is a great sink for silver, that there is great hoarding, and that it is rich. The fact is, first, that India has not imported as much silver as the India House statement leads one to believe; and secondly, that under the British administration, silver has naturally become a necessary commodity. The revenue having to be paid in cash, a great demand arose for coins, and silver not being produced in the country, its importation became a necessity. Besides coins, it must also be remembered that, as in all countries, several social customs require the use of a certain quantity of the precious metals. I am not at all here taking into consideration the withdrawal of the treasure from India that had taken place in the earlier times of the East India Company. And yet, see what the gross total amount of bullion is which India has retained during the whole period of the last seventy years, from the commencement of the present century. I think you would hardly believe me when I say it is only about 34*s.** a head. Conceive, gentlemen, 34*s.* a head, not per annum, but in the whole course of seventy years, for all purposes, commercial, social, and political, for circulation, wear and tear, for remittances, for railway and other *loans*, and to fill up the drain of former periods—in short, for every possible purpose.

Why, in the United Kingdom, for the last twelve years only, from 1858 to 1869 (there are no earlier returns for imports), you have retained for your national uses nearly 30*s.* a head, besides leaving about 18,000,000*l.* in the Bank of England intact at the ends of 1857 and 1869. There may be some little hoarding by some men, as the means of investment

* Return 133 of 1864 and [C. 184] of 1c

and circulation in India are not yet developed; but may I ask whether there is any gentleman now present who has not some hoarding about him of several pounds in his watches, pins, &c.? However, here is the *whole* quantity of bullion imported into India during seventy years, 34*s.* per head. Now, in discussing the question why India takes less than 2*s.*, or about 1*s.* 9d., a head of British manufactures, you will see that the general cry of large imports of silver being the cause is not correct. The wonder is that 34*s.* a head, received in the whole period of seventy years, could be sufficient for all necessary wants and wear.

The second misapprehension which requires explanation is the notion that wages and prices have risen enormously, and that therefore India is very prosperous. This notion is not only an exaggeration, but it is also incorrect to a great extent. It would be impossible for me to discuss it to-night, as it would require a long time to do so clearly. I need simply say, what I think I am able to prove from actual facts and official documents, that though there is some general rise in prices (not, however, to the extent usually supposed), it is not an addition to former sufficiency, but a return from a low ebb, to which it had gone down before, and that it only indicates some progress towards, but not actual, sufficiency, much less prosperity. There is much confusion of ideas on this subject. For instance, while some writers point to rise in prices as a proof of prosperity, the India House return, in the same paragraph to which I have already referred, speaks of "the cheapening of agricultural produce" as a matter to boast about. Now, the "enormous" or "unexampled" rise in prices or wages, about which so much noise is made by some writers, is no more true than that because there may be a few millionaires in London, therefore all Londoners are millionaires. The phenomenon is simply this, that in special localities, where railway and other public works are being constructed, money congests, and prices and wages for a time go very high, because, on account of imperfect communication, neither labour nor food is drawn there in sufficient quantity to equalize or moderate wages or prices. And because at some of these special localities prices and wages rise very high, a general conclusion is hastily drawn, as if prices and wages had gone up enormously all over India. I shall give hereafter a few instances of prices, which will show that the notion of enormous general rise in prices is incorrect.

I must now return to the question of the causes of the miserable extent to which the natives of India take British manufacture. Do not, gentlemen, for a moment suppose that a native does not wish to put on a

better coat—or rather a coat at all—if he can get it. You should seriously ask the question why India does not afford to English industry and enterprise a field commensurate with its vast extent, population, and natural resources, though it is under your own control and administration. If this country could export of its produce only 1*l.* a head of India's population, it will be as much as you now export to all parts of the world.

There is no question of the vastness and variety of India's resources. The number of principal articles it exports to this country is above fifty, many of them in great varieties, and some two or three dozen of minor importance. Much more can this number be increased. Why should not India alone supply to this country cotton, coffee, sugar, tea, silk, seeds, fibre, or anything else, in any quantity wanted? The causes of this unsatisfactory state of affairs are various, both moral and material. The moral cause, I am sorry I cannot discuss before this Society; I shall only mention them. As long as a people have no reasonable voice, or have only a farce of a voice, in the legislation and taxation, municipal or imperial, of their own country, it is simply impossible there can be that watchful care and attention to its wants which those most interested alone can give. So, also, as long as the people of a country have no fair share in its administration, the powerful stimulus of patriotism and self-interest cannot come into action. Moreover, this want of a proper share for the native in the administration of the country produces one deplorable moral evil: as long as the English are officials, their mouths are shut. All the wisdom acquired by their experience is of no use in guiding the natives. The moment they are non-official they leave the country, and thus drain poor India of wisdom also. After coming to this country, the majority of these retired English officials forget India. Here, for instance, is Lord Lawrence. I congratulate the London School Board on such an acquisition, but there is also another side of the picture. What does this mean to India? Here is wisdom of above thirty years, I suppose, acquired in India, and it is all now lost to it. When and how will India have its own Lawrences, its Freres, Trevelyans, &c., to guide the nation towards progress, enlightenment, and prosperity? This is most deplorable for India that natives are not allowed a due share in the administration, to acquire the necessary wisdom of experience to become the guiding spirits of the country.

One more moral cause I would just touch upon, is the want of adequate education. Most sincerely thankful as I

extent to which education has progressed, I need simply say just now that education, both high English and professional for the higher classes, and vernacular and industrial for the mass, is far from being adequate, and yet Government are committing the political suicide of discouraging English education in Bengal.

Having thus simply stated the three moral causes, I now come to the material. What, I wonder, would you say to the following fact? I have been studying for the past six months the administration reports of the different Presidencies of India. From these and other sources (thanks to Mr. Grant Duff, and other gentlemen in the India Office, for lending me any books I wanted), I have myself worked out, as a rough outside estimate, the total gross produce of all cultivated land in the average good season of 1867-8:—Central Provinces, North-West Provinces, Madras Presidency, Bengal Presidency, and Oudh, less than 40*s.* a head of their respective population; Punjab produced less than 50*s.* a head; and the Bombay Presidency, with all the advantages of the late American war, railway loans, and three lines of railway converging into it, produced 100*s.* a head. But even Bombay, I am afraid, on account of disastrous losses during the last five years, is gradually lowering its level. The average of all British India will be a good deal under 50*s.* a head per annum, or say 1*s.* a head a week. If I put 80*s.* a head per annum, or 1*s.* 6*d.* per week per head, as the total production of all kinds (agricultural, manufacturing, mineral, &c.) of the country, I shall be, I cannot help thinking, guilty of exaggeration or over-estimate.

With this low production we must bear in mind that a larger proportion goes for the consumption of the Europeans in India, of the higher and middle classes of natives, 12,000,000*l.* a year are to be exported to this country, and a portion is to be reserved for seed, and then we may ask how much of this 1*s.* 6*d.* a week a head could go to the share of the poor mass, from whose labour, after all, must all production be raised. Is not this one cause alone quite enough to explain the whole problem—why India is such a poor and wretched customer of England? Is it any wonder, then, that Lord Lawrence deliberately stated, in 1864, that "India is, on the whole, a very poor country; the mass of the population enjoy only a scanty subsistence;" and that Mr. George Campbell, in his paper on "Tenures of Land in India," published by the Cobden Club, quotes from an official authority a report made so late as 1869, about the Madras Presidency, as follows:—"The bulk of the people are paupers. They can just pay their cesses in a good year, and fail alto-

gether when the season is bad. Remissions have to be made perhaps every third year in most districts. There is a bad year in some one district, or group of districts every year." Lastly, I would refer to an incidental remark made in the Calcutta correspondence of 'The Times,' published as late as the 12th December last. It says:—"But an ordinary native can live comfortably on about 2*d*. a day. He only needs a few rags for clothing, a little rice, and pulse or bean, and 'curry stuff.'"

Now, I ask you, gentlemen, whether it is from such men, who are obliged to be satisfied with 2*d*. a day, a few rags, and wretched hovels, that you can expect to raise 50,000,000*l* of annual revenue (nearly one-fourth of which has to be remitted to this country); or even 1*l*. a head, or 200,000,000*l*. of commerical exports, receiving large imports of your British manufactures in return? Pray do not suppose the native would not like to be better fed, clothed, and lodged. Such a supposition will be simply contrary to human nature and to fact. Let us examine a little more closely. Insufficient as the whole production is, and scanty as must be the share of it for the great bulk of the population, perhaps hardly 1*s*. a head a week, the mischief is further aggravated by imperfect distribution, so that the plenty of any one part is not available for the scarcity or famine of another. The best test of this is the difference in the price of food in different parts. If wheat sold at 50*s*. in one part of this country, and 70*s*. or 80*s*. in another part, I wonder how long this Society, or the English public, would allow such a state of things to endure? In Punjaub, in 1869, the average price in Delhi was 52 lbs. of wheat per rupee, while at Mooltan, 34 lbs., and at Peshawar, 30 lbs.

In the Madras Presidency, in the year 1867-68, a good season year, at Cuddapa, the price of rice is 492 rupees per garce (9,256¼ lbs.), at Vizagapatam it is 203 rupees, and Godavery, 222 rupees. In the North-West Provinces, for the month of June, 1868, as the month of average plenty, at Meerut, wheat is 54 lbs. for 1 rupee, but at Allahabad and Mirzapore only 34 lbs. In the Central Provinces, in 1867-68, an average good-season year, rice, at Hoosingabad is 5 rupees for 1 maund (80 lbs.), while at Rypore and Belaspore it is only 1 rupee; at Sumbulpore, 1 rupee 2 annas. In the Bombay Presidency, for February, 1868, as a month of average plenty, at Dharwar, the price of jowaree is 81 lbs. for 1 rupee, while at Thanna it is 27 lbs. per 1 rupee. Again, bajree at Dharwar is 80 lbs. per 1 rupee, while at Dhoolia only 26 lbs., and at Broach and Thanna only 21 lbs. (These prices are taken from administration reports and the 'Bombay Government Gazette.')

In Bengal, the 'Calcutta Gazette' gives, for June, 1868, average good time, what are described for rice of cheapest sort, the "ordinary prices at this season," and what do we see? At Maunbhoom 50 seers or 100 lbs. for 1 rupee, and at Bancorah, 47 seers or 94 lbs. per rupee; while close by at Singbhoom, it is only 20 seers or 40 lbs. for 1 rupee; at Patna, 13 seers or 26 lbs.; in the 24 Parrugnas, 16 seers or 32 lbs.

But there is another deplorable test.

Now, what better proof can you have than that when, in the year 1861, while British India exported to the United Kingdom alone, at the distance of thousands of miles, more than 3,000,000 cwt. of rice, at about 12s. a cwt. here, after paying all charges of freight, profits, &c., or at about 6s. to 8s. a cwt. at the ports of shipment; and to all parts of the world grain worth 3,500,000*l*., or say about 6,600,000 cwt., the North-West Provinces lost a quarter of a million of lives and immense property by famine.

In the year 1866, the United Kingdom imported above 2,000,000 cwt. of rice from British India, at about 6s. to 8s. a cwt. at the ports of shipment: and all parts of the world imported grain from British India worth 5,250,000*l*., or say, above 10,000,000 cwt., while Orissa and Madras lost nearly a million of lives and millions worth of property.

Again, the last two years, Rajpootana lost a million of lives, says the Calcutta correspondent, on the authority of Rev. Mr. Robson, in 'The Times' of 27th December last, while the exports of rice to the United Kingdom has been 4,000,000 cwt. in 1868, and I think as much in 1869: and of grain to all parts of the world worth 2,600,000*l*., or above 5,000,000 cwt. each year. Thus in India, for want of proper communication, and therefore of easy distribution, famine destroys millions of lives and property. Good God, when will this end?

The question may be put by you, what it is I want to suggest. I ask, gentlemen, only for some good English common sense, both political and economical, that common sense which destroyed monopolies and corn-laws, upset the mercantile theory, and established free-trade; and I trust the desire of Englishmen, which is no less mine, and I believe of all educated and thinking natives, that British rule should endure long, would be fairly accomplished—a blessing to India and a benefit to England. Like the causes, the remedies I wish to be applied are also moral and material. About the moral remedies, the statement I have already made of the causes suggests also the remedies. There are, Sir

John Shore said eighty years ago, certain "evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion;" and I say that these evils must be counteracted if that foreign dominion is to endure, and be based on the contentment and loyalty of the people. These evils can be stated in four words, "material and moral drain." The first I have already shown to be at present 12,000,000*l.* a year. The moral one is that of the wisdom of administration brought over to this country on the retirement of every English official, to whom alone both practical legislation and higher administration are chiefly confined. These two drawbacks political common sense requires should be remedied, or the people cannot be satisfied. It is no use thwarting nature, however strong your arm may be. Nature will avenge every departure from truth and justice. Thus simply touching on the moral remedies, I come at once to the material ones. The very first question suggests itself, Why should India have to remit 12,000,000*l.* a year to this country? This, to a certain extent, is inevitable. If India is to be regenerated by England, India must make up its mind to pay the price. The only thing I have to say is, that England, on its part also, should act justly towards India; the financial relations between the two countries should be equitably adjusted. No unreasonable burdens should be imposed on India because it is at your mercy; and the revenues of India should be administered with economy, wisdom, and the sense of responsibility of a great trust. I appeal to the conscience of English statesmen and thinkers to give a careful consideration to this subject. Here, however, I must leave this point, hoping that England will do justice to India in this matter.

The other, and still more important material remedies, I must discuss at some length, as falling within the province of this Society. It is again a little economical common sense that is required. The most obvious remedy for the very poor production of the country, and its extra-political wants, is to increase production and facilitate distribution. It is no discovery of mine. Irrigation to increase production, and cheap communication are the crying wants of a country like India. These re-act upon each other. Irrigation will supply traffic for communication. Cheap communication will re-act by stimulating production, opening up new markets, and equalizing distribution. This certainly sounds very common-place, and an oft-told tale, but it is this common-place remedy upon which the material salvation of India depends, and it cannot be told too often till it is accomplished. Well, you may say the Indian Government don't deny this. I grant they are as loud in their acknowledgment of this necessity as anyone else. Then where is the hitch? That is just the question.

In order to avoid confusion and save time, I give you at once my own views, without entering into a discussion of the present policy of Government. The expenditure on public works may be divided into two sorts —on repairs and on original works. For repairs, by all means pay from the revenue, for it would be unjust to saddle posterity with any debt for them. The "original works" are divided by Government into "ordinary" and "extraordinary." Ordinary are those which do not pay directly, such as barracks, buildings for civil administrations, and common roads. These do not bring direct returns certainly, like railways, but repay indirectly, in the saving in rent, and in many other ways.

Now, nobody will contend that these works are only useful for the day, and that posterity, or even one or two generations after the present can have no interest in them. Is it just, then, not to say anything of the want of economical common sense, that the present generation, so little able to bear the burden, should be pressed to furnish the whole means, without any distribution of the burden with the next one or two generations? I maintain that Government should adopt the just as well as the economical policy of distributing the burden of these ordinary works over say fifty years or two generations by means of terminable loans. By adopting this policy, the other most injurious effects of stopping works from time to time, according to the condition of the revenue, will be avoided. What is of the utmost importance is, that these works once decided upon should be carried out vigorously, and completed as soon as possible. I repeat, then, that I ask for only common sense in this matter. When a large load is to be raised, a common, unintelligent labourer tries to raise it directly by his hands, an intelligent labourer tries a lever, and a man of knowledge uses a system of pulleys or some machinery. What is the whole secret or aim of all mechanical science? Simply to distribute weight. Use, I say, the same common sense in financial matters. Use suitable financial machinery, and distribute the weight. Don't waste time, energy, and means in trying to raise the heavy load directly.

It looks almost ridiculous before an English audience to insist on this, but the Indian Government somehow or other does not do this. The mischief of this policy of making revenue pay at once for the ordinary original works is threefold—uncertainty, delay, and the consequent waste in the works themselves; the intolerable pressure of taxation upon the people, and their dissatisfaction; and lastly, what is still worse, the withdrawal of so much capital, which at present is very

dear, and insufficient for the ordinary wants of the production and commerce of the country, Government using capital worth 9 per cent. and upwards, when it can easily get the same for 4 or 5 per cent., causing thereby to a poor country like India a serious loss, and shutting out England from safe investments in a country which is under its own control. Paying for these ordinary works from revenue, or from terminable loans, makes the whole difference to the people between being crushed by a load or carrying it with the greatest ease. It must be also borne in mind that any increase in the communications of the country, and the better attention to the wants of the country, will make the future generation better able to bear greater burdens than the present.

I next come to extraordinary public works, such as railroads, irrigation works, canals, &c. In the case of these works, Government has fortunately adopted the policy of borrowing; but somehow or other, there is some hesitation in going vigorously and boldly into the matter.

The hesitation for borrowing is grounded mainly, as far as I can make out, on one reason. It is said England's tenure in India is uncertain, and that if, after England lent a large sum, she should have to leave India, she may lose her loans. This is a very fair question, and must be fairly discussed. Now what is the best guarantee the English can have? As a native of India, I may answer, the loyalty and affection of the people. But as Englishmen you may say, "Well, we fully appreciate loyalty and gratitude; but after all, it will not be prudent to depend upon that guarantee alone." Well, then, I ask, what is the best thing you can have? Can you have anything surer than a sufficiently strong English army? And if by the same policy which may enable you to have a strong army, you can also secure the loyalty and gratitude of the people, how much more will your security be increased. How can you have a sufficiently large English army without a sufficiently large revenue, and how can you have a large revenue unless the people are able to pay it, and pay it without feeling crushed by it? If, on the one hand, the present political drain continues, and the country is not helped to develop its resources, the result is evident. The people must get poor, and revenue must diminish. If revenue must diminish, you cannot provide for a sufficient military expenditure, the guarantee for your rule is impaired, and still more so by the discontent of the people. On the other hand, if the Government went boldly and vigorously into the prosecution of all necessary public works by sufficient cheap [illegible] the [illegible]on

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dence enough, and if the 4 per cent. sterling loan is now at a premium, why should the Indian Government not allow India the benefit of these loans, and the capitalists of England an investment under the control of the British themselves? It is said that if Government resorted to loans, the future debt of India would be very large. But why such should be the case I cannot understand. As to the ordinary works, the very fact of terminable loans means contributions from the revenue, and limit to the duration of the loan, the great advantages being "distribution of weight." With regard to extraordinary works, they are paying works, and even if they fail in paying the whole interest, the prosperity of the country will easily yield increased resource to make up for any deficit of interest. All progressing countries are building their public works by loans, and come to this country for borrowing, while poor India, with all her material and moral drawbacks, and struggling for her very existence, is tortured by all sorts of vexatious local and imperial cesses and taxes.

When I ask Government to build the works vigorously themselves, I should not be misunderstood as being in any way against true private enterprise; in fact, the principal articles of present export, except cotton and rice, owe their productions mostly to English private enterprise. Who are the producers of the greater part of tea, coffee, indigo, silk, &c., and even in the case of cotton, how much is owing to Manchester constantly knocking at the door of the India House to build roads, canals, &c.? If English capital is encouraged in a reasonable manner, to open up new *sources of production, what great benefit may be the consequence, both* to England and India. England's benefit would be double; the profits of the investors will ultimately come over here, and consumption of British manufactures will be extended, with the greater ability of the natives to purchase them. The administration reports of the different governments give us figures of many millions of acres of culturable waste land. If Government only did the ordinary duty of opening up these lands by providing necessary communication, and, wherever practicable, necessary irrigation, what a vast store of treasure would be brought out, and what prosperity bestowed upon poor India.

Natives also would do a great deal, if properly guided and encouraged. I am afraid encouraging natives to look out does not seem to be much in the line of officials. I know of an instance, in which one Mr. Rustomjee Bomanjee, a Parsee of Bombay, has been running about for two years from collector to commissioner, and from one official to another, to be allowed to undertake, on his own account, an irrigation project near his

and commerce of the country and the ability of the people to pay taxes will increase, Government will be able to raise with ease larger revenue, and will be able to keep up the necessary strength of the army, the security by which will be further enhanced a hundredfold by the contentment and loyalty of the people.

The most absolute wants of any country, in the undeveloped condition of India, are irrigation and railroads, canals and other cheap communications. Even now, the only or chief bright spot in the administration of the past fifteen years, for which Government claims, and justly receives, the greatest credit, for which India is most thankful to the English public, and which has opened a hopeful day for it, is even with all the waste and jobbery, the railways, canal, and irrigation works already built by English loans. I beseech, therefore, that Government should pursue with vigour this hopeful path, for on this alone do the material salvation of India, and the strength and benefit of English rule depend. There is one more question in connection with loans which requires a fair discussion. It is the opinion of many that the loans should be raised in India. The reasons assigned are, either the fear of uncertain tenure of English rule, or that India may not have to remit interest to this country. The first, I have already answered, is suicidal. With regard to the second reason, I say, if India is able, by all means raise the loans there. I am very glad that Government have succeeded in inducing some of the native princes to lend money to build railways. But I have shown you already that India does not at present produce enough for its ordinary wants, much less can it save or spare capital for these loans. The very fact that capital is worth 9 per cent. ordinary interest in India shows its insufficiency, even for its very limited commerce.

The idea of making India raise loans is like ordering water to run up a hill. Raise loans in India, the result will be still the same. Water will gravitate to the lowest level. Beyond a certain amount needed in India for investments of trusts, retired persons, banks, unenterprising zemindars, &c., the rest will be bought up by this country. Be this as it may, the test is a very easy one. Let Government open loans at 4 per cent., both in India and England, at the best prices capitalists would give for this interest, and in such a way that the notes be easily negotiable both in India and England, and that the interest may be also obtainable in both countries without unnecessary trouble; and the natural laws of capital will settle the rest. If the English public have con-

the union of a powerful body, propose well-considered measures calculated to be beneficial to all interests, the India Office, less able to resist such action, will most probably welcome it to aid in its administration, and Parliament will be better guided in any efforts it may make, from time to time, to do its duty to India.

Now, gentlemen, whatever attention you may think my address worth, I am sure that on one point we should all agree,—that the subject of the commerce of India is one of those most important ones for the attention of the English public, whether for duty to India or for their own interest. You are aware that the East India Association has resolved to petition for a select committee of Parliament, and that Mr. Fawcett, having last session moved for a committee, the Right. Hon. the Prime Minister has shown a disposition to be favourable to the motion when made this session. I sincerely trust the Council of the Society, in the way that may seem most suitable to them, will help in asking for the committee, and in getting it to institute a searching inquiry into the great questions why India's commerce is so miserably small, and not commensurate with its vast resources, extent, and population. Is it correct or not that the total production of the country is with all the progress said to be made, yet so wretched as 1*s.* 6*d.*, or say even 2*s.* per week per head ; and, if so, is such a state of affairs creditable to British administration ? Are the British rulers practically adopting a policy which would justify their declarations in the report of the material and moral progress for 1868-69, that "the State has now publicly announced its responsibility for the life of the least of its subjects," or the noble sentiment expressed by Lord Mayo, "The coils that she (England) seeks to entwine are no iron fetters, but the golden chains of affection and of peace"? Will the next ten years be free from the heartrending, destructive famines of the past decade; and cannot the people of India be rendered so contented and loyal as to make Russia's ambition for the conquest of India a mere dream to be laughed at?

In submitting my views at present, and asking the help of this powerful Society in obtaining and utilizing the select committee, nothing is further from my mind than any hostile feeling to the Indian Government both at home and in India. I only desire to see the right administration of the country, and I wish to point out that, just like all the interests of this country itself, those of India also require intelligent, independent investigation by select committees of Parliament at reasonable intervals, and the watchfulness of some independent, well-organized body. The

Prime Minister himself has given the strongest reason last session:—"And the fact, which we must all deplore, that it is not easy to secure adequate attention within these walls to Indian affairs, is an additional reason for having a committee to inquire into the matter."

It is, gentlemen, my deep conviction that the future elevation of the 200,000,000 of the people of India cannot be in better hands than those of the British nation. I only beseech you to do the good which is in your power, both to yourselves and to India, crowned with the blessings of a sixth of the human race.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, in replying (after the discussion), said he felt exceedingly thankful for the way in which his paper had been received and discussed; and, notwithstanding that some few remarks had been made, as was supposed, in opposition to his views, he could not but congratulate himself that his main points had been maintained and developed much more forcibly by other speakers than by himself. He had, however, been, in one or two instances, slightly misunderstood, as he would endeavour to explain. He had purposely avoided drawing any comparison between the past and present, and had introduced the statistics showing the excess of exports over imports merely to show how fallacious were the statements sometimes put forth on the highest authority; and although this was, no doubt, unintentional, it was none the less misleading. In a question of commerce, in which figures were the basis of the whole argument, it was absolutely essential that they should be accurate, and he must therefore be excused for saying that a great deal more care than was usually given was required in drawing conclusions from the statistics to which he had referred. He had never denied that some progress had been made during the last fifteen years, but upon this point also he would venture to use the following illustration:—A strong man knocked down a weaker one, and, to use the words of Mr. Grant Duff, almost ground him to dust, and then, after giving him a glass of water to revive him, said, "See how I have benefited you; I have given you a good glass of water, and now you are ever so much better." Down to 1850,* India was being continually impoverished, and then the Government themselves, being aghast at the results, began to look about to see what could be done. They soon struck upon the right path, which was, to send back to India the wealth which had been drained from her during seventy years, to the

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* Sir A. Cotton told me, after the meeting, that I was quite right, that about 1850 the poor people were very wretched.

extent of hundreds of millions. - 100,000,000*l.* had been lent for the purpose of constructing railways, but this was not enough. England had drawn from India twenty times as much as she had yet lent her. He did not claim that it should be returned, he simply asked for a loan of so much money as would enable India to supply herself with necessary public works, and it should all be repaid, with a thousand thanks for England's good government. When India was lying in the dust, exhausted and helpless, only just reviving a little, it was no use saying to her, "You must help yourself." If no other feeling prompted such action—though he contended there could be no higher object of ambition than to raise up a nation of 200 million souls—selfishness alone should lead Britain not to drain India entirely dry. Many speakers had mistaken his views, but all had agreed that India required further help; and in replying to the charge which had been made against him in some quarters, of not doing justice to the good services which England had rendered to India, he had simply to submit a Dr. and Cr. account which he had sketched out, and to which he believed no exception could be taken.

Cr.—*In the Cause of Humanity.*—Abolition of suttee and infanticide.

Destruction of Dacoits, Thugs, Pindarees, and other such pests of Indian society.

Remarriage of Hindoo widows, and charitable aid in times of famine.

Glorious work all this, of which any nation may well be proud, and such as has not fallen to the lot of any people in the history of mankind.

In the Cause of Civilization.—Education, both male and female. Though yet only partial, an inestimable blessing as far as it has gone, and leading gradually to the destruction of superstition, and many moral and social evils. Resuscitation of India's own noble literature, modified *and refined by the enlightenment of the West.*

The only pity is that as much has not been done as might have been in this noble work; but still India must be, and is, deeply grateful.

Politically.—Peace and order. Freedom of speech and liberty of the press. Higher political knowledge and aspirations. Improvement of government in the native States. Security of life and property. Freedom from oppression caused by the caprice or avarice of despotic rulers, and from devastation by war. Equal justice between man and man (sometimes vitiated by partiality to Europeans). Services of [illegible] administrators, who have achieved the above-mentio[illegible]

Materially.—Loans for railways and irrigation. (I have been particularly charged with ignoring this, but I consider it one of the greatest benefits you have conferred upon India, inasmuch as it has enabled us to produce more than we could before, though there is not yet enough for all India's ordinary wants, and I have said this in my paper.) I cannot ascertain the exact amount of investments in irrigation works, but I take them to be about 10,000,000*l.*, making the total 110,000,000*l.* The development of a few valuable products, such as indigo, tea, coffee, silk, &c. Increase of exports. Telegraphs.

Generally.—A slowly-growing desire of late to treat India equitably, and as a country held in trust. Good intentions.

No nation on the face of the earth has ever had the opportunity of achieving such a glorious work as this. I hope in this credit side of the account I have done no injustice, and if I have omitted any item which anyone may think of importance, I shall have the greatest pleasure in inserting it. I appreciate, and so do my countrymen, what England has done for India, and I know that it is only in British hands that her regeneration can be accomplished. Now for the debit side.

Dr.—*In the Cause of Humanity.*—Nothing. Everything, therefore, is in your favour under this head.

In the Cause of Civilization.—As I have said already, there has been a failure to do as much as might have been done, but I put nothing to the debit. Much has been done, or I should not be standing here this evening.

Politically.—Repeated breach of pledges to give the natives a fair and reasonable share in the higher administration of their own country, which has much shaken confidence in the good faith of the British word. Political aspirations and the legitimate claim to have a reasonable voice in the legislation and the imposition and disbursement of taxes, met to a very slight degree, thus treating the natives of India not as British subjects, to whom representation is a birthright.

[I stop here a moment to say a word as to a mistake into which my friend, Mr. Hyde Clarke, fell, in supposing that I desired the government of India to be at once transferred to the natives. In my belief a greater calamity could not befall India than for England to go away and leave her to herself.]

Consequent on the above, an utter disregard of the feelings and views of the natives. The great moral evil of the drain of the wisdom of practical administration and statesmanship, leaving none to guide the rising

generation. (Here, again, have I been misunderstood. I complain not of Englishmen returning to their own country, but of the whole administration being kept entirely in English hands, so that none of the natives are brought up to and taught the responsibilities and duties of office, so that we have none amongst ourselves to guide us as our elders, and to teach us our duties as citizens and as moral beings. A foster mother or nurse will never supply the place of the real mother, unless she shows more kindness and attention to her charge than the real mother, and the natives will therefore naturally follow their own leaders, unless you prove more kind, humane, and considerate. Draw these leaders on your side.) The indifference to India, even of a large portion of those who have had an Indian career, and who are living on Indian pensions. The culpable indifference of a large portion of the people, the public press, and Parliament of this country to the interests of India; therefore, periodical committees of inquiry are absolutely necessary, for the knowledge that such will take place would be a check on careless administration. With regard to the native States, though their system is improving, it is most unjust that their cases should be decided in secret. The frequent change of officials is a constant source of disturbance in policy, and though it may be unavoidable, it is none the less hard upon India.

Financially.—All attention is engrossed in devising new modes of taxation, without any adequate effort to increase the means of the people to pay; and the consequent vexation and oppressiveness of the taxes imposed, imperial and local. Inequitable financial relations between England and India, *i. e.* the political debt of 100,000,000*l.* clapped on India's shoulders, and all home charges also, though the British exchequer contributes nearly 3,000,000*l.* to the expenses of the colonies. The crushing and economically rude and unintelligent policy of making the present generation pay the whole cost of public works for the benefit of the future, *instead of making the political like all other machinery, and distributing the weight so as to make a small power lift a large weight by the aid of time.* The results of trying to produce something out of nothing, of the want of intelligent adaptation of financial machinery, and of much reckless expenditure; in financial embarrassments, and deep discontent of the people.

Materially.—The political drain, up to this time, from India to England, of above 500,000,000*l.*, at the lowest computation, in principal alone, which with interest would be some thousands of millions. The further continuation of this drain at the rate, at present, of above

12,000,000*l*., with a tendency to increase. (I do not mean this as a complaint; you must have a return for the services rendered to India, but let us have the means of paying. If I have a manager to whom I pay 1000*l*. a year, and he only makes the business produce 400*l*., so that 600*l*. a year must be paid him out of capital, any man of business can see what will be the result. Peace and order will soon be completely established by the closing of the concern.)

The consequent continuous impoverishment and exhaustion of the country, except so far as it has been very partially relieved and replenished by the railway and irrigation loans, and the windfall of the consequences of the American war, since 1850. Even with this relief, the material condition of India is such that the great mass of the poor people have hardly 2*d*. a day and a few rags, or a scanty subsistence.

The famines that were in their power to prevent, if they had done their duty, as a good and intelligent government. The policy adopted during the last fifteen years of building railways, irrigation works, &c., is hopeful, has already resulted in much good to your credit, and if persevered in, gratitude and contentment will follow.

Contra.—Increase of exports; loss of manufacturing industry and skill. Here I end the debit side.

About Sir A. Cotton's remarks I would just say this. Suppose rice could be got at the shipping ports in India at 6*s*. a cwt., and transit to this country cost 2*s*. more, the price at which people here get it is only about 9*s*., and not that people here pay 24*s*. for which in India natives pay only 6*s*. If it were so, if English people would be kind enough to give us 24*s*. or 18*s*. for what in India fetches 6*s*., we shall be very thankful, and rich in a very short time. Again, if an article costs 5*s*. here, and takes 1*s*. transit to India, the people in India have not to pay one-third (or 2*s*. only) of what you pay for them, but have to pay with ordinary profit 7*s*. for the article. What I suppose Sir A. Cotton means is, that for certain necessities of existence here you require somewhat more material, and therefore more money, than in India. That is true; but what I maintain is, that comparatively less as the absolute wants of natives may be, these have not even been sufficiently supplied. It must also be remembered that the wants of the natives of Northern India are greater than in Southern India. But to say that the natives of India would not like to enjoy as much the good things of this world as any other people, is neither fact nor nature. See the manner in which the rich Hindoos and Mahommedans of Bombay live.

It is sometimes said that loans beget waste. I cannot see how money of loans can have waste in its character more than money from revenue. The right horse to saddle with waste is the officer who wastes, and not that the money is a loan. A wasteful officer would as much waste money from revenue as from loans. The condemnation of waste must be in the administrative system and men, and not in the source from which money comes.

With regard to exports being merely surplus produce, there cannot be a greater mistake than that which was advanced by one speaker, that a country could not export anything until all her own people were fed. A country might not consume a farthing's worth of its own produce, but might send it all away, and, getting in return what was more valuable, become wealthy and happy. Surplus has nothing to do with it. England formerly tried by forcible means to keep her own produce at home, but now she got corn from all the world. To sum up the whole, the British rule has been—morally, a great blessing; politically peace and order on one hand, blunders on the other; materially, impoverishment (relieved as far as the railway and other loans go). The natives call the British system "Sakar ki Churi," the knife of sugar. That is to say there is no oppression, it is all smooth and sweet, but it is the knife, notwithstanding. I mention this that you should know these feelings. Our great misfortune is that you do not know our wants. When you will know our real wishes, I have not the least doubt that you would do justice. The genius and spirit of the British people is fair play and justice. The great problems before the English statesmen are two. 1. To make the foreign rule self-supporting, either by returning to India, in some shape or other, the wealth that has been, and is being, drawn from it, or by stopping that drain in some way till India is so far improved in its material condition as to be able to produce enough for its own ordinary wants and the extraordinary ones of a costly distant rule. If you cannot feel yourself actuated by the high and noble ambition of the amelioration of 200,000,000 of human beings, let your self-interest suggest to you to take care of the bird that gives the golden egg of 12,000,000*l.* a year to your nation, and provisions to thousands of your people of all classes. In the name of humanity, I implore our rulers to make up their minds not to prevent the restoration of the equilibrium, after the continuous exhaustion by drain and by horrible famines. I do not in the least grudge any legitimate benefit England may derive for its rule in India. On the contrary, I am thankful for its invaluable moral benefits; but it is the further duty of England to give us such a government, and all the bene-

fit of its power and credit, as to enable us to pay, without starving or dying by famine, the tribute or price for the rule. 2. How to satisfy reasonably the growing political aspirations and just rights of a people called British subjects, to have a fair share in the administration and legislation of their own country. If the Select Committee solve these two problems, before which all other difficulties, financial or others, are as nothing, they will deserve the blessings of 200,000,000 of the human race.

VIII.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

[Addressed to the Select Committee on East India Finance, 1871.]

A CONSIDERABLE number of the best informed and most influential Native and English inhabitants of India, together with others of Her Majesty's subjects of all ranks who have the welfare of that portion of the British Empire at heart, asked for Parliamentary inquiry. Parliament readily granted a Select Committee of the House of Commons, though for an inquiry which was to be limited to Financial Administration. It is, I think, due to Parliament and to the Select Committee that those who prayed for inquiry should say in time what they want, for it would be both unreasonable and useless for them to complain afterwards that the Select Committee did not do this or that. As a native of India, and one who joined in a petition from the East India Association, I most respectfully submit for the consideration of the Select Committee a few remarks as to what I hope and desire from it.

The Financial Administration of any country, like all other human institutions, requires four important elements :—

1st. Materials.

2nd. Head to design.

3rd. Hand to execute.

4th. Sound principles of design and execution. Upon the degree of perfection of each and all of these requisites depends the measure of success.

I.—MATERIALS.

This is the *most important* and fundamental question for decision. Without sufficient and suitable materials to work with, all the other requisites are of no avail whatsoever.

The question, then, is : Does India, even at the present day, produce enough to supply, without hardship or privation, both its ordinary wants as a nation, and its extraordinary and peculiar want to remit to a foreign distant country a portion of its produce as the natural economical result of a foreign rule? I say that India does not produce enough even for the ordinary necessary wants of its children, much less for all their social

and peculiar political wants. Is this a fact or not? The Indian Government is bound to answer this question definitely. If the India Office should prove me to be wrong, no one will rejoice more than myself. If I be right, then, no ingenious device of even ten Wilsons or Temples will relieve the Financial Administration of its difficulties, unless the Indian legislators and financiers possess the Divine power of creating something out of nothing. The poverty and privations of the country once admitted, the question then will be, how to remedy this fundamental evil. The subject of the remedies ultimately resolves itself into the following:—

1st. Provision of capital necessary for all public works of a permanent character, both ordinary and extraordinary, which are required to increase production and facilitate distribution, to be provided, if India is impoverished, and has it not.

2nd. A just adjustment of the financial relations between India and England, so that the political drain may be reasonably diminished.*

3rd. The best way of attracting capital and enterprise to utilise the vast culturable waste lands.

4th. The best way of increasing the intelligence of the people by a comprehensive plan of national education, both high and popular.

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* I give this chief cause of the impoverishment of a country in the words of Sir R. Temple himself, written under the direction of Lord Lawrence. (Punjaub Administration Report for 1856-8, Parliamentary Return 212 of 1859, page 16):—

"In former reports it was explained how the circumstance of so much money going out of the Punjaub contributed to depress the agriculturist. The native regular army was Hindustanee; to them was a large share of the Punjaub revenues disbursed, of which a part only they spent on the spot, and a part was remitted to their homes. Thus it was that, year after year, lakhs and lakhs were drained from the Punjaub, and enriched Oudh. But within the last year, the native army being Punjabee, all such sums have been paid to them, and have been spent at home. Again, many thousands of Punjabee soldiers are serving abroad. These men not only remit their savings, but also have sent quantities of prize property and plunder, the spoils of Hindoostan, to their native villages. The effect of all this is already perceptible in an increase of agricultural capital, a freer circulation of money, and a fresh impetus to cultivation."

"The Report has been prepared under the direction of Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner of Punjaub, by

"R. TEMPLE,
Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Punjaub."

May I appeal to Sir R. Temple to ponder over this extract, and in his new place of a financier of India, look this same evil for all India boldly in the face, and firmly suggest its proper remedies; so that the burden of the millions and millions that are "year after year drained" from India to England may be reasonably lightened, and the ability of the people to meet the legitimate portion of the drain increased to the necessary extent? Is it also too much for India to expect, or even to claim from Lord Lawrence to represent this evil to the Select Committee and to Parliament, and to obtain for India full redress?

If the fact of the poor production of India can be proved directly, any indirect test may not be considered necessary; but as questions have been already put in the Committee about such tests, and as these tests are frequently appealed to as proving the prosperity of the country, I think it necessary to say a few words regarding them. The tests I refer to more particularly are "rise" in prices and wages, and imports of *bullion*. I hope mere general assertions on these points will not be considered sufficient. To understand correctly the phenomena of prices and wages, it is absolutely necessary for the India Office to prepare a return of the prices and wages of all districts from, say, twenty years prior to the British acquisition, to the present day, giving also opposite to the figures for each year the causes of the rise or fall, as the case may be. Such a return alone will show the effect of "the drain," after the British acquisition, either as to how far any rise, on the one hand, was the result of scarcity of production, or of increase of prosperity, or of local expenditure on public works; or, on the other, how far any fall was the result of abundance of produce or the poverty of the district; and, further, whether the rise or fall was general or local, permanent or temporary. The average of a collection of districts of the whole country must also be taken correctly, and not in the erroneous manner in which they are at present made up in the Administration Reports.

To show the necessity of what I ask in the above paragraph, I give a few instances. In the Madras selection from Government Records, No. XXXI., of 1856, prices are given of certain periods for several districts. I take those of Chingleput (page 23), for the years 1841-50 (Fuslee, 1251-60), during which the prices suddenly rose from Rs. 82 per garce of paddy in 1254, to Rs. 126 in the next year 1255, and to Rs. 124 in 1256, and again went down to Rs. 96 and 69 in the succeeding years. So at Rajahmundry, in the prices for the years 1236 to 1245 (1826 to 1834), there is a sudden rise from Rs. 64 in 1241 to Rs. 111 in 1242, and to Rs. 168 in 1243, going down again to Rs. 95 and 63 in the succeeding two years. Now, are these high prices in the two couples of years the result of scarcity or prosperity? If the former, how very wrong it would be to take the high averages of these ten years for comparison or as an indication of prosperity? The last two years in the Punjaub have been bad seasons, and the price of wheat has risen from 1st January, '68, to 1st January, '70, at Delhi, from 26 seers (of 2 lbs.) per Re. 1 to 9 seers; at Ambala from 24 seers to 9 seers; at Lahore, from 18 seers to 9½ (Punjaub Adm. Report for 1869-70, p. 95).

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To show the necessity of what I ask in the above paragraph, I give a few instances. In the Madras selection from Government Records, No. XXXI., of 1856, prices are given of certain grains for several districts. I take those of Chingleput (page 23), for the years [illegible] (Fusly, [illegible]), during which the prices suddenly rose from Rs. 72 per garce of paddy in [illegible], to Rs. [illegible] in the next year [illegible], and to Rs. [illegible] in [illegible], and again went down to Rs. [illegible] and [illegible] in the succeeding years. So in Rajahmundry, in the prices for the years [illegible] to [illegible] (Fusly [illegible] to [illegible]), there is a sudden rise from Rs. [illegible] in [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] in [illegible] and to Rs. [illegible] in [illegible], going down again to Rs. [illegible] and [illegible] in the succeeding two years. Now, are these high prices in the two couples of years the result of scarcity or prosperity? If the former, how very wrong it would be to take the high averages of these two years for any purpose as an indication of prosperity? The last two years, in the Punjab, have been bad seasons, and the price of wheat has risen [illegible] [illegible]

Now, is it right from high averages occasioned in this manner to infer prosperity? An hon. member recently quoted in Parliament the high price of rice at Jubbulpore. Had his informant been a little more communicative, he would have learnt that, while at Jubbulpore, say in the average good season of 1867-8, the price was Rs. $3\frac{3}{4}$ per maund, in the adjoining division of Chutteesghur, the price at Raipore and Belaspore was only Re. 1 per maund, or nearly one-fourth; and that therefore Jubbulpore, with its local expenditure on public works, was no criterion for the rest of the country. In the North-west Provinces, the price of wheat was about the same in the years 1860 and 1868. But during that interval the province passed through a great famine, and had famine prices. Now, will the average taken with these famine prices be a proper criterion for inferences of prosperity? With regard to the erroneous mode of taking averages of a number of districts, by adding up the prices and dividing the total by the number of the districts, without reference to the quantity produced in each district, I need simply refer to the average taken in the Report of the Central Provinces for 1867-68. It is there made out for rice to be Rs. $2\frac{3}{4}$ per maund, when the actual average was only about Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$.

These few instances will, I hope, suffice to show how carefully the test of prices, and similarly that of wages, have to be ascertained and applied. With reference to wages, two important elements must be borne in mind—the number of the labourers who earn each rate of wages, and the number of days such wages are earned during the year.

So far as my inquiries go at present, the conclusion I draw is, that wherever the East India Company acquired territory, impoverishment followed their steps, and it is only from the time that loans for irrigation and railways and other public works, and the windfall of the benefits from the American War returned back, as it were, some of the lost blood, that India has a little revived. But it will require vigorous and steady efforts to increase the production of the country, and diminish its drain to England, before it will be restored to anything like ordinary good health, and be freed from famines.

With regard to imports of bullion, there are sufficient returns for the past seventy years; but they require to be carefully examined to draw any correct inferences from them, taking into consideration the non-production of bullion in the country, the revenue being required to be

paid in money, and thereby making silver a necessity in all ordinary transactions of life, the vast population among whom these imports are distributed, and the amount of treasure the East India Company and their servants carried away during the last century in the shape of salaries, bribes, booty, &c. Cannot the India Office make some return on this point, to show the exhaustion of the country thus caused which required to be replenished by subsequent imports? It is no use simply depending upon the re-echoing of the general exclamation, "What an enormous quantity of silver has gone to India!" I entreat most earnestly that the first element—viz., the material condition of India—may be most carefully sifted, and the necessary remedies be applied. If this question be not boldly and fairly grappled with, it will be, in my humble opinion, the principal rock on which British rule will wreck. It is impossible for any nation to go on being impoverished without its ultimate destruction, or the removal of the cause.

II. Head to Design.

The head which designs the Imperial financial legislation is the Supreme Legislative Council, while local legislation is designed by the local Councils. All these Councils have a controlling head in the India Office Council in London. The questions, then, to be decided, in order that the designing head may be as efficient and adapted to the end as possible, resolve themselves into these :—

1st. Can any legislation ever do its work satisfactorily in which the opinions, feelings, and thoughts of the people paying the taxes are not fairly represented? Englishmen, no matter how able, and with whatever good intentions, cannot feel as the natives feel, and think as the natives think. The co-operation of a sufficient number of intelligent natives in all the Councils is an absolute necessity to any satisfactory financial legislation. As to any fear of political mischief from taking natives more largely into confidence, I think it to be entirely groundless. But, even granting that there was any risk, I need simply refer to the Act of 1861, in which ample checks and securities are provided. With a sufficiently large number of natives, with a corresponding increase in the number of non-official English members, there will not only be no risk, but, on the contrary, every cause for satisfaction. I may just point out the checks I allude to—

"Provided always, that it shall not be [illegible]

Additional Member to introduce, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, any measure affecting—

"1. The public debt or public revenues of India; or by which any charge would be imposed on such revenues.*

"2. The religion or religious rites and usages of any class of Her Majesty's subjects in India;

"3. The discipline or maintenance of any part of Her Majesty's Military or Naval Forces;

"4. The relation of the Government with Foreign Princes or States." (Clause 19.)

Moreover, the Governor-General has his power of veto; and the ultimate consent of Her Majesty's Indian Secretary is also necessary. (Clauses 20 and 21.)

Clause 22, limits even the power of the Governor-General as to what he shall not legislate upon, and Clause 43 repeats, with certain additions, as to what the local Council cannot legislate upon except with the sanction of the Governor-General. With such checks there can be nothing to fear.

2nd. Whether decentralization, such as Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir C. Wingfield, and others who agree with them, propose, is necessary or not to solve difficulties like the following. Some provinces complain that they are taxed more to make up the deficits of others. For instance—supposing that the Zemindars of Bengal are right in claiming exemption from any additional burden on lands, under the Regulation of 1793, would not the scheme of decentralization enable the Bengal Government to provide in some other appropriate way for its own wants, instead of the Supreme Council being obliged to impose the same taxes upon the other parts of India also, as it cannot tax Bengal by itself.

The distant Presidencies complain that the Supreme Council is not able to understand fully their peculiar requirements. With the

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* Though the Indian Councils are thus prohibited from imposing charges on Indian revenues without direct legislation, and the sanction of the Governor-General first obtained to introduce the measure, the Indian Council in England is, in a very anomalous way, left to do what it likes with the revenues of India; take, for instance, the way in which certain charges connected with the Cooper-hill Civil Engineering College are put upon Indian revenues, or the large sum of money spent upon the India Office, or any other charges that the Indian Council chooses to make.

Governor-General having a veto upon all the legislation of the subordinate Governments, could not the Supreme Government be better able to attend to all Imperial questions without any loss of dignity or power, and yet leave fairly upon the heads of the different Presidencies their fair share of responsibility? These and similar questions with regard to the constitution and work of the Councils in India have to be decided.

Similar questions have also to be considered with regard to the Indian Council in England. First, need there be such a large Council? Secondly, need the Council have the work of supervision of everything that is done in India; or will it act merely as an appellant power, to interfere when appealed to? Is the constitution such as could satisfactorily perform its work with the due knowledge and appreciation of the continuous change of conditions going on in India? And is it not necessary, moreover, that, as in the Councils in India, some suitable representation of native views and interests should exist in the India Office? Lastly, is it right that this Council should have the power to spend the revenues of India as it likes, without some such open legislation, discussion, and check, as is provided for the Councils in India? From this, I hope it will be sufficiently apparent that the element of "the head which designs and controls" the financial administration of India requires careful consideration. The necessity of a fair expression of the views and feelings of the natives has another aspect—viz, that with such co-operation Government will be very largely relieved of the odium of any dissatisfaction among the natives.

All the remarks with reference to the necessity of a fair representation of natives in the Legislative Councils apply equally to all taxation and expenditure of local funds. For, besides the Imperial revenue of some 50,000,000*l.*, there are local funds raised as follows:—

Local Funds.

Gross Receipts for 1867-8, *according to Part I. of Finance and Revenue Accounts of India, published by the Government of India, Calcutta,* 1870, *Account No.* 34, *pages* 116, 118, 120, *and* 122.

Government of India	£41,028
Oude	194,728
Central Provinces	173,410
British Burmah...	105,550
Bengal	623,722
N. W. Provinces	825,007
Punjaub	326,870
Madras	459,199
Bombay	1,093,133
Berars (11 months of 1866-67, £130,148)	Not given.
Total......	£3,842,647

III.—Hand to Execute.

This hand is formed by all the different services in the Administration. The questions are—

1st. Can these services be fully efficient without a proper proportion of natives of talent and integrity in all grades? I consider the question here solely with reference to successful financial administration, independently of its very important social and, especially, political bearings, of the claims of right and justice, and of the great evil of no elders of wisdom or experience being prepared among the natives, as all the wisdom and experience of English officials is lost to India on their retirement, except perhaps of a few, who have conscience enough to feel the debt they owe to India, and to do what they can in England to promote its welfare.

2nd. Can the English officials, no matter however clever, manage the natives as well as natives of the same standing, ability, and integrity? A word of persuasion and assurance from a native of official position will, in the nature of things, carry more influence than that of an Englishman. A native will far more easily understand and know how to deal with the ways of natives. The assistance, therefore, of a proper proportion of natives in all departments is a necessity for successful organization and working of details. Even now it is the native in many instances who is the real soul of the work, though the credit is all taken by his English superiors.

Conscientious men, like Sir Henry Ricketts, of the [illegible] Service, make no secret of such a circumstance, and rightly [illegible] credit be given to whom it belongs. It is only natural that the [illegible] man, with his frequent changes and his ignorance of the [illegible] him, is depended upon, and at the mercy of, his subordinates. [illegible] were in the service natives of the same position with himself, [illegible] by comparing notes with them, be much helped in [illegible] feelings, views, and idiosyncrasies of natives, which [illegible] means of learning.

Successful administration requires complete knowledge [illegible] knowledge the co-operation of the natives is simply [illegible]

There is, moreover, the economical, and, there[illegible] financial, point of view from which this subject [illegible] Supposing that the native official was paid as [illegible] league, the mere fact that all the earnings of the [illegible] pro- the country, as he has no remittances to make [illegible] rds education or maintenance of his children [illegible] lance in itself so far an economical and, there[illegible] nator. the country; and it is the bounden duty of [illegible] lement India this economical saving, consistently [illegible] Taking In some of the services, such as the Public [illegible] of two- political considerations have no place [illegible] half of the oft-repeated pledges of Parliament [illegible] (Adm have free and fair admission into all [illegible] saving is allowed to India to a [illegible] the finances of India for the [illegible] mockery and delusion. Politically [illegible] that before long the English [illegible] questions to solve, if due [illegible]

way in which the Committee has already commenced, to examine the principle and necessity of each item of receipt and expenditure. Now, there is no doubt that the opinion of this governor, or that revenue officer, or such a commander, may be worthy of all weight and respect; but, at the same time, in order that the committee should arrive at an independent judgment of their own, it is necessary that they should not be satisfied with mere general opinions of the witnesses, but should require a clear statement of some satisfactory *proofs* upon which those opinions are based. I hope, therefore, that mere assertions of officials, that "all is right," will not be considered sufficient. For instance, we may take the question of the land revenue, which is the very subject the Committee has commenced with. There is a variety of land tenures, and each is based upon several principles. I take the instance of one of these principles—viz., the proportion of the rate of assessment to the income of the cultivator, or the produce of the land.

There are two questions. First, Are the principle or principles of the rates sound? and, second, if so, are the rate or rates adopted, such as to encourage increase of cultivation, lead to increase of capital, and thereby to increase of production and prosperity?

First take the *principles* of the rate.

In Bombay one and the chief principle of the last settlement seems to me to be this. It is illustrated by a table by Captain (now Sir George) Wingate and Lieut. Nash. (Bombay "Selection," No. CVII., New Series, page 14. See also pages 109 and 110.)

The soil is divided from No. 1 to No. 9. The gross produce of soil No. 1 is supposed, for illustration, to be Rs. 172 4 as. for every Rs. 100 of cultivation expenses—*i.e.*, Rs. 72 4 as. is net produce; and for soil No. 9, the gross produce is supposed to be Rs. 127 6 as. 3 p. for every Rs. 100 of cultivation expenses—*i.e.*, Rs. 27 6 as. 3 p. is net produce. The Government assessment is then adjusted as follows: Out of the net produce of Rs. 27 6 as. 3 p. of No. 9 soil, the Government rate is, for supposition taken as Rs. 5 13 as. 4 p., leaving to the cultivator Rs. 21 8 as. 11 p.—*i.e.*, something like 75 per cent. of the net produce. But what is proposed to be left to the cultivator of No. 1, whose net produce is Rs. 72 4 as.? One would think that, like the rate of the No. 9 soil, Government would take one-fourth, or say, Rs. 18, and leave to the cultivator three-fourths, or Rs. 54. Such, however, is not the case. The cultivator of No. 1 soil is also to keep only Rs. 21 8 as. 11 p. and give up to Governmen Rs. 50 11 as. 1 p.—that is, Government takes above two-thirds and the

cultivator less than one-third; the principle being that, no matter what the net produce for every Rs. 100 invested may be, every cultivator is not to have a definite proportion of his net produce, but an absolute fixed quantity. This would be something like imposing the income-tax upon the principle that if one merchant makes a profit of 50*l.* on an investment of 100*l.*, and another of 10*l.* on the same investment, they are not to pay some definite proportion or proportions of their profits; but if the latter is to pay 2*l.* out of 10*l.*, and retain 8*l.*, the former should also retain 8*l.* only, and pay 42*l.* to Government. I wonder how British merchants and manufacturers would like this principle! However, it is not my object here to discuss the merit of this principle, but only to state it, for comparison with that of the other provinces.

Now take Madras. There the principle is, after allowing for ridges, boundaries, unproductive portions of fields, seasons, cultivation expenses, &c., to adjust the Government Assessment at two-thirds of the net produce on wet or irrigated lands, and a sort of compromise between two-thirds of net produce and one-fourth of gross produce on dry lands; the balance of about one-third of the net produce being left to the cultivator. ("Madras Selection," No. XIV., of 1869, pages 142—160, Settlement of Chellumbrum and Manargoody Talookas, of South Arcot.) Taking Punjaub, the principle of the first settlement was on the basis of two-thirds of the net produce, but by the revised settlement it is on one-half of the net produce for Government. In the N. W. Provinces (Adm. Report, '67-'68, page 47) "the standard of assessment is now 55 per cent. of the assets, of which 5 per cent. goes for cesses; the remaining 45 per cent., after defraying the village expenses, forms the profit of the proprietors."

To sum up the whole, I give an extract from a memorandum of the India House (Return 75, of 1858). "And in all the improved systems of Revenue Administration, of which an account has been given in the preceding part of this paper, the object has not been merely to keep the Government demand *within the limits of a fair rent, but to leave a large portion of the rent to the proprietors.* In the settlement of the N. W. Provinces, the demand was limited to two-thirds of the amount, which it appeared, from the best attainable information, that the land could afford to pay *as rent.* The principle which has been laid do[illegible] or *the next* settlement, and acted on wherever settleme[illegible] c [illegible] is *still* more liberal; the Government demand bei[illegible] [illegible]nd *of* two-thirds of the *average net produce*—th[illegible] [illegible]*same* [illegible] *of* general standard has been adopted for [illegible]

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the Madras territory. In Bombay no fixed proportion has been kept in view, but the object has been that land should possess a saleable value." (The italics are mine.)

Now, in giving this extract I have also the object of directing attention to the use of the words "net produce" and "fair rent" as synonymous. Is it so? Is the *net produce*, of which one-half is settled as Government assessment, *rent* only in the sense in which economists use that word, and for "leaving a large portion of which" Government claims credit of liberality?

Now to the next question. Taking the *absolute* amount of the net produce, is the portion allowed to the cultivators sufficient, on an average, for their year's ordinary wants of common necessaries, and some reasonable comforts, together with a saving to face a bad season, or to increase the capital of the country for increasing production?

The test of "the satisfaction of the ryots" is often quoted as a proof of soundness. But it requires to be ascertained whether because an element like that of fixity of tenure and non-interference for a long period is felt satisfactory, it follows that the other elements or principles of the settlement are also necessarily satisfactory or just, even though, as a general result, the agriculturists may feel themselves somewhat better off than they were before? Or is the fact of such profits as the Bombay Presidency had the good fortune to make from the late American war, and the improvement of condition by railways, though a cause of satisfaction to the cultivators, a proof of the soundness or justness of each and all the principles adopted in the settlement? To come to a right conclusion, each principle requires to be examined on its own merits, without reference to general results: for if *all* the principles were sound, much more satisfactory may be the results.

The Bombay settlement, as well as that of other parts, is now under revision. It is important to ascertain the real present incidence of land revenue, and the reasonable increase that may be made, with sufficient left to the cultivator to subsist on and to save for increase of capital. I am afraid the Bombay re-settlement is not quite reasonable.

I shall take one or two more instances in connection with land revenue. Whether the zemindars of the permanent settlement can be taxed for extra cesses has been the subject of much controversy and dissatisfaction, and even up to the present day the India Office is divided against itself. Now, as long as mere opinions of this official or that

Indian Secretary are the sole guides, I do not see how the controversy will ever end. It is a simple question of documentary evidence—the interpretation of a regulation. Would it not be the best plan to subject this question to the decision of a judicial authority, such as the Privy Council after hearing the arguments of counsel on both sides? The decision of such a tribunal must end the matter. The same course, either on the original side of the High Court of Bombay, or in the Privy Council, might be adopted with regard to the extra anna-cess imposed upon the existing Bombay settlements. I believe it is the opinion of many that it was a breach of faith on the part of Government. A decision of a competent judicial tribunal would be satisfactory to all parties.

The *prestige* of the British name for good faith should never be in the least imperilled, if it is to exert for Government the moral influence it possesses, independently of political and other reasons.

Lastly, in reference to the principles of the land revenue, as a part of the whole design, is the burden of taxation on the cultivator of land in an equitable proportion with other classes? Government claims the rights of a landlord. Does that mean that Government *must* have a certain portion of the produce no matter even though the exaction be inequitably higher than that from other classes of people? Or is the Government demand upon land to be adjusted on the principle that Government requiring a certain revenue, the land should pay its equitable quota with all other industries? or is it that, because richer interests can resort to agitation, and make themselves heard, while the poor labourer and cultivator cannot, it is felt easier to squeeze them than the other classes?

II. Is the machinery for the collection of the land revenue sufficiently economical? I think the evidence of a person like Dewan Kazi Shahabudin, for the Bombay side, will be valuable; for, as a native revenue official as he once was, he knows the feelings and views of the natives in a way and to an extent which it is almost impossible for an English official to acquire.

After this one instance of the land revenue, I do not think I need go into the details of the other items of the Budget further than to say that the test of Questions I. and II. under the fourth head has to be rigidly applied to all the items; and to ascertain whether the system of keeping accounts is such as it should be, I shall take only one more item. The salt-tax, especially, requires most anxious consideration. It is the cause of the poor, who cannot speak for or help themselves. Is it at all right

to tax salt; and, even allowing the necessity, is the incidence of its burden on the poor similar to that on the other classes for the share they pay towards revenue?

The salt gross revenue for different parts is as follows for 1869-70:—

(Ret. c. 213 of 1870.)

		Population about	Per head about s. d.
Bengal	£2,583,562	40,000,000	1 3½
Oudh	1,219	11,000,000	...
Central Provinces...	115,167	9,000,000	0 3
N. W. Provinces ...	488,728	30,000,000	0 4
Punjaub	923,060	17,500,000	1 0½
Madras	1,164,736	23,000,000	1 0
Bombay	599,407	14,000,000	0 10
Total...	5,875,879	144,500,000	0 9¾ average

Now, taking the share of the agricultural produce which can be considered as left to the mass of the poor, agricultural, and other common labouring population, to be 20s. a-head, an ordinary coolie or workman pays in his salt some 4 per cent. out of his wretched pittance. But it must also be borne in mind that 4 per cent. out of 20s. is far more important to the poor man than 10 or 20 per cent. out of the income of the richer classes. Taking 25s. a-head, the rate will be 3¼ per cent.

Of the four elements I have described above, the first three are essentially questions for Parliament.

1. It is Parliament alone that can decide what the financial relations between England and India should be; how far the guarantee of England can be given for the alleviation of the burden of the public debt, which is the result of English wars in India, or other countries of Asia; and how far the benefit of England's credit and capital can be given to help in the restoration of India's prosperity and prevention of famines.

2. It is Parliament alone that can modify the constitution of the Legislative Council and the Indian Council, or give the people of India such a fair voice in their own affairs as they are now capable of exercising, because these Councils are the creation of an Act of Parliament.

3. It is Parliament alone that can insist on the faithful fulfilment of the repeated pledges they have given by Acts of Parliament for the admission of natives into the various services, according to competence and character, and without any regard to caste, creed, colour, or race. In the Public Works Department there is a farce of a regulation to admit natives in India on proof of competence; but very good care is taken that natives do *not* get in. On the Bombay side, as far back as 1861, three natives proved their competence (and one did the same in 1866), and to my knowledge none of them had found admission into the Engineering Department up to 1868. Whether they have since been admitted I do not know, though during the interval dozens of appointments have been given every year. English interests exercise such pressure upon the Indian Governments, that unless Parliament does its duty and insists that, in accordance with its pledges, justice shall be done to the children of the soil, there is but little hope on that score.

4. "The principles of the whole design of Financial Administration, or of its details, will have always, more or less, to be settled and controlled by the Indian Governments themselves, according to change of circumstances The best service, therefore, that Parliament can do on this head—and which Parliament alone can do—is to inquire, at certain reasonable intervals—say every ten or twelve years—how the Indian Governments have discharged their trust. This simple necessary control of the great Parliament of the Empire will prevent many of those evils which freedom from a sense of responsibility induces, and infuse into the Administration all that care and forethought necessary to its success.

May, 1871.

After I had posted the foregoing part of this pamphlet from Alexandria, I came across a speech of Lord Mayo, in the *Times of India's* summary, of 8th April last. I read one paragraph in it with feelings of mixed regret and hopefulness; regret, that one in the position of a Viceroy should have put forth what, in my humble opinion, is an erroneous and misleading statement; and hopefulness, because now that the Viceroy has directed his attention to the all-important subject of the insufficient production of the country, he will, I hope, be able to grapple with it, investigate its causes and evil consequences, and earnestly endeavour to apply suitable remedies.

I refer here to the paragraph in which his Excellency endeavours to refute the assertion that Indian taxation is "crushing." His lordship on

this point has made several assumptions, which require examination. I shall, therefore, first consider whether the conclusion drawn is legitimate, and whether all necessary elements of comparison have been taken into account.

Last year, in my paper on "The Wants and Means of India," which was read before the East India Association, a rough estimate was given of the total production of India (including opium, salt, minerals, manufactures—in short, production of every kind) as about 40s. a-head per annum.

Mr. Grant Duff, in his speech of 24th February last, referred to the relative incomes of England and India, and endeavoured to show that while the former was estimated at 30*l.* a-head, the latter was "guessed" as 40s. a-head per annum. Now, his lordship the Viceroy quotes Mr. Duff's statement of 40s., and believes that Mr. Duff has good reasons for his statement. So that we have it now on the highest authority that the total production of India is only 40s. a-head per annum.

His Excellency the Viceroy, after admitting this fact, compares the taxation of India with that of some other countries. In doing this, his lordship deducts as land revenue (*whether rightly or wrongly, will be seen hereafter*) the opium, tributes, and other small receipts from Indian taxation, and then compares the balance with the taxation of other countries. Being on board a steamer in the Red Sea, I cannot refer to returns to see whether his lordship has made any similar deductions from the taxation of the latter. The result of the comparison would appear to be that, while India pays only 1s. 10d. per head of taxation per annum, Turkey pays 7s. 9d., Russia 12s. 2d., Spain 18s. 5d., Austria 19s. 7d., and Italy 17s. per head per annum. The conclusion drawn is that the taxation of India is not "crushing." What idea his lordship attaches to the word "crushing" I cannot say, but his lordship seems to forget the very first premise that the total production of the country is admitted to be 40s. per head. Now, this amount is hardly enough for the bare necessaries of life, much less can it supply any comforts or provide any reserve for bad times; so that, living from hand to mouth, and that on "scanty subsistence" (in the words of Lord Lawrence), the very touch of famine carries away hundreds of thousands. Is not this in itself as "crushing" to any people as it can possibly be? And yet out of this wretched income they have to pay taxation as well.

His lordship has, moreover, left out a very important element from account. He is well aware that, whatever revenue is raised by the other

countries, for instance, the 70,000,000*l.* by England, the whole of it returns back to the people and remains *in* the country; and, therefore, the national capital, upon which the production of a country depends, does not suffer diminution; while, on account of India's being subject to a foreign rule, out of the 50,000,000*l.* of revenue raised every year, some 12,000,000*l.*, or more, are carried clear away to England, and the national captial—or, in other words, its capability of production—is continuously diminished year after year. The pressure of taxation, therefore, if proper remedies are not adopted to counteract the above evil, must, necessarily, become more and more crushing every year, even though the amount of taxation be not increased. It is quite intelligible that the English people, with an income or production of some 30*l.* per head, aided by or including some 12,000,000*l.*, or more, annually drawn from India, may not feel the taxation of 2*l* 10s. a-head as crushing: or the nations which his lordship has instanced, having no price of some 12,000,000*l.* annually to pay for a foreign rule, and being, most probably, able to produce enough for all their wants, may not feel the 7s. to 19s. 7d. as crushing; but, in my humble opinion, every single ounce of rice taken from the "scanty subsistence" of the masses of India is to them so much more starvation, and so much more "crushing."

I shall now consider what would have been the fairest way of making the comparison of taxation. Every nation has a certain amount of income from various sources, such as production of cultivation, minerals, farming, manufactures, profits of trade, &c. From such total income all its wants are to be supplied. A fair comparison as to the incidence of taxation will be to see the proportion of the amount which the Government of the country takes for its administration, public debts, &c., to the total income. You may call this amount taxation, revenue, or any thing you like; and Government may take it in any shape or way whatsoever. It is so much taken from the income of the country for the purposes of government. In the case of India, whether Government takes this amount as land tax, or opium revenue, or in whatever other form, does not matter, it is all the same, that out of the total income of the country Government raises so much revenue for its purposes which otherwise would have remained with the people.

Taking, therefore, this fair test of the incidence of taxation, the results will be that England raises 70,000,000*l.* out of the *national* income of some 900,000,000*l.*—that is, about 8 per cent., or about 2*l.* 10*s.* per head, from an income of about 30*l.* per [illegible]; wh[illegible] the

remedies shall be adopted, with the assistance of Parliament. Parliament being the fountain of all power, and as the Indian Government can only act as Parliament directs, it becomes its bounden duty to God and man to lay down the great principles of a just, efficient, and beneficent government for the administration of India, and to see from time to time to their being acted on.

In stating the Viceroy's views, I am obliged to trust to memory, but I hope I have not mis-stated them. Now that we have the testimony of the two latest Viceroys—Lord Lawrence stating that the mass of the people live on scanty subsistence, and Lord Mayo believing Mr. Grant Duff's statement of the income of India being only 40s. a-head per annum as well founded—the Select Committee may not think it necessary to ask for any returns, but take the fact as proved. Perhaps the time thus saved to the Select Committee may be well employed in ascertaining the best remedies for such a deplorable state of affairs, and it may not seem very reasonable to request the Committee to put the India Office to the trouble of making any returns on this subject. But I hope that, though the Select Committee may not now think it necessary to ask for any returns for its own use, it will recommend—or the Indian Government will, of its own accord, require—the return of a table of total income of the country as an essential part of the annual Administration Reports of all the different provinces, and embody it in the return now annually published, showing the moral and material progress. The Houses of Parliament and the English and the Indian public will then be able to see every year clearly what the material condition of India really is, and how far measures are adopted to improve the present state of matters. To prepare returns of the total production of the country, there are ample materials in the tables required by the Calcutta Statistical Committee in the Administration Reports. All that is necessary is simple calculation. For instance, one table gives the total acreage of cultivated land in each district; another table gives the acreage of the different crops grown; a third table gives the produce per acre of each kind of crop; a fourth table gives the prices of the produce in the markets of the districts. Now it is easy to see that, with these materials, the value of the total produce of all the districts of a province can be easily worked out.

An erroneous principle has crept into the Administration Reports. I have already once referred to it in connection with the question of prices. I point it out here again, so that it may be avoided in this [illegible]ortant calculation. In the above tables of the Admini[illegible]s

are taken, for instance, of the prices of all the districts of the province, by adding up the prices of the different districts and dividing the total by the number of districts. This is evidently absurd, for one district may have produced a million of tons of rice, and may sell it at Re. 1 a maund, and another may have produced only a thousand tons, and the price there may be Rs. 5 a maund. It will be incorrect to make the average price as Rs. 3 per maund, when it will actually be only *a little* more than Re. 1. In the same manner the produce per acre may be very large in one place where probably the acreage under cultivation also is very large, while in another district the cultivated acreage may be small and the produce per acre may be small also. If the average is taken by simply adding up the produce per acre of each district, and dividing by the number of districts, the total of the produce thus obtained will be less than the actual quantity. Avoiding this mistake in the principle of taking averages, from the above-mentioned tables can be calculated the total production of cultivated land. Then there are other sources of income to be added, such as stock, opium, salt, minerals, manufactures, fisheries, &c. The Reports already have the figures for most of these items, and thus the grand total of income available for human consumption and saving may be ascertained. Such a return, with two others I shall refer to hereafter for every province, would be of great importance.

If this calculation of the total income of the country is made out every year, we shall have the most direct evidence of the actual condition of the people, instead of being obliged to draw inferences indirectly from the complicated and misleading phenomena of differences of prices or wages.

Except Bengal, all the provinces have the means of obtaining the necessary materials for the different tables required by the Statistical Committee. In Bengal, the perpetual settlement, I think, makes it unnecessary for the Revenue Department to ascertain the actual extent of the whole cultivation, and of the different crops. But for such an important purpose, I have no doubt, the Bengal Government will devise some means to procure the necessary information. In the Report for 1869-70, they have, I think, intimated their intention to do what they can.

Not commanding the time and the means necessary for minute calculations, I have made a rough estimate, and I think that if averages are worked out by the statistical staff at the India Office or at Calcutta, the result will be very nearly what Mr. Duff has stated, and which his Excellency the Viceroy adopts—viz., a total income of about 40s. a-head per annum. From this, the European residents and the richer classes of

natives above the common labourer get a larger proportion, and the portion remaining for the mass of the people must, therefore, be much less

It must also be remembered that this average of 40s. per head is for the whole of India; but for the different Presidencies or Provinces, each of which is as large and as populous as some of the countries of Europe, the proportion of distribution of this total production is very different. For instance, in Bombay *the total production, if accurately worked out,* may be found to be 100s a-head, Punjaub perhaps about 45s. to 50s. a-head; consequently the other provinces will have under 40s. a-head. Then, again, there is another drawback—viz., the want of cheap communication—by which even this insufficient production of 45s. a-head is *not fully utilized, so as to allow the plenty of one Presidency to be available* for the population of another. Not only does this difficulty of distribution exist between different Presidencies, but even between parts of the same province. I shall give just one instance—that of the Central Provinces. While at Raipore and Belaspore the price of rice at the end of *1867-8 was Re. 1 for a maund of 80 lbs., at Hosungabad it was Rs. 5 per* maund, at Baitool it was Rs 4 per maund, at Jubbulpore Rs. 3 12 ans. per maund. In this way, while in one district a part of the produce was perhaps rotting or being wasted, other districts were suffering from scarcity.

Upon the whole, I think the average income per head of the poor labouring population of all the provinces (except Bombay and Punjaub) will be found hardly above 20s. a-head per annum, or may be, from 20s. to 25s.

This can be tested directly if the Administration Reports give, in addition to the return for the total income of the province, a second return, something like the following (I believe they have all the requisite materials, or can obtain them):—The number of people living upon unskilled labour, and rates of wages, with details; the number adults (male and female) capable of work, say between twenty-one and fifty; the number of youths, say from twelve to twenty-one years of age (male and female); the number of the old incapable of work, or, say, above fifty years of age; the number of children under twelve years of age; the average wage earned by males and females of the above different classifications (calculating the average on the correct principle of taking the *number* of labourers earning each rate into account); the number of the sick and infirm; and the number of days during the year that the different rates of wages are earned. From these materi[illegible] will be easy to ascertain the real average income of [illegible] who forms the majority of the population, and [illegible]

the subsistence of the nation. I hope the India Office will order such returns to prepared for the Select Committee. It will be a direct proof of the actual condition of the mass of the people of each Presidency, and will be a great help to the Committee.

I may now give a few particulars, which are at hand, of the cost of living, for the bare necessaries of life.

The Bombay Report for 1867-68 gives Rs. 41 13 ans. 10 p. as the average cost for diet per prisoner, and Rs. 5 10 ans. 11 p. for clothing and bedding. The N. W. Provinces Report gives the average cost for central gaols—for diet, Rs. 18 1 an. $8\frac{3}{4}$ p.; for clothing and bedding, Rs. 3 5 ans. $1\frac{1}{4}$ p. For divisional gaols—for diet, Rs. 24 6 ans. $10\frac{1}{4}$ p.; and clothing and bedding, Rs. 4 3 ans. $4\frac{1}{2}$ p.; and for district gaols—for diet, Rs. 15 8 ans. $11\frac{3}{4}$ p.; and for clothing and bedding, Rs. 3 2 ans. 6 p. In the Central Provinces, the cost for diet is Rs. $25\frac{1}{2}$, and for clothing and bedding Rs. $5\frac{1}{2}$; and in the Punjaub—for diet, Rs. 23 6 ans.; for clothing and bedding, Rs. 31 13 ans. 6 p.

This is what the State thinks it necessary to give to criminals as bare necessaries of life. There may be some little allowance to be made for the proportion of females and the young being smaller in a prison than in the outside world. Making this allowance, can it be said that the labourer gets the necessaries of life to this extent? To this has to be added some cost for lodging, something for reasonable social wants, and something to save for a bad day or old age. Do the people get this?

Surgeon S. B. Partridge, Government Medical Inspector of Emigrants, in a statement dated Calcutta, 26th March, 1870,* proposes the following as a scale of diet, to supply the necessary ingredients of nourishment, for the emigrant coolies during their voyage, living in a state of quietude:—

Rice Diet for One Man.	ozs.		For Flour Diet.	ozs.	
Rice	20	0	Flour	16	0
Dhal	6	0	Dhal	4	0
Preserved Mutton ...	2	5	Preserved Mutton ...	2	5
Vegetables	4	27	Vegetables	4	27
Ghee	1	0	Ghee	1	5
Mustard Oil	0	5	Mustard Oil	0	5
Salt	1	0	Salt	1	0
Total......	35	27	Total......	29	77

* The *Indian Economist* of 15th October, 1870; "Statistical Reporter," p. 45.

This is absolutely necessary to supply the necessary ingredients of nitrogen and carbon; not the slightest luxury—no sugar, tea, or a little enjoyment of life—but simply animal subsistence.

From the above data, returns can be worked out, at the prices of particular districts and provinces, of the absolute necessaries of life, which will show whether a province produces enough for these, and for all its political, social, economical, and administrative wants. With these three returns—first, of the total income per head per annum, secondly, the average per head of the earnings of the mass of the labouring population; and thirdly, the average actual requirements per head for all the absolutely necessary wants of the labouring population—the ruler of every province will be able to give a clear picture of the actual material condition of his charge, and will get any credit he may deserve for the improvements made by him. I hope the India Office will place these three returns before the Select Committee. Complacent assertions of officials that all are happy and prospering can be had in any quantity; but unless the test of actual facts is applied by such returns, these assertions are not only worth nothing, but are positively mischievous as they mislead Parliament and the English public, who, believing such statements, become indifferent to India, to be roused only by some great calamity, either physical or political.

If the facts brought to light by these returns show that the people are really suffering from insufficiency to supply their absolute wants for ordinary healthy human life, and that, therefore, having no reserve either of strength or means, or no intelligence, they are easily swept away by hundreds of thousands in time of scarcity, what a responsibility lies upon our British rulers to remedy this wretchedness! Remedy it *they could*, if they but chose to set about their work with a due sense of their responsibility, and with earnestness and determination. India needs the help of their capital and credit, needs reduction in expenditure, needs an efficient and economical administration of which native co-operation must form an essential, and not an incidental element, needs a wise and fair adjustment of her financial relations with England, and, finally and imperatively, a wise and rapid diffusion of the blessings of education.

CHAPTER III.

ESSAYS—*(continued)*.

IX.

POVERTY OF INDIA.

PART I.

(Read before the Bombay Branch of the East India Association on Monday, February 28th, 1876.)

WHILE pointing out in these notes one of the unfavorable results of the present system of British administration, I do not for a moment mean to ignore the very bright side of British rule, and the many blessings of law and order which it has conferred on India. On the latter subject I have already expressed my sentiments on several occasions.

My object at present is to shew in greater detail what I have already stated before, that, under the present system of administration, India is suffering seriously in several ways, and is sinking in poverty. In my humble opinion, this is the question, or rather the most serious question, of the day. Whether I am right or wrong will be for you to judge, after hearing what I have to say. If I am right, I shall have discharged a duty as a loyal subject to urge upon our rulers to remedy this most serious evil. If, on the other hand, I am shown to be wrong, none will rejoice more than myself; and I shall have equally done a duty, as a wrong feeling of a serious character will be removed.

These notes were written two to three years ago. I lay them before you as they are. If necessary, I shall consider hereafter any modification that the light of subsequent events may suggest, either in confirmation or refutation of the views expressed in them. There will be a few repetitions from my former papers, but they are necessary in order to make these notes complete. I have endeavoured to avail myself as much as possible of the weight of official or other great authorities, and facts from official records; hence I shall have more quotations than might be thought suitable in an address before an audience; and my notes may prove dull, but I only hope they may be found of some importance to atone for such dulness. I may propose here that any discussion upon the notes may be deferred till they are all read, and my whole argument placed before you, or otherwise there will be confusion in the discussions.

Total Production of India.

In July 1870, I made a rough estimate, in my paper on "The Wants and Means of India," placed before the East India Association, as follows :—

"The whole produce of India is from its land. The gross land-tax is put down for 1870-71 a little above £21,000,000. Now, I suppose I shall be within the mark if I say that Government takes for this land-tax, on an average, one-eighth of the gross produce, if not more. This gives for the gross production of the country, say, about £168,000,000; add to this—gross opium revenue about £7,000,000 ; gross salt revenue, £6,000,000 ; gross forest, £600,000. The total, thus, of the raw produce of the country amounts under £182,000,000, to be on the safe side, let us say £200,000,000 to include the produce of half a million tons of coal, of alienation lands, or anything else there may be. Now, the population of the whole of British India is nearly 150,000,000; giving, therefore, less than 27*s.* a-head for the annual support of the whole people."

I then further raised the production from £200,000,000 to £300,000,000, to include the value of manufacturing industries, excise on spirits, and a large margin for any omissions, making 40*s.* a head for the gross production of India as a high estimate.

Since then I have endeavoured to work out the same problem directly, as far as the official data I could get enabled me to do so.

Parliament requires a yearly report of the moral and material progress of India ; and a Statistical Committee is formed at Calcutta to supply the necessary information. This Committee has prescribed certain tables to be filled up by the different Governments in their administration reports.

The Central Provinces and Burmah reports are the only two complete in their agricultural tables as far as practicable. Four others (Madras, North-West Provinces, Punjab, and Oudh) give them imperfectly. Bengal and Bombay gave the least, or none, up to 1869-70. For what I could not get from the reports, I applied to the India Office, which naturally replied they could not give what they did not get from India. It will be seen, therefore, that I have been obliged to work out the production under much difficulty. Not only is the quantity of information insufficient, but the quality even of such as is given is defective. For instance, in the tables of prices of produce in the

of the Central Provinces, in order to get an average the prices are added up together, and the total is divided by the number of the districts This principle is generally adopted by the returns made by all the Governments with respect to average of produce or prices. The principle, however, is altogether fallacious. In taking the average of prices the quantities of produce sold at the different prices are altogether lost sight of. In the same way, in taking the average produce per acre, the the extent of land yielding different quantities is overlooked.

The result, therefore, is wrong, and all arguments and conclusions based upon such averages are worthless. Taking the instance of the Central Provinces in the administration report of 1867-8, the average price of rice is made out to be Rs. 2-12-7 per maund, when in reality the correct average will be only Rs. 1-8 per maund. Again, the table for the produce of rice per acre gives the average as 579 lbs., when in reality it is 759 lbs. Now, what can be the worth of conclusions drawn from these wrong averages? These averages are not only worthless, but mischievous. It is a pity that, with large Government establishments, more accurate and complete information should not be given. I sincerely trust that future reports will not only work averages upon correct principles, but also work out the total production of their respective provinces. *Then* only we shall know the actual condition of the mass of the people. All 'I thinks' and 'my opinions' are of no use on important subjects. The whole foundation of all administration, financial and general, and of the actual condition of people, rests upon this one fact—the produce of the country, the ultimate result of all ital, labour and land. With imperfect materials at command, and possessed of the means to employ a staff to work out all the details they ought to be, I can only give approximate results.

On the question of taking proper averages and supplying complete information, I addressed a letter, in February 1871, to the India Office, which I have reason to believe has been forwarded to the Governments in India. I hope that some attention will be paid to the matter. As a specimen of the correct principle of averages, I have got worked out table **A** of the averages of price and produce of some of the principal productions of the Central Provinces. From this will be seen that the correct average price for rice is Rs. 1-8, instead of Rs. 2-12-7, as stated above; also that the correct average of produce is 759, and not 579 lbs., of rice per acre. I have explained, in the following calculations for the different provinces, the mode I have adopted for each. Though working

with insufficient and defective materials, and without the means and time to work out details, I have endeavoured to calculate *above* the mark, so that, whatever my error, it will be found on the safe side, of estimating a higher produce than the reality.

The principle of my calculations is briefly this. I have taken the largest one or two kinds of produce of a province to represent all its produce, as it would be too much labour for me to work out every produce, great and small. I have taken the whole cultivated area of each district, the produce per acre, and the price of the produce; and simple multiplication and addition will give you both the quantity and value of the total produce. From it, also, you can get the correct average of produce per acre and of prices for the whole province, as in this way you have all the necessary elements taken into account.

Central Provinces.

The total area of cultivated land (table 2, Fiscal of Report, 1867-8—an average *good season* year) is 12,378,215 acres. The price of produce per acre, as worked out in table A for the important articles rice, wheat, other food-grains, oil-seeds, and cotton, is Rs. 11-13-5—say Rs. 12.* The total value of agricultural produce will be acres 12,378,215 × Rs. 12 = Rs. 14,85,38,580. To this is to be added the produce of Sumbulpore; but the acreage of that district is not given. Making some allowance for it, I increased the produce to, say, Rs. 16,00,00,000, or £16,000,000, for a population of 9,000,000.

I have lately met with an unexpected confirmation of my views. The *Times of India* Summary of 6th June 1873 takes from the *Englishman* some particulars from Mr. Pedder's reply to the Viceroy's circular on local funds. Mr. Pedder makes out, as the value of produce in the Nagpore district, about Rs. 8 per acre, and my estimate of the whole of the Central Provinces is Rs. 12 per acre. I do not know whether

* The table A is too large for insertion.

Summary.

	Acres.	Rs.
Rice	2,938,328	4,18,43,575
Wheat	3,313,677	3,51,77,956
Other Food Grains	4,197,516	4,70,63,760
Oil Seeds	*697,100	1,04,42,854
Cotton	643,390	50,28,838
Total......	11,790,011	13,95,56,983

* Average, Rs. 11-13-5 per acre.

Mr. Pedder has avoided the wrong principle of averages—whether he calculates for an average good season, and whether any allowance is is made for bad seasons.

PUNJAB.

The administration report of 1867-8 gives all the necessary agricultural tables, except one, *viz.*, the produce per acre of the different kinds of crops. I take this year (1867-8) as a better season, and with a larger extent of cultivation, than that of 1868-9.

The chief crops are wheat and other inferior grains—the former nearly 20, and the latter 50 per cent., of the whole cultivation. The price of wheat is higher than that of other inferior grains, and as I take the prices of first-class wheat, I think the average price of the produce of one acre of wheat, applied to the whole cultivated acreage, will be very much above the actual value of the production, and my estimate will be much higher than it ought to be.

As the administration reports of both 1867-8 and 1868-9 do not give the produce of crops per acre, I ascertain it from other sources.

In the administration report of the Punjab for the year 1850-51 (published in 1854 by the Court of Directors), drawn up by Mr. (now Sir Richard) Temple, a detailed table, dated Jullundhur, 25th October 1851, gives the produce per acre. The table gives 14 instances of first-class lands, which, by the rough process of adding up and dividing by the number of instances, gives 14½ maunds = 1,160 lbs.; (a maund equals 82 lbs.—Report 1855-6); for the *second* class from 8 instances, I find the average 13½ maunds, or 1,107 lbs.; and for the third class from 6 instances, I find 11 maunds, or 902 lbs. From this table I have taken all at 10 maunds or upwards as representing irrigated land, and the second class representing the bulk of it, as producing 1,100 lbs. per acre. For unirrigated land I have not sufficient data. I adopt 600 lbs. per acre, for reasons I have stated under heading 'North-West Provinces.'

After I had made my following calculations on the above basis, I was favoured with a loan from the Record Department of the India Office of the administration report for 1869-70. The produce per acre is given in this report, but the average is taken on the objectionable principle of adding up the produce of all districts and dividing by the number of districts, without reference to the extent of cultivation in each district. According to this, the average of the produce of wheat per acre of all the districts is given in the report as only 624 lbs. The highest produce

in three districts included in this average, is 1,044, 1,066, and 1,000 lbs.; so that my assumption of 1,100 lbs. per acre for *all* irrigated land is much above the mark. Again, even making allowance for the drought of the years 1868-9 and 1869-70, my assumption of 600 lbs. of wheat per acre of all unirrigated land only, is also above the mark.

I take the calculated area of 1867-8, which is also the largest of the three years 1867-8, 1868-9, and 1869-70; and I take prices for 1867-8, that having been an average good season. The prices of 1868-9 and 1869-70 are scarcity-prices. The year 1867-8 is a fair test for the produce of the Punjab in an average favorable seaons.

The report for 1867-8 does not give prices of produce for all districts *separately, but only of a few important towns, viz.,* *Delhi, Umballa,* Lahore, Sealkote, Mooltan, and Peshawur (page ciii); and as I take these prices to represent not only those of the whole of the districts of these towns, but of all the districts of the Punjab, I evidently assume a much higher price than actually must have been the case. My results, therefore, will be affected in a double way (*viz.,* firstly, in taking first-class wheat to represent all produce; and secondly, in taking the prices in the principal towns to represent all Punjab), and will show then the total value of the production of all Punjab much higher than the reality. I therefore think I shall not be unfair in deducting 10 per cent. as some correction of this double error, and even then I shall be above the mark. The prices given in the report for 1867-8 are as follows (III. E. J. Statement, showing the prices of produce in the Punjab for the year 1867-8):—

	Price in Seers for 1 Rupee.					
	1st June 1866	1st Jan. 1867	1st June 1867	1st Jan. 1868	Average.	
Delhi	21½	20	19½	25	21½	The Seer is 2 lbs.
Umballa	25	20	20¼	20½	21½	
Lahore	23	20	22	17	20½	
Sealkote	24	20	22	16	20¼	
Mooltan	16	17½	16	13½	15¾	
Peshawur...	24¾	22	20¾	15	20½	

I take the above averages of the towns to represent their whole districts, and then the average of the six districts to represent the whole of the Punjab in the following calculation (wheat first sort is taken to represent all produce) :—

Districts.	Irrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For Re. 1.	Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
Delhi	200,955	1,100	221,050,500	43	51,40,709
Umballa	96,328	,,	105,960,800	43	24,64,204
Lahore	447,295	,,	492,024,500	41	1,20,00,597
Sealkote	394,227	,,	433,649,700	41	1,05,76,821
Mooltan	505,750	,,	556,325,000	31½	1,76,61,111
Peshawur...	249,144	,,	274,058,400	41	66,84,351
Total...	1,893,699	...	....	...	5,45,27,793

The average value of produce per acre of the irrigated land of the six districts will, therefore, be Rs. 28-7-9.

I now apply this to all irrigated land of the Punjab.

Total irrigated acres are 6,147,038, which, at Rs. 28-7-9 per acre, will give Rs. 17,69,73,224 as the total value of the produce of irrigated land of the Punjab for 1867-8.

I now calculate the value of the produce of unirrigated land (wheat first sort is taken to represent all produce) :—

Districts.	Unirrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For Re. 1.	Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
Delhi	307,690	600	184,614,000	43	42,93,348
Umballa	856,701	,,	514,020,600	43	1,19,53,967
Lahore	557,882	,,	334,729,200	41	81,64,126
Sealkote	425,440	,,	255,264,000	41	62,25,951
Mooltan	118,684	,,	71,210,400	31½	22,60,647
Peshawur	456,661	,,	273.996,600	41	66.82,843
Total...	2,723,058	...	....	...	3,95,80,882

The average value of produce of one acre of unirrigated land of the six districts is Rs. 14-5-3. Applying this to the unirrigated land of the whole of the Punjab, the result will be as follows:—Total unirrigated acres 14,810,697, at Rs. 14-5-3 per acre, will give Rs. 21,51,99,427 as the value of the produce of all unirrigated land of the Punjab for 1867-8.

Adding up the value of the produce of irrigated and unirrigated land, the total will be Rs. 39,21,72,651. From this I deduct 10 per cent. for reasons stated above, which will leave Rs. 35,29,54,800 for a population of 17,593,946, or say £36,000,000 for a population of 17,500,000.

North-West Provinces.

I take the figures of 1867-8, being an average good season. The subsequent ones, 1868-9 and 1869-70, have been bad.

The administration report does not give the distribution of chief crops, but I find in the Statistical Reporter of the *Indian Economist* (page 136) of 15th March 1871, a table of the crops for 1868-9. From this it will be seen that, out of a total of about 22,000,000 acres, rice, jowari, bajri, wheat, and barley make up—

Rice	2,479,874
Jowari and Bajri ..	4,302,890
Wheat and Barley	7,257,873
Acres	14,040,637 or nearly ⅔

As I cannot get the prices of all the above kinds of produce except wheat and barley, if I take wheat to represent all, I shall be above the mark.

In the administration report of 1868-9 there is a table given of prices of wheat and barley. I take the prices for the months of April, May, and June as those of the good season of 1867-8. The subsequent prices are affected by drought. I should have preferred to take the prices for January to June 1868; but the table does not give the earlier months. These prices are of some of the chief markets only, so that, taking the prices to represent the whole of the respective districts, and then taking the average of these few districts to represent the whole of the North-West Provinces, the result will be much higher; so, as in the case of the Punjab, I deduct 10 per cent. as some correction for these errors of excess.

The prices given in the report of 1868-9, pages 29, 30, are as follow:—"The following table gives the prices at the close of each month for the year in the chief markets of the provinces. The figures denote seers and chittacks. . . . . .

Districts.	Wheat.										My Remarks.
	April.		May.		June.		Average.				
	s.	c.	s.	c.	s.	c.	s.	c.	lb.	oz.	
Saharunpore... ...	22	6	25	14	25	14	24	11	49	6	The report does not say which seer this is.
Meerut	26	0	27	0	27	8	26	13	53	10	Formerly 1 seer is given
Moradabad... ...	26	10	25	10	24	0	25	8⅔	51	1	equal to 2·057 lbs.
Bareilly	25	10	27	8	25	0	26	0	52	0	(Parliamentary Return No. 29 of 1862, page 5.)
Muttra	24	0	...		24	0	24	0	48	0	I take this seer = 2 lbs.
Agra	23	0	23	0	24	0	23	5	46	10	16 chittacks = 1 seer.
Cawnpore	23	0	23	0	22	0	22	11	45	6	The report also does not say whether these quan-
Allahabad	18	4	18	0	17	0	17	12	35	8	tities were got for one
Mirzapore	18	0	18	0	17	0	17	10⅔	35	6	rupee, but it evidently
Benares	17	5	18	5	18	0	17	15⅓	35	14	appears to be meant so.

The administration reports give no table of produce per acre of different crops. I adopt the same scale as given in the case of the Punjab, for the following additional reasons:— *Captain Harvey Tuket's estimate in the year 1840, from 2,000 experiments, of which 512 were for wheat, made by the Government of the North-West Provinces, gives the average produce of wheat per acre at 1,046 lbs. The late Mr. Thornton, formerly Secretary to that Government, has recorded that, judging from his own experience, he should say that 1,200 lbs. per acre was a high average for irrigated land, and 700 lbs. for that of which a considerable portion is dry.† Mr. Maconochi, in his recent settlements of Oonah (Oudh), gives for irrigated land—

1st class 21 bushels=1,218 lbs. (at 58 lbs. per bushel)
2nd ,, 16 ,, = 928 ,,
3rd ,, 9 ,, = 522 ,,

and for unirrigated land—

1st class 11 bushels=638 lbs.
2nd ,, 9 ,, =522 ,,
3rd ,, 7 ,, =406 ,,

* The "Agricultural Gazette of India" of the *Indian Economist*, 15th August 1870, No. 1.

† See also Parliamentary Return No. 999 of 1853, page 471.

Taking second class as representing the bulk, the average for irrigated land may be considered as 928 lbs., and for unirrigated 522 lbs. From all the above particulars it will be seen that the estimate I have adopted, of 1,100 lbs. per acre for irrigated and 600 lbs. for unirrigated land, is something above a fair average. A settlement officer of the North-West Provinces, in a letter to the *Indian Economist* of 15th February 1871 ("Agricultural Gazette," page 171), sums up all that is known to him on the subject of the produce of wheat per acre in those provinces. It will be too long an extract to insert here; but, making allowance for the "mischievous fallacy" of all official documents alluded to by this writer, about which I have already complained to the India Office and which vitiates averages for a number of years or places, I think the average I have adopted above is something more than a reasonable one. When administration reports will give, as they ought, correct particulars for each district every year, accurate estimates of the actual produce of the provinces could be easily made. I give the calculations below. The table of cultivated land, given at page 45 of the appendix to the administration report of 1867-8, does not give the irrigated and unirrigated extent of land separately for the Moradabad, Tarrae, Mynpoorie, Banda, and Ghazipore districts.

I find that the totals of irrigated and unirrigated land bear nearly the proportion of two-fifths and three-fifths respectively of the whole total cultivated land. I assign the same proportion to the above districts in the absence of actual particulars.

Wheat.

Districts.	Irrigated Land	Produce per Acre	Total Produce	For 1 Re		Total Value
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs	lbs.	oz	Rs.
Saharunpore	160,058	1,100	176,063,800	49	6	35,65 849
Meerut	577 346	"	635,080 600	53	10	1,17,26 444
Moradabad	806,930	"	787,623 000	51	1	1,73,83,069
Bareilly	344,662	"	379,128,200	52	1	72,82,174
Muttra	332,542	"	365,796,200	48	0	89,22,837
Agra	434 166	"	477,582,600	46	10	1,02,43 058
Cawnpore	397,396	"	437,135,600	45	6	96,33,842
Allahabad	345,624	"	380,186 400	35	8	1,07,09 476
Mirzapore	198,823	"	218,705,300	35	6	61,82,481
Benares	238,972	"	262,868,100	35	14	75,01,549
Total...	3,836,518	...	....	...		9,31,50,779

The average value of the produce of one acre will be Rs. 24-2-8.

Applying the average of the above districts to the whole of the irrigated area of the North-West Provinces, the result will be—acres 10,045,050 × Rs. 24-2-8 = Rs. 24,38,93,814.

In a similar manner, the total value of the produce of unirrigated land, as represented by wheat, will be as follows :—

Districts.	Unirrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For 1 Re.		Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	oz.	Rs.
Saharunpore	621,382	600	372,829.200	47	6	75.50,960
Meerut	453,694	,,	272,216,400	53	10	50,76.288
Moradabad	484,158	,,	290,494,800	51	1	56,88.992
Bareilly	768,283	,,	460,957,800	52	1	88,53.920
Muttra	406,153	,,	243,691,800	48	0	50,76.912
Agra	374,976	,,	224,985,600	46	10	48,25.424
Cawnpore	436,636	,,	261,981,600	45	6	57,73,696
Allahabad	644.594	,,	386,756,400	35	8	1,08,94,544
Mirzapore	614,658	,,	368,794,800	35	6	1,04,25,280
Benares	202,818	,,	121,690,800	35	14	33.92,064
Total...	5,007.352	...	......	...		6,75,58,080

The average value of wheat per acre of unirrigated land is therefore Rs. 13-4-9.

Applying this average to the whole unirrigated land of the North-West Provinces, we get—acres 14,132,111 × Rs. 13-4-9 = Rs. 19,06,42,177. The grand total of the value of the produce of irrigated and unirrigated land will be—

Irrigated......10,045,050 acres	=	Rs.	24,38,93,814
Unirrigated...14,132,111 ,,	=	,,	19,06,42,177
Total...24,177,161 ,,	=	,,	43,45,35,991

Deducting 10 per cent. for reasons stated above, the remainder will be Rs. 39,10,82,392 for a population of 30,086,898, or say £40,000,000 for a population of 30,000,000.

BENGAL.

The administration reports till 1869-70 give no information required by the Statistical Committee, except the area of districts in square miles and acres (report 1869-70). For information for cultivated area, distribution, produce of crops and prices, I have to look out elsewhere, or make a rough estimate.

First with regard to the extent of cultivated land, I adopt the following plan as the best I can. The total area of the North-West Provinces is about 50,000,000 acres, of which about 25,000,000 are cultivated. The population of those Provinces is, by the late census of 1865, about 30,000,000, so we have the total area 5 acres to 3 persons, and of cultivated area five-sixths of an acre per head. Now, assuming Bengal to be at least as thickly populated as the North-West Provinces, and the total area, as given in the administration report of 1869-70 (appendix, page xxi.), being about 105,000,000 acres, the population of Bengal will be about 63,000,000; and I am encouraged to adopt this figure instead of 36,000,000 of the report of 1869-70, as the *Englishman* of 25th June 1872 states that the census of Bengal, as far as the figures are made up, lead to an estimate of about 65,000,000. Again, as in the North-West Provinces, I allow five-sixths of an acre of cultivated land per head, and take, therefore, 54,000,000 acres of cultivated land for a population of 65,000,000.

With regard to produce, coarse rice is the chief produce of Bengal, and in taking it to represent the whole produce, I shall be near enough the mark. For the produce of rice per acre, I take a table given in the report of the Indigo Commission (Parliamentary Return No. 721, of 1861, page 292), in which produce of paddy per beegah is given for a number of districts. The rough average, without reference to the quantity of land in each district, comes to about 9 maunds per beegah.

The maund I take is the Indian maund of 82 lbs. The quantity of produce per beegah given in the table is evidently for rice in husk; for, though not so stated, this would be apparent by comparing the money values of these quantities given in the same table, with the prices for 1860 given in the table at page 291.

The beegah I find explained, at page lxi. of the same return, at about one-third of an acre. Thacker's Bengal Directory for 1872, page 2, gives the following table for "Bengal square or land measure":—

1 chittack=45 square feet or 5 square yards.
16 „ =1 cottah= 720 sq. ft. or 80 sq. yds.
20 cottah =1 beegah=14,400 „ or 1,600 „

This gives a little more than 3 beegahs to an acre.

Mr. Cowasjee Eduljee, the manager of the Port Canning rice mills and lands, thinks, that for an average of all lands, or say for standard land,

7 maunds of paddy per beegah will be a very fair calculation. I take 8 maunds. Mr. Cowasjee further says, as the outturn of his mills, that paddy yields 55 per cent. of rice at the outside.

For the price of rice I take the season 1867-8. I take the rough average of the weekly prices given in the Calcutta *Gazette* for the months of January to March 1868, as fairly representing the effect of the season of 1867-8. This average is taken by simply adding up the prices and dividing by the number of districts, and not on the correct principle of taking the quantities of the produce of each district into account (as in specimen table A I have given for the Central Provinces). The average, therefore, which I have adopted, must be much higher than the actual one, and will require some reasonable deduction. I shall deduct only 10 per cent. as some correction for this, and to make up for any error in the produce per acre. Besides, the prices given in the *Gazette* are retail prices, and are therefore higher than the prices all over the country; so my deduction of 10 per cent. will be but a very small correction for all the errors of my rough calculation. I cannot get the extent of cultivated land for each district. I give below the calculations. Since writing these notes, I have seen the late census report, which gives the population as 66,856,859, or say 67,000,000. The approximate area of cultivated land will be, say, five-sixths of 67,000,000 or 56,000,000 acres. The produce per acre, taken as 24 maunds paddy per acre, will give about 13 maunds of clean rice, or 1,066 lbs.—say 1,100 lbs. The total produce of 56,000,000 acres will be 616,000,000 lbs., which, at 58 lbs. per rupee (as obtained by the rough average of the weekly prices of the three months of January, February, and March 1868), will give Rs. 1,06,00,00,000, or £106,000,000. Deducting 10 per cent. will give £95,400,000, or say £96,000,000 for a population of 67,000,000. This will amply cover the higher price of some of the articles, such as silk, indigo, cost price of opium, tea, &c. or any double crops, &c. The percentage of these products is a small one; the total value for all these will be under 10 per cent. of the whole produce, while the average of price I have taken for rice as representing the whole produce of the presidency will be found much above the actuals. On the whole, I cannot help thinking that the total value of all productions of the Bengal Presidency will be found much under, than above, my estimate. It is very desirable, however, to get a correct result, and the Statistical Committee or Agricultural Department should give it.

MADRAS.

I take the administration report of 1868-9 as I have not been able to get an opportunity of studying that of 1867-8. Besides, as prices have not much altered, the later report is the better. I am obliged to ascertain the produce per acre from other sources : the report does not give this information. I take paddy to represent the produce of wet and cumboo for dry land, as they form the bulk of the produce of the country.

Mr. H. Newill, the Director of Settlements for South Arcot, in his letter of 27th August 1859 (Selections of the Madras Government, No. 14 of 1869, Appendix Y, from page 142), gives an elaborate table of produce per acre of the principal grains, as ascertained by a large number of experiments and general enquiry; and the result of his investigations gives, for the different classes of soils, the following produce, from which 5 per cent. is to be deducted for numerous ridges for regulating irrigation channels, exterior boundaries, &c. :—

7 maunds of paddy per beegah will be a very fair calculation. I take 8 maunds. Mr. Cowasjee further says, as the outturn of his mills, that paddy yields 55 per cent. of rice at the outside.

For the price of rice I take the season 1867-8. I take the rough average of the weekly prices given in the Calcutta *Gazette* for the months of January to March 1868, as fairly representing the effect of the season of 1867-8. This average is taken by simply adding up the prices and dividing by the number of districts, and not on the correct principle of taking the quantities of the produce of each district into account (as in specimen table A I have given for the Central Provinces). The average, therefore, which I have adopted, must be much higher than the actual one, and will require some reasonable deduction. I shall deduct only 10 per cent. as some correction for this, and to make up for any error in the produce per acre. Besides, the prices given in the *Gazette* are retail prices, and are therefore higher than the prices all over the country; so my deduction of 10 per cent. will be but a very small correction for all the errors of my rough calculation. I cannot get the extent of cultivated land for each district. I give below the calculations. Since writing these notes, I have seen the late census report, which gives the population as 66,856,859, or say 67,000,000. The approximate area of cultivated land will be, say, five-sixths of 67,000,000 or 56,000,000 acres. The produce per acre, taken as 24 maunds paddy per acre, will give about 13 maunds of clean rice, or 1,066 lbs.—say 1,100 lbs. The total produce of 56,000,000 acres will be 616,000,000 lbs., which, at 58 lbs. per rupee (as obtained by the rough average of the weekly prices of the three months of January, February, and March 1868), will give Rs. 1,06,00,00,000, or £106,000,000. Deducting 10 per cent. will give £95,400,000, or say £96,000,000 for a population of 67,000,000. This will amply cover the higher price of some of the articles, such as silk, indigo, cost price of opium, tea, &c. or any double crops, &c. The percentage of these products is a small one; the total value for all these will be under 10 per cent. of the whole produce, while the average of price I have taken for rice as representing the whole produce of the presidency will be found much above the actuals. On the whole, I cannot help thinking that the total value of all productions of the Bengal Presidency will be found much under, than above, my estimate. It is very desirable, however, to get a correct result, and the Statistical Committee or Agricultural Department should give it.

The next thing necessary is to ascertain the correct average price. I take the average price as given in the administration report (calculated on the wrong principle referred to by me before), bearing in mind that the correct average, as worked out according to specimen table **A**, would be very likely found lower. Again, taking the rough average of first and second class paddy, the price comes to Rs. 180 per garce; and as second class paddy must be the bulk of the produce, the correct average price in this respect also must be lower. In taking, therefore, Rs. 180 per garce, some reasonable allowance will have to be made. I shall make it only 10 per cent. for all kinds of excess. It is too much work for me to calculate as in table **A**.

Wet land under cultivation (except South Canara and Malabar, where areas under cultivation are not given) is for 1868-9, 2,957,748 acres at 24¼ H. C. produce per acre (and 133⅓ H. C. = 1 garce*) will give 511,490 garces, which, at Rs. 180 per garce, will give Rs. 9,68,53,500—the total value of the produce of wet land.

Dry cultivated land (except South Canara and Malabar) is 13,560,329 acres, and with produce at 14 H. C. per acre (and 133 H. C. = 1 garce), will give 1,427,403 garces. I take the rough average price as given in the table—Rs. 188 per garce—in the administration report of 1868-69. This will be an over-estimate, as quantities in each district are not taken into account. The total value will be—1,427,403 garces at Rs. 188 = Rs. 26,83,51,764. Total produce of wet and dry lands will be Rs. 36,52,05,264; adding 10 per cent. for South Canara and Malabar, the total for all the Madras Presidency will be a little above Rs. 40,00,00,000. From this is to be allowed 10 per cent. as a correction for errors of high averages, which will leave, say, £36,000,000 for a population of 26,539,052 (Parliamentary Return No. [$\frac{C\ 184}{1870}$]), or say 26,500,000.

BOMBAY.

The season 1867-8 was a favourable one (Bombay administration report, 1867-8, page 59); that for 1868-9 unfavorable (report for 1868-9, page 65). I take the former to ascertain the produce of a fair good season. I am sorry that the administration reports give no agricultural information I therefore take the necessary particulars from other

* 24 Madras measures = 1 Huris Cullum.
133⅓ Huris Cullum = 1 Madras Garce.
(Selection of the Madras Government, No. XIV. of 1869, page 16.)

sources. The Revenue Commissioner's reports for 1867-8 give the total area under cultivation for the Northern Division at 5,129,754 acres and 1,263,139 beegahs, in which are included for grass and fallow land 611,198 acres and 226,708 beegahs. The actual cultivated land will, after deducting this, be 4,518,556 acres and 1,036,431 beegahs = 609,842 acres, or total acres 5,128.398. Out of this bajri, jowari, rice, and cotton make up nearly two-thirds, or above 60 per cent., as follows :—

	Acres.	Beegahs.
Bajri	985,427	56,857
Jowari	676,377	224,210
Rice	616,802	94,306
Cotton	519,058	319,572
	2,797,664	694,945=408,791 acres,

or total acres 3,206,455.

Similarly for the Southern Division, out of the total acres, 13,985,892, jowari, bajri, rice, and cotton make up above 60 per cent., as follows :—

	Acres.
Jowari	4,906,073
Bajri	2,715,719
Rice...	504,015
Cotton	704,629
	8,830,436

I take, therefore, these four articles to represent the produce of the whole presidency, though this will give a higher estimate. Neither the administration nor the Revenue Commissioner's reports give produce per acre or prices. I take these two items as follows. From Selections of the Bombay Government, Nos. 10 and 11 of 1853, I get the following estimate of produce :—

Produce per Acre in Pounds.

Selection No.	Page.	Districts reported upon	Bajri with Kuthole.	Jowari with Kuthole.	Sathi, or Coarse Rice	Kupas, or uncleaned Cotton.	Remarks
			lbs.	lbs	lbs.	lbs.	
X.	15	Prant of Husore— Morassa & Bayar Pergunnah in Ahmedabad Collectorate ..	680	700 1,020 Jowari in fallow-land.	1,020		Cleaned Cotton as per experiments made under order of Mr. Saunders, Resident of Hyderabad, in Bassein district of Berar —average of 8 acres giving 31⅘ lbs. of clean Cotton and 83½ lbs of Seed. (*Agricultural Gazette of India* of 21st August 1871, page 3.) This would give 82 lbs. for 305 lbs. of kupas.
	106	*Duskroee pergunnah*, Greatest	1,700	1,600	1,360	410	
		Least	270	210	410	200	
XI.	15	Dholka— Greatest ...	1,700	1,500	1,360	410	
		Least... ...	270	210	410	200	
		Rough average.	924	856	912	305	

The above averages belong to a fertile part of the Northern Division; so that if I put down 900 lbs. for bajri, jowari, and rice per acre, and 80 lbs. of cotton for the whole of that Division, I shall be making a high estimate.

The next thing to settle is the prices. I take them from the *Government Gazette* weekly prices for the months of January to May 1868, as fairly representing the effect of the average favorable season of 1867-8. These are retail prices of the chief markets of the respective districts, and it will be necessary to deduct 10 per cent. to make a fair average for the whole of the Division For cotton I take the export prices from the Prices Current of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for January to May 1868. This gives an average of Rs 181 per candy. The export prices I have taken represent more than the average value of the whole crop of the presidency, as the above average is for Fair Dhollera and Bhownuggur, which necessarily give a higher figure than the average of all the different varieties. Again, the bulk of the cotton s not 'fair,' but 'midfair;' so, to make a fair allowance for all these ircumstances, I take the price for 1867-8 as Rs. 170 per candy f 784 lbs.

The Southern Division.—As a whole, this Division is not as fertile as the Northern. I shall take, however, only 50 lbs. less for bajri, jowari, and rice; and for cotton I take 60 lbs. per acre—a high average for the whole of the Division; for Mr. J. B. Smith, M.P., in his paper of 1857 read before the Society of Arts, quotes Mr. Vary, the then late Superintendent of Government Cotton Experiments in Sattara and Sholapore, to the effect that "40 lbs. per acre per clean cotton is considered a fair crop." For rice, I take Rutnagherry as exceptional in its produce. If I give 1,700 lbs. per acre for the whole district, it will be a high average.* I take the prices from the *Government Gazette* in the same way as for the Northern Division, and a similar reduction of 10 per cent. will have to be made. I give below a table worked out in the manner described above:—

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* The Statistical Reporter of the *Indian Economist* of 22nd January 1872 gives a table, on official authority, of the total produce of the Bombay Presidency. The figures given for Rutnagherry are evidently wrong. For 113,296 acres the produce of rice is given as 10,110,964 maunds of 82 lbs., which will be above 7,200 lbs. per acre. The best land may produce as much as 3,000, but 7.200 lbs. is simply out of the question. In the Pardy settlement (*Indian Economist* of 15th July, 1871, page 330) an acre of rice, "in embanked land receiving full supply of water for a crop of rice," is put down as producing 3,400 lbs. Even in Bengal and Burmah—rice-producing countries—there is no such production as 7,000 lbs. per acre. For the rest of the presidency (excepting Canara), the total produce is given as follows:—

Rice—

Acres.	Produce, maund of 82 lbs.
822,218	9,197,713, giving an average of 917 lbs.

Jowari and Bajri—

Acres.	Produce, maund of 82 lbs.
9,476,687	44,557,600, giving an average of 385 lbs.

Now, the year 1869-70 is reported to have been an average favourable season, in which case my adopting 900 lbs. for the Northern and 850 for the Southern Division for all grains, is very much higher than the real average. For cotton the figures are acres 1,937,375, maunds 3,264,464, giving an average of 1·68 maunds or 136 lbs. It is not stated whether this is cleaned or seed cotton. Any way this cannot be correct. It is, however, remarked by the official who supplies these statistics—"The figures in table iii., giving the weight of produce, are not, it is feared, very reliable, but now that attention is being given to the subject, they will become more so every year." I earnestly hope that it will be so; correct statistics of this kind are extremely important.

Bajri.

Collectorates	Cultivated Area.	Total Produce (at 900 lbs. per Acre)	Price per 1 Re	Total Value.
	Acres	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad...	129,365*	116,428,500	33·6	34,65,134
Kaira	150,841	135,756,900	30·0	45,25,230
Surat	27,217	24,495,300	25·5	9,60,600
Khandeish	711,447	640,302,300	27·6	2,31,99,359
Tanna...	......	... ...	.. ...	....
Total...	1,018,870	... .	.. .	3,21,50,32
		(850 lbs per Acre.)		
Poona	834,325	709,176,250	34·7	2,04,37,35
Ahmednuggur .. .	1,152,316	979,468,600	34·3	2,85,55,93
Kulladghee	240,165	204,140,250	64·4†	31,69,88
Rutnagherry		..	......	... .
Belgaum	76,228	64,793,860	59·2	10,94,48
Dharwar	14,108	11,991,800	69·0	1,73,79
Sattara...	398,573	338,787,050	52·9	64,04,29
Total...	2,715,715	. .. .	......	5,98,35,74

Jowari.

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area	Total Produce (at 900 lbs per Acre)	Price per 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad...	119,679	107,711,100	42·4	25,40,35
Kaira	44,536	40,082,400	42·4	9,45,33
Surat	178,839	160,955,100	27·1	59,39,30
Khandeish	465,198	418,678,200	40·4	1,03,63,32
Tanna	10	9,000	26·8	33
Total...	808,262	. .	... .	1,97,88,65
		(850 lbs per Acre)		
Poona	1,487,816	1,264,643,600	49·5	2,55,48,35
Ahmednuggur	852,232	724,397,200	45·6	1,58,85,90
Kulladghee	1,162,582	988,194,700	70·0	1,43,17,06
Rutnagherry	.... .	....	......	......
Belgaum	426,542	362,560,700	66·0	54,93,34
Dharwar	511,389	434,680,650	83·8	51,87,12
Sattara...	465,509	395,682,650	52·6	75,22,48
Total .	4,006,070	....	......	7,37,54,26

* Gujerat in Northern Division; the cultivated area is given partly in acre and partly in beegahs. The beegahs are converted into acres, as 1·7 beegahs = 1 acre

† Bhagalkote price is taken.

Rice.

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area.	Total Produce (at 900 lbs. per Acre.)	2nd Sort price per 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad	31,902	28,711,800	14·0	20,50,843
Kaira	51,443	46,298,700	12·2	37,94,975
Surat	108,348	97,513,200	11·27	86,52,458
Khandeish	12,081	10,872,900	20·1	5,40,940*
Tanna	468,499	421,649,100	20·1†	2,09,77,567
Total...	672,273	605,045,700	......	3,60,16,783
		(850 lbs. per Acre.)		
Poona	108,643	92,346,550	22·2	41,59,754
Ahmednuggur	28,922	24,583,700	12·3	19,98,674
Kulladghee	5,496	4,671,600	20·9	2,23,521
Rutnagherry	130,403	221,685,100	27·0	82,10,559
		(1,700 lbs. per Acre.)		
Belgaum	70,889	60,255,650	29·0	20,77,781
Dharwar	91,840	78,064,000	27·1	28,80,590
Sattara	67,820	57,647,000	22·4	25,73,527
Total...	504,013	539,253,600	......	2,21,24,406

Cotton.

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	Price per Candy.	Total Value
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad					
Kaira					
Surat	707,041	80	56,563,280	170	1,22,64,997
Khandeish					
Tanna					
Poona					
Ahmednuggur					
Kulladghee					
Rutnagherry	704,629	60	42,277,740	170	91,67,367
Belgaum					
Dharwar					
Sattara					

* Average of Tanna and Alibaug.

† Price at Dhoolia being not given, I have taken the same with Tanna.

SUMMARY.

Northern Division.

	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bajri ...	1,018,870	3,21,50,323		
Jowari ..	808,262	1,97,88,655		
Rice ...	672,273	3,60,16,783	8,79,55,761 — 10 % =	7,91,60,185
Cotton ..	707,041	......		1,22,64,997
Total .	3,206,446			Rs....9,14,25,182

Average per acre, Rs. 28·51

Southern Division.

	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs
Bajri... ...	2,715,715	5,98,35,748		
Jowari ...	4,906,070	7,37,54,269		
Rice	504,013	2,21,24,406	15,57,14,423 — 10 % =	14,01,42,981
Cotton ...	704,629	....		91,67,367
Total ...	8,830,427			Rs....14,93,10,348

Average per acre, Rs. 17.

Total Cultivated Area.

	Acres.		Rs.
Northern Division...	5,128,221	at Rs. 28·51 =	14,62,05,580
Southern „ ...	13,985,892	at „ 17 =	23,77,60,164
		Total.. Rs.	38,39,65,744

This gives for the whole of the Bombay Presidency the total value as Rs. 38,39,65,744, or say £40,000,000, for a population of 11,000,000.

About two or three months ago I came across an unexpected confirmation of my calculations. I was able to get from my friend Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee a few notes from Colonel Prescott's reports on the settlement of Akleshwar Taluka—I suppose an average Gujerat taluka. Colonel Prescott has made the value of gross produce (excluding straw) about Rs. 24 per acre. Why, my estimate for the whole of the Northern Division is above Rs. 28 per acre.

OUDH.

The administration report does not give the agricultural tables, but they are given in the revenue report. Wheat forms the most important produce in Oudh, as in the North-West Provinces. I take it to represent the whole produce. In the revenue report ending 30th September 1868, the average produce per acre is given as 892 lbs., say 900 lbs.

Now, in Oudh, irrigated land is nearly within 10 per cent. of unirrigated land. I shall give the above produce per acre for both, as the table also gives this as the average of all land. The year 1867-8 was somewhat below an average good season, and the prices, therefore, higher than they would be for an average good season year. I take them, however, as they are. The average for wheat, first quality, is given at Rs. 1-9-7 per maund of 80 lbs., and for second quality Rs. 1-8-4—the average will be about Rs. 1-9. As a small correction for the prices being of an inferior season, the average being on the usual wrong principle, and the second quality being the largest quantity, I shall deduct only 10 per cent. The total cultivated area is 12,486 square miles, or 7,991,040 acres. The total produce, at 900 lbs. of wheat per acre, will be 7,191,936,000 lbs.: and the total value, at the rate of Rs. 1-9 per maund of 80 lbs., will be Rs. 14,04,67,500. This, less 10 per cent., will be Rs. 12,64,20,750 or say £13,000,000 for a population of 9,500,000.

Summary.

Provinces	Value of the Produce of Cultivated Land	Population.	Produce per head.
	£		Rs.
Central Provinces	16,000,000	9,000,000	18
Punjab	36,000,000	17,500,000	21
North-West Provinces	40,000,000	30,000,000	14
Bengal	66,000,000	67,000,000	15
Madras	36,000,000	26,500,000	14
Bombay	40,000,000	11,000,000	36
Oudh	13,000,000	9,500,000	14
Total ...	277,000,000	170,500,000	

Such is the produce of India for a good season year, in which any second crops will be fully included. I have not taken the produce of grazing-land, or straw or kurby, though the cattle required for cultivation and stock need not only all these grazing-lands, but also a portion of the produce of the cultivated land, such as some grains, fodder, and other produce. From the above total of £277,000,000 it is necessary to deduct for seed for next year, say, only 6 per cent., that is, allowing sixteen-fold for produce of land. The balance will be about £260,000,000 as the produce of cultivation, during a good season, for human use and consumption for a year. If the Government of India would calculate this production correctly, it would find the total a good deal under the above figures.

I have next to add for annual produce of stock for consumption, annual value of manufacturing industry, net opium revenue, cost of production of salt, coals and mines, and profits of foreign commerce

Salt, opium, coal, and profits of commerce will be about £17,000,000. For annual price of manufacturing industry or stock, I have not come across full particulars. The manufacturing industry in the Punjab—where there are some valuable industries, such as shawls, silks, &c., to the total estimated value of the "annual out-turns of all works"—is put down as about £3,774,000. From this we deduct the value of the raw produce; and if I allow this value to be doubled by all the manufactures, I shall be making a good allowance. Say, then, that the value of the industry is about £2,000,000, including the price of wool, the manufactures of other parts of India are not quite as valuable. Therefore, for the population of all British India, which is about ten times that of the Punjab, if I take £15,000,000 for the value of manufacturing industry, I shall not be far from the mark. The total for Central Provinces for 1870-1 for all manufactures is about £1,850,000. There are no very valuable industries, allowing, therefore, £850,000 for the value of the industry for a population of 9,000,000. In this proportion, the total value for India will be about, say, £17,000,000. For the annual produce of stock and fish for human consumption as milk or meat, I can hardly get sufficient data to work upon. I hope Government will give the particulars more fully, so that the annual production of stock for consumption, either as milk or meat, may be known. I set it down as £15,000,000 as a guess only

All this will make up a total of about £307,000,000. I add for any contingencies another £30,000,000, making at the utmost £340,000,000 for a population of 170,000,000, or 40*s*. a head for an average *good season*. I have no doubt that, if the Statistical Department worked out the whole correctly and fully, they would find the total less. Again, when further allowance is made for bad seasons, I cannot help thinking that the result will be nearer 30*s*. than 40*s*. a head. One thing is evident—that I am not guilty of any under-estimate of produce.

Adding this additional £63,000,000 in proportion of population, that is to say 7*s.* 5*d.* per head, the total production of each province will be as follows:—

	Per head. s.	d.
Central Provinces	43	5
Punjab	49	5
North-West Provinces	35	5
Bengal	37	5
Madras	35	5
Bombay	79	5
Oudh	35	5
Average...	40	0

Necessary Consumption.

I now consider what is necessary for the bare wants of a human being, to keep him in ordinary good health and decency.

I have calculated production chiefly for the year 1867-8. I shall take the same year for ascertaining the necessary consumption.

Surgeon S. B. Partridge, Government Medical Inspector of Emigrants, in a statement dated *Calcutta, 26th March 1870,** proposes the following as a scale of diet to supply the necessary ingredients of nourishment for the emigrant coolies during their voyage, living in a state of quietude:—

Rice Diet for One Man.	ozs.	For Flour Diet.	ozs.
Rice	20·0	Flour	16·0
Dhal	6·0	Dhal	4·6
Preserved Mutton	2·5	Preserved Mutton	2·5
Vegetables	4·27	Vegetables	4·27
Ghee	1·0	Ghee	1·5
Mustard Oil	0·5	Mustard Oil	0·5
Salt...	1·0	Salt	1·0
Total...	35·27	Total...	29·77

* The *Indian Economist* of 15th October 1870, Statistical Reporter, page 45.

The administration report of Bengal for 1870-1 gives, in appendix 11 D2, the following "scale of provisions for ships carrying Indian emigrants to British and foreign colonies west of the Cape of Good Hope."

"*Daily Allowance to each statute Adult [Children above two and under ten years of age to receive half rations].*

Class.	Articles	oz	drs.	Remarks
Grain ...	Rice	20	0	
	Flour	16	0	
	Dal, for rice-eaters.	6	0	(Four kinds of dhals make up this quantity)
	Dal, for flour-eaters.	4	0	
Oil	Ghee, for rice-eaters	1	0	Half an ounce extra allowance of ghee to each adult for every day that dried fish is supplied.
	Ghee, for flour-eaters.	1	8	
	Mustard Oil ..	0	8	
Meats, &c .	Preserved Mutton	2	8	In lieu of preserved mutton to be supplied at scale rate dried fish for two to three weeks. Fresh mutton (sheep) one week.
Vegetables ...	1 oz. pumpkins or yams, 2 oz potatoes, 2 oz. onions	5	0	In lieu of fresh potatoes, a sufficient quantity of preserved potatoes to allow 2 ozs twice a week to each adult, or about five weeks' supply at scale rate
Curry Stuff, &c.	Garlic .. .	0	0½	
	Mustard Seed ...	0	0½	
	Chillies . ..	0	0½	
	Black Pepper ...	0	1½	
	Coriander Seed ...	0	2	
	Turmeric ...	0	4	
	Tamarind	0	8	
	Salt . .	0	8	
Narcotic ...	Prepared tobacco	0	7	
	Leaf	0	3	Or in lieu of firewood, its equivalent in coal for half the quantity."
	Firewood ...	2	0	

Besides the above, there is an allowance for dry provision to be used at the discretion of the surgeon, for medical comforts, medicine, instruments and appliances for hospital and dispensary. Again, for confirmed opium-eaters or *ganja*-smokers, the surgeon superintendent is to see a proper quantity supplied. Surgeon Partridge's scale is absolutely necessary to supply the necessary ingredients of nitrogen and carbon; not the slightest luxury—no sugar or tea, or any little enjoyment of life, but simple animal subsistence of coolies living in a state of quietude. I have worked out below the cost of living according to Surgeon Partridge's scale for the year 1867-8 at Ahmedabad p[illegible] The [illegible] in the Bengal administration report provides curry

addition, which I have not calculated in this table, though it can hardly be said that they are not necessaries to those poor people.

Cost of necessary living at Ahmedabad prices, on 30th January 1868, as given in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

Rice, second sort, 20 oz. per day, or 37½ lbs. per month, at 15 lbs. per rupee	Rs.	2	8	0
Dhal 6 oz. per day, or 11¼ lbs. per month, at 20 lbs.* per rupee ...	"	0	9	0
Preserved mutton 2·50 oz. per day, or 4 lbs. 11 oz. per month, at 6½ lbs.† per Rupee...	"	0	11	7
Vegetable 4·27 oz. per day, or 8 lbs. per month, at 20 lbs.‡ per rupee	"	0	6	5
Ghee 1 oz. per day, or 1 lb. 14 oz. per month, at 2 lbs. 1 oz. per rupee	"	0	11	0
Mustard Oil 0·5 oz. per day, or 1 lb. 8 oz. per month, at 6 lbs.§ per rupee	"	0	4	0
1 oz. per day, or 1 lb. 14 oz. per month, at 38 lbs.‖ per rupee ...	"	0	0	10
Per Month...	Rs.	5	2	10

The annual cost of living or subsistence only, at Ahmedabad prices, is thus Rs. 62 2.

The following is an estimate of the lowest absolute scale of necessaries of a common agricultural labourer in the Bombay Presidency annually, by Mr. Kazee Sahabudin :—

Food—

1½ lbs. Rice per day, at Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8 per maund of 40 lbs., say...	Rs.	28	8
Salt, including waste, about 1 oz. a day	"	1	0
¼ lb. Dhal	"	9	0
Vegetables	"	0	0
Food oil	"	5	0
Condiments, chillies, &c.	"	0	0
Tobacco	"	5	0
	Rs.	48	8

* There are three kinds of dhal—Oorud, Moong, and Toor. I take an average.

† I don't find price of preserved mutton. I have taken of mutton.

‡ No price is given for vegetables. I take it the same as dhal.

§ No price of mustard-oil is given. I have taken for teel, which is the cheapest among the four kinds of oil given in the table.

‖ This is the price of common sea salt, which would require to be taken more than a ½ oz. to make up for the ½ oz. of good salt required. Also there is some wastage or loss.

Clothing—

3 Dhotees a year ...	Rs. 3	0
1 pair champal (shoes)	" 0	12
½ a turban...	" 1	8
1 Bundee (jacket)	" 1	0
2 Kamlees (blankets)	" 1	8
1 Rumal (handkerchief)...	" 0	2
1 Rain-protector ..	" 0	4
	Rs. 8	2

The dress of the female of the house—

1½ Saree (dress) ...	Rs. 3	12
1 Cholee (short jacket)	" 0	12
Oil for head	" 1	8
Bangrees (glass bangles)	" 0	6
½ Champal (shoes)	" 0	4
Extras	" 1	0
	Rs. 7	10

The old members of the family will require as much.

Lodging—

Hut (labour taken as his own) ...	Rs. 25	0
Hut repairs (bamboos, &c.), per annum	" 4	0
Oil for lamp, per day	" 0	0¼
Barber, per month	" 0	1
Domestic utensils per annum	" 0	12

Say altogether Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 for the family.

Taking one-quarter less, for reasons stated further on, to calculate the cost per head of family, the result will be—

Food	...Rs. 36	Without any provision for social and religious wants, letting alone luxuries, and anything to spare for bad seasons.
Clothing	.. " 6	
Lodging	... " 3	
	Rs. 45	

The report of the Bombay Price Commission gives the following particulars of the wants of the lowest servants of Government (pages 85, 86), supplied from the Poona District :—

	Quantities per month.	Cost per month in 1863.		Remarks.
	Seers.	Rs.	a.	
Rice	12	1	8	It will be observed that simple living and clothing are here exhibited, and nothing is taken into account for support of dependent members of family, servants, religious and other domestic expenses.
Bajri	12	1	4	
Toor Dhal, &c.	4	0	12	
Ghee	0¾	0	10	
Vegetables	..	0	6	
Oil	1¼	0	6	
Firewood		0	8	
Salt	1	0	1	
Mussala	...	0	2	
Chillies	0¼	0	2	
Milk	4	0	8	
Betelnut-leaves ...	.	0	8	
	Rs.	6	11	

Clothing—	Cost per Month.	
Turbans ... ... Rs.	0	8
Dhotee ... ... ,,	0	10
Puncha ... ... ,,	0	2
Rumal	0	0½
Coats ... ... ,,	0	3
Waistcoat	0	2
Shoes...	0	1½
Total...Rs.	1	11
Grand Total...Rs.	8	6 per month.

For Poona the above scale is calculated to cost Rs. 6-11 per month, or Rs. 80-4 per annum, at the high prices of 1863, while my estimate, according to Surgeon Partridge's scale for 1867-8, is Rs. 5-2-10 per month, or Rs. 62-2 per annum—nearly 24 per cent. less, as prices have gone lower. For clothing, the estimate for 1863 is Rs. 1-11 per month, or Rs. 20-8 per annum, while Mr. Shahabudin's estimate is only Rs. 8-2 in 1868. Even allowing for fall in prices, Mr. Shahabudin's estimate is lower, and calculated on a very low scale for an agricultural labourer in the poorest districts, while that of 1863 is for the lowest class of Government servants. Upon the whole, therefore, the estimate

The total adults, that is, above 12 years, are 65·5 per cent., and infants or children under 12 years 34·5 per cent., which gives the proportion of 2 adults to each child, or 1 child to every 3 persons.

From taking the cost of adults per head to be a, and cost of the mass per head to be x, and supposing that, out of 34 per cent. of children under 12, only 17 per cent. cost any thing, say one-half of the adult (though the Bengal provision is half for children from two to ten years), while the other 17 cost nothing at all, the problem will be—

$$66a + 17\frac{a}{2} + 17 \times 0 = 100x$$

$$x = \frac{74\frac{1}{2}a}{100}, \text{ or say } \frac{75a}{100} \text{ or } \frac{3}{4}a,$$

i. e., the cost outside jail, or for the whole mass per head, will be about three-fourths of inside the jail, allowing the jail for adults only. Thus, taking the cost of 3 persons in the jail, or of 3 adults, to 4 persons outside, or of the mass, it comes to this :—

Production per Head.		Three-fourths of Jail Cost of Living, or Cost per head outside Jail.
Central Provinces ... .Rs.	$21\frac{3}{4}$ or say Rs. 22	Rs. 23
Punjab ... ... „	$24\frac{1}{4}$ „ „ 25	„ 20
North-West Provinces ... ... „	$17\frac{3}{4}$ „ „ 18	„ 16
Madras ... ... „	$17\frac{3}{4}$ „ „ 18	„ 41
Bengal ... ... „	$18\frac{3}{4}$ „ „ 19	„ 23-12
Bombay ... ... „	$39\frac{3}{4}$ „ „ 40	„ 35
Oudh ... ... „	$17\frac{3}{4}$ „ „ 18	

It will be seen, from a comparison of the above figures, that, even for such food and clothing as a criminal obtains, there is hardly enough of production even in a good season, leaving alone all little luxuries, all social and religious wants, all expenses of occasions of joy and sorrow, and any provision for bad season. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that every poor labourer does not get the full share of the average production. The high and middle classes get a much larger share, the poor classes much less, while the lowest cost of living is generally above the average share.

Such appears to be the condition of the masses of India. They do not get enough to provide the bare necessaries of life.

On the subject of necessary consumption, I shall be very glad if some members of this Association, or others who possess or can ascertain the necessary information, will supply it, as I have not been able to make such minute and extended enquiries myself as I could wish.

DEFICIT OF IMPORTS COMPARED WITH THE EXPORTS OF INDIA.

The total imports and exports of the United Kingdom for the years 1858 to 1870 are—

Imports......£3,603,216,212 (including Bullion)
Exports......£2,875,027,301 („ „)

This shows an *excess of imports over exports of* [illegible] *i. e.*, the imports are above 25 per cent. greater than the exports.

This excess is to be increased to the extent of about [illegible], the balance of loans to India included in the exports, less interest on these loans included in imports of about [illegible], and by such further amounts as may be made up by balance of [illegible] with foreign parts. As England is the greatest [illegible] in the world, the ultimate result of excess of commercial imports over commercial exports will most probably be [illegible] £733,000,000, or 25 per cent. of exports [illegible] less than 15 per cent.

For British North America the total imports [illegible] bullion, for the years [illegible] are—

railway interest as a mere matter of business, and analysing the deficit of imports, or drain to England, as only about £453,000,000, the following is the yearly average for every five years:—

Years.	Yearly Average. £
1835 to 1839	5,347,000
1840 " 1844...	5,930,000
1845 " 1849.	7,760,000
1850 " 1854	7,458,000
1855 " 1859	7,730,000
1860 " 1864...	17,300,000
1865 " 1869	24,600,000
1870 " 1872...	27,400,000

Now, can it be shown by anybody that the production during these 38 years has been such as to leave the same amount per head every year, and surplus besides to make up the above £200,000,000 taken away from the produce of the country, in *addition* to opium revenue and profits of commerce? In that case it will be that India is no better off now, but is only in the same condition as in 1834. If it can be shown that the production of the country has been such as to be the same per head during all these years, and a surplus greater than £200,000,000 besides, then will it be that any material benefit has been derived by India to the extent of such excess of surplus over £200,000,000. It must, however, be remembered that, in the years about 1834, the condition of the people had already gone down very low by the effects of the previous deficits, as will be seen further on from the official opinions I have given there.

The benefit to England by its connection with India must not be measured by the £500,000,000 only during the last 38 years. Besides this the industries of England receive large additional support for supplying all European stores which Government need, and all those articles which Europeans want in India from their habits and customs, not from mere choice, as may be the case with natives. All the produce of the country, thus exported from sheer necessity, would otherwise have brought returns suitable to native wants, or would have remained in the country, in either case, to the benefit of the produce or industry of India. Be it clearly borne in mind that all this additional benefit to English industries is entirely independent of, and in addition to, the *actual deficit* between the export *plus* profits and imports. Everything I allude to is already included in the imports. It is so much additional capital drawn away, whether India will or no, from the industry of India to the

benefit of English industry. There is again, the further legitimate benefit to England of the profits of English firms there carrying on commerce with India, the profits of the shipping trade, and insurance. The only pity—and a very great one too—is that the commerce between England and India is not so large as it should and can be, the present *total* exports of India to all the outside world being only about 5*s*. a head, while the exports of the United Kingdom are about £6 10*s*. a head, of British North America about £3 a head, and of Australia about £19 a head, including gold (and exclusive of gold about £11 a head). Again, what are imports into India from the United Kingdom, including treasure, Government stores of every kind, railway and other stores, articles for European consumption, and everything for native consumption and use? Only less than 3*s*. a head, as below:—

Total Imports, including Treasure, into India from the United Kingdom.

1868..	£31,629,315	Say £32,000,000, on an average, for a population of about 225,000,000, or less than 3*s*. a head.
1869...	£35,309,973	
1870...	£30,357,055	
1871...	£28,826,264	

(Parliamentary Return [c. 587] of 1872, page 16—Trade and Navigation Returns of the United Kingdom.)

What a vast field there is for English commerce in India! Only £1 a head will be equal to nearly the whole present exports of the United Kingdom to all parts of the world. There is one further circumstance against British-Indian subjects, which will show the actual drain from the produce of the country of more than £200,000,000 as borne by British India. The exports from India do not all belong to British India; a portion belongs to the Native States. These States naturally get back their imports equal to their exports, *plus* profits—less only the tribute they pay to British India, of only about £720,000 altogether per annum, of which even a portion is spent in their own States. No account can I take here of the further loss to India (by famines) of life and property, which is aggravated by the political exhaustion. It is complained that England is at the mercy of India for its loan of some £200,000,000, but let it be borne in mind that, within the next few years, that sum will have been drawn by England while India will continue to have its debt over its head.

The figures of the deficit previous to 1834 I cannot get. I hope the India Office would prepare a table similar to this for this previous period,

in order that it may be ascertained how India had fared materially under British rule altogether.

The effect of the deficit is not equally felt by the different presidencies. Bengal suffers less than the others on account of its permanent settlement. I do not mean that as any objection to such settlement, but I state it merely as a fact.

The Court of Directors, in the year 1858, deliberately put forth before the Parliament and public of England the statement (Parliamentary Return No. 75 of 1858) that "the great excess of exports above imports is being regularly liquidated in silver." Now, is it not India's misfortune that not one man in the India Office pointed out how utterly incorrect, misleading, and mischievous this statement was?

Now, Mr. Laing makes the following statement before the present Finance Committee:—"*Question* 7660 *of 2nd Report*—Would it not be correct to state that the difference between the value of the exports from India, and the imports into India, which now amount, I think, to the sum of about £20,000,000, represents the tribute which India annually pays to England? *Answer*.—No, I think not; I should not call it a tribute when there is a balance of trade of that sort between the two countries. There are many other countries which are in the same condition of exporting considerably more than they import from one particular country, and the balance of trade is adjusted either by other payments which have to be made, or by transactions through third countries, or finally by remittance of bullion."

First of all, the question was not about India's commerce with any particular country, but about *all* its exports and imports. And next, taking his answer as it is, it is altogether incorrect and inapplicable to India, as must be evident from the facts I have already laid before you.

Next comes Mr. Maclean. He is reported to have said before this Committee something to the effect that, if we compare India, for instance, with the United States, which can hardly be called a country that is being drained of its natural wealth, we will find that the excess of exports over imports in the United States is very much greater than the corresponding excess in India. Now, let us see what the facts are. I have prepared a table, and have taken the figures from the year 1795—the earliest I could get. From the totals I have excluded the years 1802-6, 1808-14, 1818-20, because the imports for them are not given, and the years 1863-6 for reasons well known (the American War). The result till 1869 (I cannot get later authentic figures) is not as

Mr. Maclean says, that "the excess of exports over imports in the United States is very much greater than the corresponding excess in India," but that the excess of *imports* over exports is about $493,000,000 till 1847, and £43,000,000 from 1848-69, excepting the years I have mentioned above; and if all the necessary modifications from various other circumstances be made, the excess of the imports will be found necessarily much greater. In fact, the United States are no exception to the ordinary laws of political economy, in a country where the rule is a native, and not a foreign, one. I have made up my tables from Parliamentary Returns.

The deficits of £500,000,000 in imports, do not, as I have already explained, show the whole drain; for the English stores, whether Government or private, are all already *included in the imports*, nor is any interest calculated. With interest, the drain from India would amount to a very high figure.

This drain consists of two elements—first, that arising from the remittances by European officials of their savings, and for their expenditure in England for their various wants both there and in India; from pensions and salaries paid in England; and from Government expenditure in England and India: and the second, that arising from similar remittances by non-official Europeans. Over the first we have no control, beyond urging upon our rulers that the present system of administration is an unnatural one, destructive to India and suicidal for England. For the second, it is in our own hands what its extent should be. It is no blame to these European gentlemen for coming here to seek their fortunes—and in fact we had need for them to some extent; but if we are blind to our own national interests and necessities, and if we do not support, encourage, and preserve in every possible way, every talent, trade, industry, art, or profession among the natives, even at certain sacrifices, the fault is our own, and we deserve to be, and shall be, impoverished. In complaining, therefore, about the vast drain from India, and our growing impoverishment, it must be borne in mind that, for a certain portion of it, we have to thank our own blindness to our national interests, but for a large portion the cause is the present system and policy of Indian administration.

We may draw our own inferences about the effects of the drain, but I give you below official opinions on the subject, from early times to the present day, for each presidency.

BENGAL.

Sir John Shore, in 1787, says in his famous minute (appendix to 5th report, Parliamentary Return No. 377 of 1812):—

"129. Secondly, it is a certain fact that the zemindars are almost universally poor. . . . Justice and humanity calls for this declaration.

"130. . . . . I do not, however, attribute this fact to the extortions of our Government, but to the causes which I shall hereafter point out, and which will be found sufficient to account for the effect. I am by no means convinced that the reverse would have taken place if the measure of our exactions had been more moderate.

"131. Thirdly, the Company are merchants, as well as sovereigns o the country. In the former capacity they engross its trade, whilst in the latter they appropriate the revenues. The remittances to Europe of revenues are made in the commodities of the country which are purchased by them.

"132. Whatever allowance we may make for the increased industry of the subjects of the State, owing to the enhanced demand for the produce of it (supposing the demand to be enhanced), there is reason to conclude that the benefits are more than counterbalanced by evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion.

. . . .

"135. Every information, from the time of Bernier to the acquisition of the Dewani, shows the internal trade of the country, as carried on between Bengal and the upper parts of Hindustan, the Gulf of Moros the Persian Gulf, and the Malabar Coast, to have been very considerable. Returns of specie and goods were made through these channel, by that of the foreign European companies, and in gold direct for opium from the eastward.

"136. But from the year 1765 the reverse has taken place. The Company's trade produces no equivalent returns, specie is rarely imported by the foreign companies, nor brought into Bengal from other parts of Hindustan in any considerable quantities.

. . . .

"141. If we were to suppose the internal trade of Hindustan again revived, the export of the production of the country by the Company must still prevent those returns which trade formerly [illegible]d in. — is an evil inseparable from a European government.

Page 194.—"A large proportion of the rents of the country are paid into the Company's treasury, and the manufactures are applied to remit to England the surplus which remains after discharging the claims on this Government, and to augment the commerce and revenue of Great Britain."

Lord Cornwallis' minute on land settlements, dated 10th February 1790, says:—"The consequence of the heavy drain of wealth from the above causes (*viz.*, large annual investment to Europe, assistance to the treasury of Calcutta, and to supply wants of other presidencies), with the addition of that which has been occasioned by the remittances of private fortunes, have been for many years past, and are now, severely felt, by the great diminution of the current specie, and by the languor which has thereby been thrown upon the cultivation and the general commerce of the country."

The East India Company, on finding the provinces of Bengal and Behar continuously deteriorating, caused a long and minute survey of the condition of the people. This survey extended over nine years, from 1807 to 1860. The reports, however, lay buried in the archives of the India House, till Mr. Montgomery Martin brought them to light. He sums up the result of these official minute researches in the following remarkable words (vol. I., page 11):—"It is impossible to avoid remarking two facts as peculiarly striking—first, the richness of the country surveyed; and second, the poverty of its inhabitants."

Before proceeding further, I must first say that the drain to which these great men have referred was much less than at present. I give the figures in Mr. Martin's words (page 12):—"The annual drain of £3,000,000 on British India has amounted in 30 years, at 12 per cent., (the usual Indian rate) compound interest, to the enormous sum of £723,900,000 sterling. . . So constant and accumulating a drain, even in England, would soon impoverish her. How severe, then, must be its effects on India, where the wage of a labourer is from two-pence to three-pence a day?"

In volume III., page 4, &c., alluding to the nine years' survey, Mr. Martin says that the obscurity to which such a survey was consigned was to be deplored, "and can only be accounted for by supposing that it was deemed impolitic to publish to the world so painful a picture of human poverty, debasement, and wretchedness"; and Mr. Martin draws many other painful conclusions.

Coming down to later times, Mr. Frederick John Shore, of the Bengal Civil Service, has left us the following account of the condition of the people in 1837 (vol. II., page 28):—"But the halcyon days of India are over; she has been drained of a large proportion of the wealth she once possessed, and her energies have been cramped by a sordid system of misrule to which the interests of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few." "The gradual impoverishment of the people and country, under the mode of rule established by the British Government, has" &c. &c. . . . .

"The English Government has effected the impoverishment of the country and people to an extent almost unparalleled."

For the manner in which the cotton industry of India was destroyed, see note at page 37 of the same volume. In his concluding remarks (vol. II., page 516), Mr. Shore says:—"More than seventeen years have elapsed since I first landed in this country; but on my arrival, and during my residence of about a year in Calcutta, I well recollect the quiet, comfortable, and settled conviction, which in those days existed in the minds of the English population, of the blessings conferred on the natives of India by the establishment of the English rule. Our superiority to the native Governments which we have supplanted; the excellent system for the administration of justice which we had introduced; our moderation; our anxiety to benefit the people—in short, our virtues of every description—were descanted on as so many established truths, which it was heresy to controvert. Occasionally I remember to have heard some hints and assertions of a contrary nature from some one who had spent many years in the interior of the country; but the storm which was immediately raised and thundered on the head of the unfortunate individual who should presume to question the established creed, was almost sufficient to appal the boldest.

"Like most other young men who had no opportunities of judging for themselves, it was but natural that I should imbibe the same notions; to which may be added, the idea of universal depravity of the people, which was derived from the same source."

After stating how his transfer to a remote district brought him into intimate contact with natives, how he found them disaffected towards British rule, and how this conviction in spite of himself was irresistible, he says:—"This being the case, an attempt to discover the reasons for such sentiments on the part of the native population, was the natural

result. Well-founded complaints of oppression and extortion, on the part of both Government and individuals, were innumerable. The question then was, why, with all our high professions, were not such evils redressed? This, however, I was assured, was impossible under the existing system; and I was thus gradually led to an enquiry into the principles and practice of the British-Indian administration. Proceeding in this, I soon found myself at no loss to understand the feelings of the people both towards our Government and to ourselves. It would have been astonishing indeed had it been otherwise. The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient, in every possible way, to the interests and benefits of themselves. They have been taxed to the utmost limit; every successive province, as it has fallen into our possession, has been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast how greatly we have raised the revenue above that which the native rulers were able to extort. The Indians have been excluded from every honor, dignity, or office which the lowest Englishman could be prevailed upon to accept.

. . . .

"Had the welfare of the people been our object, a very different course would have been adopted, and very different results would have followed; for again and again I repeat it, there is nothing in the circumstance itself, of our being foreigners of different colour and faith, that should occasion the people to hate us. We may thank ourselves for having made their feelings towards us what they are."

In vol. I., page 162, Mr. Shore says:—"The ruin of the upper classes (like the exclusion of the people from a share in the government) was a necessary consequence of the establishment of the British power; but had we acted on a more liberal plan, we should have fixed our authority on a much more solid foundation."

Colonel Marriot, at the East India Association meeting in July last, referring to Bengal, said:—"But he had no doubt that he accurately quoted the words of the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in saying that the mass of the population is probably poorer, and in a lower social position, than any in India."

The "Material and Moral Progress" for 1871-2 (page 100) says that "the Calcutta missionary conference had dwelt on the miserable and abject condition of the Bengal ryots, and there is evidence that they suffer many things, and are often in want of absolute necessaries."

BOMBAY.

Mr. Saville Marriot, 'one of the Commissioners of Revenue in the Deccan,' and afterwards a member of council, says in 1836, in his letter to Sir R. Grant:—"You will readily conceive that my opinions are the result rather of practical experience than deductions drawn from scientific views. . . . .

"For many years past I have, in common with many others, painfully witnessed their decline [the peoples]; and more especially that part of the community which has emphatically been styled the 'sinews of the State'—the peasantry of India. It is not a single, but a combination of causes, which has produced this result. Some of these are, and have been from the beginning, obvious to those who have watched with attention the development of the principles of our rule in relation to such as have been superseded, become blended with our system, or are opposed to it in practical effect. Others are less apparent, and some complex; whilst another class of the decline may possibly be involved in obscurity.

"It is a startling but too notorious a fact, that though loaded with a vastly greater absolute amount of taxation, and harassed by various severe acts of tyranny and oppression, yet the country was in a state of prosperity under the native rule when compared with that into which it has fallen under the avowedly mild sway of British administration. Though, in stating the subject, I have used the expression 'a vastly greater absolute amount of taxation,' yet I would beg to be understood as being fully aware those terms must be treated in a qualified sense, since it is manifest that, relatively viewed, a smaller numerical amount of taxation may, with reference to the means of payment, be, in point of fact, more burdensome than a much larger one where the resources are more adequate to the object. But, in the particular case in point, it is, I believe, ability which has diminished; and that, too, to many grades below the proportionate fall in the pecuniary amount of fiscal demand. To the pecuniary injurious result are also to be added the many unfavorable circumstances inseparable for a time from a foreign rule. In elucidation of the position *that this country is verging to the lowest ebb of pauperism*, I would adduce a fact pregnant with considerations of the most serious importance, namely, that of late years a large portion of the public revenue has been paid by encroachment upon the capital of the country, small though that capital is in itself. I allude to the property of the peasantry, which consists of personal ornaments of the

precious metals and jewels, convertible, as occasions require, to profitable purposes, and accommodations in agricultural pursuit, most frequently in the shape of pawn, till the object has been attained. I feel certain that an examination would establish *that a considerable share of this and other property, even to cattle and household utensils*, has been for ever alienated from its proprietors to make good the public revenue. In addition to *this lamentable evidence of poverty*, is another of equal force, to be seen in all parts of the country, in the numerous individuals of the above class of the community wandering about for the employment of hirelings, which they are glad to obtain even for the most scanty pittance. In short, *almost everything forces the conviction that we have before us a narrowing progress to utter pauperism.*"*

Mr. Marriot in another place (page 11) says:—"Most of the evils of our rule in India arise directly from, or may be traced to, the heavy tribute which that country pays to England."

And with regard to this tribute, he quotes the Chairman of a Court of Proprietors held on the 28th February 1845, as follows:—"India paid to the mother-country, in the shape of home charges, what must be considered the annual tribute of £3,000,000 sterling; and daily poured into the lap of the mother-country a continual stream of wealth in the shape of private fortunes." To this should be added all earnings of Europeans, except what they spent in India for Indian supplies; which would show that there is something far beyond even private fortunes which is continuously poured into the lap of England.

Mr. Marriot goes on to say:—"It will be difficult to satisfy the mind that any country could bear such a drain upon its resources without sustaining very serious injury. And the writer entertains the fullest conviction that investigation would effectually establish the truth of the proposition as applicable to India. He has himself most painfully witnessed it in those parts of the country with which he was connected, and he has every reason to believe that the same evil exists, with but slight modification, throughout our Eastern empire."

Again says Mr. Marriot (page 17):—"A different state of things exists in the present day on that point; and, though the people still, and gratefully so, acknowledge the benefits they have derived from the suppression of open violence, yet they emphatically and unanswerably refer their increasing penury as evidencing the existence of a

* Mr. Marriot's pamphlet re-published in 1857, page 13. The italics are mine.

canker-worm that is working their destruction. The sketch which I have given shows a distressing state of things; but lamentable as it may appear, I would pledge myself to establish the facts advanced, and that the representation is not overdrawn."

Mr. Robert Knight says:—"Mr. Giberne, after an absence of fourteen years from Guzerat, returned to it, as judge, in 1840. 'Everywhere'—he told the Commons' Committee on Cotton Cultivation in 1848—'he remarked deterioration,' and 'I did not see so many of the more wealthy classes of the natives. The aristocracy, when we first had the country, used to have their gay carts, horses, and attendants, and a great deal of finery about them, and there seems to be an absence of all that. . . The ryots all complain that *they had had money once, but they had none now*.'"

In a private letter, dated 1849, 'written by a gentleman high in the Company's service,' and quoted in a pamphlet in 1851, the decay of Guzerat is thus described:—"Many of the best families in the province, who were rich and well to-do when we came into Guzerat in 1807, have now scarcely clothes to their backs. . . . .

Our demands in money on the talookdars are more than three times what they originally paid, without one single advantage gained on their parts. Parties, from whom they have been compelled to borrow at ruinous rates of interest, enforced their demands by attachment of their lands and villages; thus they sink deeper and deeper in debt, without the chance of extricating themselves. What, then, must become of their rising family?"*

Lieutenant A. Nash, after giving a table of the prices of grain from 1809 to 1838 in Indapore (Bombay Government Selections, No. 107, New Series, page 118), says:—"The table is chiefly interesting in showing the gradual diminution in the price of corn from the days of the Peishwas to our own. By comparing the prices at the commencement with those at the end of the table, and then reading the list over, this circumstance will become apparent." I give this table in my notes on prices.

* Mr. Robert Knight's paper read before the East India Association 3rd March 1868.

MADRAS.

Mr. John Bruce Norton, in his letter to Mr. Robert Lowe in 1854 quotes the words of Mr. Bourdillon—'one of the ablest revenue officers in the Madras Civil Service, and a Member of the Commission on Public Works'—about the majority of the ryots:—*Page* 21.—"Now, it may certainly be said of almost the whole of the ryots, paying even the highest of these sums, and even of many holding to a much larger amount, that they are always in poverty and generally in debt." *Page* 22.—"A ryot of this class, of course, lives from hand to mouth. He rarely sees money. . . His dwelling is a hut of mud walls and thatched roof—far ruder, smaller, and more dilapidated than those of the better classes of ryots above spoken of, and still more destitute, if possible, of anything that can be called furniture. His food, and that of his family, is partly thin porridge made of the meal of grain boiled in water, and partly boiled rice, with a little condiment; and generally the only vessels for cooking and eating from, are of the coarsest earthenware, much inferior in grain to a good tile or brick in England, and unglazed. Brass vessels, though not wholly unknown among this class, are rare."

About the labourer he says:—"As respects food, houses, and clothing, they are in a worse condition than the class of poor ryots above spoken of. It appears from the foregoing details that the condition of the agricultural labourer in this country is very poor. . . . In fact, almost the whole of his earnings must necessarily be consumed in a spare allowance of coarse and unvaried food, and a bare sufficiency of clothing. The wretched hut he lives in, can hardly be valued at all. As to anything in the way of education or mental culture, he is utterly destitute of it."

Such is the testimony in the year 1854. Now let us come down to so late a time as 1869. Mr. (now Sir George) Campbell, in his paper on tenure of land in India, published by the Cobden Club, quotes from an official authority a report made so late as 1869 about the Madras Presidency, as follows:—"The bulk of the people are paupers. They can just pay their cesses in a good year, and fail altogether when the season is bad. Remissions have to be made, perhaps every third year, in most districts. There is a bad year in some one district, or group of districts, every year."

Again the Parliamentary Report of the Moral and Material Progress of India for 1868-9, page 71, says—"Prices in Madras have been falling continuously."

PUNJAB.

The administration report for 1855-6 (Government of India Selections No. 18, 1856) gives the following table:—

Average Prices.

For Ten Years up to 1850—51.	Wheat, Rs 2 per Maund of 82 lbs.	Indian Corn, Rs 1 $1\frac{1}{4}$ per Maund.
1851-2	Rs. 1 per maund.	Rs. $0\frac{11}{16}$ per maund.
1852-3	„ $1\frac{3}{16}$ „	„ $1\frac{1}{16}$ „
1853-4	„ $1\frac{3}{16}$ „	„ $1\frac{3}{16}$ „
1854-5	„ 1 „	„ $0\frac{11}{16}$ „
1855-6	„ $1\frac{1}{16}$ „	„ $0\frac{13}{16}$ „

With the usual effects of the introduction of a foreign rule, and the seasons happening to be good, the result was a fall in prices to nearly *half during the five years* after the annexation. The political portion of the causes of this depression is well described in a subsequent report, and how a change in that political portion produced a favorable reaction in the province.

The administration report of 1856-8 (Parliamentary Return No. 212 of 1859, page 16), 'prepared under the direction of Sir J. Lawrence, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner of Punjab, by R. Temple, Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Punjab,' says:—" In former reports it was explained how the circumstance of so much money going out of the Punjab contributed to depress the agriculturist. The native regular army was Hindustani; to them was a large share of the Punjab revenues disbursed, of which a part only they spent on the spot, and a part was remitted to their homes. Thus it was that, year after year, lakhs and lakhs were drained from the Punjab, and enriched Oudh. But within the last year, the native army being Punjabi, all such sums have been paid *to them*, and have been spent at home. Again, many thousands of Punjabi soldiers are serving abroad. These men not only remit their savings, but also have sent quantities of prize property and plunder, the spoils of Hindustan, to their *native villages*. The effect of all this is already perceptible in an increase of agricultural capital, a freer circulation of money, and a fresh impetus to cultivation."

This is just the cause which, in a far more aggravated form and on a far larger scale, operates on the [illegible] India in

are so miserably poor that they have barely the means of subsistence. It is as much as a man can do to feed his family or half feed them, let alone spending money on what may be called luxuries or conveniences. Mr. Grant Duff asked Mr. Lawson, so late as in May 1870, in the House of Commons, whether he meant to "grind an already poor population to the very dust."

The following picture about England itself under similar circumstances, may, I hope, enable the British people to realize our condition. The parallel is remarkable, and the picture in certain portions life-like of the present state of India. Draper's "Intellectual Development of Europe," 5th edition:—*Page* 365.—"In fact, through the operation of the Crusades, all Europe was tributary to the Pope (Innocent III.) . . . .
A steady drain of money from every realm. Fifty years after the time of which we are speaking, Robert Grostale, the Bishop of Lincoln and friend of Roger Bacon, caused to be ascertained the amount received by foreign ecclesiastics in England. He found it to be thrice the income of the king himself. This was on the occasion of Innocent IV. demanding provision to be made for three hundred additional Italian clergy by the Church of England; and that one of his nephews—a mere boy—should have a stall in Lincoln Cathedral." *Page* 397.—"In England—for ages a mine of wealth to Rome—the tendency of things was shown by such facts as the remonstrances of the Commons with the Crown on the appointment of ecclesiastics to all the great offices, and the allegations made by the 'Good Parliament' as to the amount of money drawn by Rome from the kingdom. They asserted that it was five times as much as the taxes levied by the king, and that the Pope's revenue from England was greater than the revenue of any prince in Christendom." *Page* 434.—"It is manifest by legal enactments early in the fourteenth century. . . . .
By the Parliamentary bill of 1376, setting forth that the tax paid in England to the Pope for ecclesiastical dignities is fourfold as much as that coming to the king from the whole realm; that alien clergy, who have never seen, nor cared to see, their flocks, convey away the treasure of the country." *Page* 477.—"The inferior, unreflecting orders were in all directions exasperated by its importunate unceasing exactions of money. In England for instance, though less advanced intellectually than the southern nations, the commencement of the Reformation is perhaps justly referred as far back as the reign of Edward III., who, under the suggestion of Wickliffe, refused to do homage to the Pope;

but a series of weaker princes succeeding, it was not until Henry VII. that the movement could be continued. In that country, the immediately existing causes were, no doubt, of a material kind, such as the alleged avarice and impurity of the clergy, the immense amount of money taken from the realm, the intrusion of foreign ecclesiastics." *Page* 478. —"As all the world had been drained of money by the Senate and Cæsars for the support of republican or imperial power, so there was a need of like supply for the use of the pontiffs. The collection of funds had often given rise to contentions between the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, and in some of the more sturdy countries had been resolutely resisted."

The result of this drain from England to Italy was the condition of the people, as pictured at pages 494-5, than which nothing could be more painful. Mr. Draper says :—"For many of the facts I have now to mention, the reader will find authorities in the works of Lord Macaulay, and Mr. Froude on English History. My own reading in other directions satisfies me that the picture here offered represents the actual condition of things. . . . .

"There were forests extending over great districts ; fens forty or fifty miles in length, reeking with miasma and fever, though round the walls of the abbeys there might be beautiful gardens, green lawns, shady walks, and many murmuring streams. . . . . . .
The peasant's cabin was made of reeds, or sticks, plastered over with mud. His fire was chimneyless—often it was made of peat. In the objects and manner of his existence, he was but a step above the industrious beaver who was building his dam in the adjacent stream. . .
Vermin in abundance in the clothing and beds. The common food was peas, vetches, fern-roots, and even the bark of trees. . . The population, sparse as it was, was perpetually thinned by pestilence and want. Nor was the state of the townsman better than that of the rustic ; his bed was a bag of straw, with a fair round log for his pillow. . .
It was a melancholy social condition when nothing intervened between reed cabins in the fen, the miserable wigwams of villages, and the conspicuous walls of the castle and the monastery. . . . .
Rural life had but little improved since the time of Cæsar ; in its physical aspect it was altogether neglected.

. . . .

"England, at the close of the age of faith, had for long been a chief pecuniary tributary to Italy, the source from large revenues have b

drawn, the fruitful field in which herds of Italian ecclesiastics had been pastured. . . At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the island was far more backward, intellectually and politically, than is commonly supposed."

We see, then, to what condition the people of England were reduced under the Italian drain. India cannot but share the same fate under similar causes, unless England, as she sincerely means to do, adopts the necessary precautions and remedies to prevent such results.

Before I close the subject of the drain and its consequences, I direct your attention to a few facts connected with the subject of railways, and such other useful public works. You are well aware that I strongly desire these works, but I cannot shut my eyes to the following facts:—

America, for instance, requires money to build a railway, takes a loan and builds it—and everybody knows it is immensely benefited. I need not read to you a chapter on political economy why it is so. I need only say every man employed in the construction of that railway is an American; every farthing, therefore, that is spent out of the loan remains in the country. In the working of the railway, every man is an American; every farthing taken out of the produce of the country for its conveyance remains in the country; so whatever impetus is given to the production of the country, and increase made in it, is fully enjoyed by the country paying, out of such increase in its capital and production, the interest of the loan, and in time the loan itself. Under such ordinary economical circumstances, a country derives great benefit from the help of loans from other countries. In India, in the construction of the railroad, a large amount of the loan goes towards the payment of Europeans, a portion of which, as I have explained before, goes out of the country. Then again, in the working of the railway, the same drawback, leaving therefore hardly any benefit at all to India itself, and the whole interest of the loan must also go out of the country. So our condition is a very anomalous one—like that of a child to which a fond parent gives a sweet, but to which, in its exhausted condition, the very sweet acts like poison, and as a *foreign substance* by irritating the weak stomach makes it throw out more, and causes greater exhaustion. In India's present condition, the very sweets of every other nation appear to act on it as poison. With this continuous and ever increasing drain by innumerable channels, as our normal condition at present, the most well-intentioned acts of Government become disadvantageous. Sir Richard Temple clearly understands this phenomenon, as I have

already shown. But, somehow or other, he seems to have now forgotten what he so clearly pointed out a score of years ago. Many a time, in discussing with English friends the question of the material drain generally, and the above remarks on railways, irrigation-works, &c., I found it a very difficult task to convince. Fortunately, a great authority enunciates the fundamental principles very clearly and convincingly, and I give them below, hoping that an authority like that of the late Mr. Mill, will, on economical principles especially, command attention.

I give a few short extracts from Mill's 'Political Ecomony,' chapter V.:—

"Industry is limited by capital."

"To employ industry on the land is to apply capital to the land."

"Industry cannot be employed to any greater extent than there is capital to invest."

"There can be no more industry than is supplied by materials to work up, and food to eat. Yet, in regard to a fact so evident, it was long continued to be believed that laws and governments, without creating capital, could create industry."

"While, on the one hand, industry is limited by capital, so on the other every increase of capital gives or is capable of giving, additional employment to industry, and this without assignable limit."

"A second fundamental theorem respecting capital relates to the source from which it is derived. It is the result of saving. All capital, and especially all addition to capital, are the result of saving."

"What supports and employs productive labour is the capital expended in setting it to work and not the demand of purchasers for the produce of the labour when completed. Demand for commodities is not demand for labour."

"The demand for commodities determines in what particular branch of production the labour and capital shall be employed. It determines the *direction* of labour, but not the more or less of the labour itself, or of the maintenance or payment of the labour. These depend on the amount of the capital, or other funds directly devoted to the sustenance and remuneration of labour."

"This theorem—that to purchase produce is not to employ labour; that the demand for labour is constituted by the wages which precede the production, and not by the demand which may exist for the com-

modities resulting from the production—is a proposition which greatly needs all the illustration it can receive. It is to common apprehension a paradox."

These principles applied to the particular case of India, amount to this :—Poor India has not even to support its absolute want, even were the whole production employed in supporting labour. But as this is not the case,—as there must be some portion of the produce consumed unproductively in luxuries,—the share for the support of labour for reproduction becomes still more scanty; saving, and therefore addition to capital, being altogether out of the question. Moreover, not only is there no saving at the present rate of production, but there is actual continuous yearly abstraction from this scanty production. The result is an additional evil consequence in the capability of labour deteriorating continuously, for "industry is limited by capital"—so the candle burns at both ends,—capital going on diminishing on the one hand, and labour thereby becoming less capable, on the other, to reproduce as much as before. The last theorem of Mill is a clear answer to those who say that, because the railways open up a market for the commodities, the produce of the country *must* increase. I need only repeat the "demand for commodities is not demand for labour," and that "industry cannot be employed to any greater extent than there is capital to invest."

If these principles are fairly borne in mind, and the element of the drain from India fairly considered, the gradual impoverishment of India, under the existing system of administration, will cease to appear a paradox.

The Moral Drain.

Beyond the positions of deputy-collectors or extra-commissioners, or similar subordinate positions in the Engineering, Medical, and all other services (with a very few somewhat better exceptions), all experience and knowledge of statesmanship, of administration or legislation, of high scientific or learned professions, are drained away to England, when the persons possessing them give up their service and retire to England.

The result, in Sir T. Munro's words, is this:—"The consequence of the conquest of India by British arms would be, in place of raising, to debase the whole people."—(Life of Sir T. Munro, page 466, quoted in Mr. Torrens' "Empire in Asia.") For every European employed beyond absolute necessity, each native capable of filling the

same position is displaced in his own country. All the talent and nobility of intellect and soul, which nature gives to every country, is to India a lost treasure. There is, thus, a triple evil—loss of wealth, wisdom, and work to India—under the present system of administration. Whether the power of education which the British rulers are raising with the glorious object of raising the people of India, and which is day by day increasing, shall be a bulwark or weakness hereafter to the British rule, is a question of great importance. As matters stand at present, *in the words of Sir Bartle Frere*—"*And now, wherever I go, I* find the best exponents of the policy of the English Government, and the most able coadjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the natives of India, among the ranks of the educated natives." Of the future who can say? It lies in the hands of our rulers whether this power they are raising shall continue to be their "coadjutor," or become their opponent. The merit or fault will be entirely their own.

Sir J. Malcolm says:—"We are not warranted by the History of India, nor indeed by that of any other nation in the world, in reckoning upon the possibility of preserving an empire of such a magnitude by a system which excludes, as ours does, the natives from every station of high rank and honorable ambition. Least of all would such a system be compatible with the plans now in progress for spreading instruction. . . . . . . If we do not use the knowledge which we impart, it will be employed against us . We find in all communities, bold, able and ambitious individuals who exercise an influence and power over the class to which they belong, and these must continue enemies to a Government, however just and humane in its general principles, under which they are neither trusted nor employed. . . High and aspiring men can find no spot beyond the limits of our authorities, and such must either be systematically watched and repressed as enemies of our power, or cherished and encouraged as the *instruments of its exercise; there is no medium. In the first case, the* more decidedly we proceed to our object, the better for our safety; but I should, I confess, have little confidence in the success of such a proceeding. As one head of the hydra was lopped off another would arise; and as well might we strive to stem the stream of the Ganges, as to depress to the level of our ordinary rule the energies and hopes which must continually arise in so vast and various a population as that of India."* .

There can be but one conclusion to the present state of affairs—either the people will become debased, as Munro thinks; or dead to all true

* Malcolm's "Government of India," page 17

wisdom, experience, honour, and ambition to serve one's country, or use their knowledge of it against the very hand that gives it. As Sir J. Malcolm observes—"If these plans [of spreading instruction] are not associated with the creation of duties that will employ the minds which we enlighten, we shall only prepare elements that will hasten the destruction of our empire. The moral evil to us does not thus stand alone. It carries with it its Nemesis, the seeds of the destruction of the empire itself."

Pressure of Taxation.

In Lord Mayo's speech of the 3rd March 1871 (*Times of India* Summary of 8th April 1871), he endeavours to refute the assertion that Indian taxation is 'crushing.' His Lordship on this point has made several assumptions which require examination. I shall therefore first consider whether the conclusion drawn is legitimate, and whether all necessary elements of comparison have been taken into account.

I have already shown that the production of India is hardly 40*s.* a head, and that Lord Mayo has adopted that estimate as being based on good reasons by Mr. Grant Duff. After admitting this fact, Lord Mayo compares the taxation of India with that of some other countries. In doing this, he deducts as land revenue (whether rightly or wrongly will be seen hereafter) the opium, tributes, and other small receipts from Indian taxation, and then compares the balance with the taxation of other countries. I do not know whether he has made similar deductions from the taxation of the latter. The result of his comparison would appear to be that, while India pays only 1*s.* 10*d.* per head of taxation per annum, Turkey pays 7*s.* 9*d.*, Russia 12*s.* 2*d.*, Spain 18*s.* 5*d.*, Austria 19*s.* 7*d.*, and Italy 17*s.* per head per annum. The conclusion drawn is that the taxation of India is not 'crushing.' What idea His Lordship attaches to the word 'crushing' I cannot say, but he seems to forget the very first premise that the total production of the country is admitted to be 40*s.* per head. Now, this amount is hardly enough for the bare necessaries of life, much less can it supply any comforts, or provide any reserve for bad times; so that living from hand to mouth, and that on "scanty subsistence" (in the words of Lord Lawrence), the very touch of famine carries away hundreds of thousands. Is not this in itself as 'crushing' to any people as it can possibly be? And yet out of this wretched income they have to pay taxation!

His Lordship has, moreover, left out a very important element from account. He is well aware that whatever revenue is raised by other

countries—for instance, the £70,000,000 by England—the whole of it returns back to the people, and remains *in* the country; and therefore, the *national capital, upon which* the production of a country depends, does not suffer diminution; while, with India, as I have already shown, the case is quite different. Out of its poor production of 40*s*. a head, some £25,000,000 go clean out of the country, thereby diminishing its capital and labour for reproduction every year, and rendering the taxation more and more crushing.

I shall now consider what would have been the fairest way of making the comparison of taxation. Every nation has a certain amount of income from various sources, such as production of cultivation, minerals, farming, manufactures, profits of trade, &c. From such total income all its wants are to be supplied. A fair comparison as to the incidence of taxation, will be to see the proportion of the amount which the Government of the country takes for its administration, public debts, &c., to the total income. You may call this amount taxation, revenue, or anything you like; and Government may take it in any shape or way whatsoever It is so much taken from the income of the country for the purposes of Government. In the case of India, whether Government takes this amount as land-tax or opium revenue, or in whatever other form, does not matter, the fact remains that out of the total income of the country, Government raises so much revenue for its purposes which otherwise would have remained with the people.

Taking, therefore, this fair test of the incidence of taxation, the result will be that England raises £70,000,000 out of the national income of some £800,000,000, that is, about 8 per cent., or about £2 10*s*. per head from an income of about £30 per head; whereas the Indian Government raises £50,000,000 out of the national income of £340,000,000, that is, about 15 per cent., or 6*s*. per head out of an income of 40*s*. per head.

Had His Lordship stated the national income and population of the countries with which he has made the comparison, we would have then seen what the percentage of their revenue to their income was, and from how much income per head the people have to pay their 7*s*. to 19*s*. 7*d*. per head of taxation, as quoted by His Lordship.

Further, if, in consequence of a constant drain from India from its poor production, the income of the country continues to diminish, the percentage of taxation to income will be still greater, even though the amount of taxation may not increase. But, as [illegible] of taxation in India has, during several years, [illegible]ing

every year, the pressure will generally become more and more oppressive and crushing, unless our rulers, by proper means, restore India to at least a healthy, if not a wealthy, condition. It must, moreover, be particularly borne in mind that, while a ton may not be any burden to an elephant, a few pounds will crush a child; that the English nation may, from its average income of £30 a head, be able to pay £2 10*s*. per head, while, to the Indian nation, 6*s*. out of 40*s*. may be quite unbearable and crushing. The capacity to bear a burden with ease, or to be crushed by it, is not to be measured by the percentage of taxation, but by the abundance, or otherwise, of the means or income to pay it from. From abundance you may give a large percentage with ease; from sufficiency, the same burden may just be bearable, or some diminution may make it so; but from insufficiency, any burden is so much privation.

But as matters stand, poor India has to pay not the same percentage of taxation to its income as in England, but nearly double; *i.e.*, while England pays only about 8½ per cent. of its national income for the wants of its Government, India has to pay some 15 per cent. of its income for the same purpose; though here that income per head of population is some thirteenth part of that of England, and insufficient in itself for even its ordinary wants, leaving alone the extraordinary political necessity to pay a foreign country for its rule.

Every single ounce of rice, therefore, taken from the "scanty subsistence" of the masses of India, is to them so much starvation, so much more crushing.

Lord Mayo calls the light taxation of the country, which he calculates at 1*s*. 10*d*. a head, as a happy state of affairs. But that, in so lightly-taxed a country, to get a 6*d*. more per head without oppression should tax the highest statesmanship and intelligence without success, is in itself a clear demonstration that there must be something very rotten in the state of India, and that the pressure of taxation must have already arrived short of the proverbial last straw that breaks the camel's back.

The United Kingdom pay a total revenue of about £2 10*s*. per head. India's whole production is hardly £2 a head; it pays a total revenue (less net opium) of hardly 5*s*. a head, and is unable to pay a shilling more. Why so? Short of only representation, India is governed on the same principles and system as the United Kingdom, and why such extraordinarily different results? Why should one prosper and the other perish, though similarly governed?

I take this opportunity of saying a few words about the recent telegram that Lord Salisbury had instructed the Indian Government to abolish the duties on cottons, as the matter is closely connected with the subject of my paper. The real object, says to-day's TIMES OF INDIA, is to "nip in the bud" the rising factories in India—the ostensible reason assigned is free trade. Now I do not want to say anything about the real selfish objects of the Manchesterians, or what the political necessities of a Conservative Government may be under Manchester pressure. I give credit to the Secretary of State for honesty of purpose, and take the reasen itself that is given on this question, viz.—free trade. I like free trade, but after what I have said to-night, you will easily see that free trade between England and India in a matter like this is something like a race between a starving, exhausting invalid and a strong man with a horse to ride on. Free trade between countries which have equal command over their own resources is one thing, but even then the Colonies snapped their fingers at all such talk. But what can India do? Before powerful English interests, India must and does go to the wall. Young colonies, says Mill, may need protection. India needs it in a far larger degree, independent of the needs of revenue, which alone have compelled the retention of the present duties. Let India have its present drain brought within reasonable limits, and India will be quite prepared for any free trade. With a pressure of taxation nearly double in proportion to that of England, from an income of one-fifteenth, and an exhaustive drain besides, we are asked to compete with England in free trade? I pray our great statesmen to pause and consider these circumstances.

PART II.

(Read before the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, April 27th, 1876.)

As the first part of my paper is already in your hands, I need not trouble you with a recapitulation to-day. I place further notes before you.

PRICES.

We hear much about the general enormous rise of prices, and conclusions drawn therefrom that India is prosperous. My figures about the total production of the country are alone enough to show that there is no such thing as that India is a prosperous country. It does not produce enough for mere existence even, and the equilibrium is kept up by scanty subsistence, by gradual deterioration of physique, and destruction No examination, therefore, of the import of bullion, or of rise of prices and wages, is necessary to prove the insufficiency of production for the maintenance of the whole population. When we have such direct positive proof of the poverty of the country, it should be useless to resort to, or depend upon, any indirect evidence or conclusions. But as there appears to me much misapprehension and hasty conclusion from a superficial examination of the phenomena of prices, wages, and bullion, I deem it necessary to say something upon these subjects. I shall consider each subject separately. High prices may occur from one of the three following causes:—

1st.—From a natural healthy development of foreign commerce, which brings to the country fair profits upon the exports of the country; or, in other words, the imports exceed the exports by a fair percentage of profits, and thus add to the wealth and capital of the country.

2nd.—From a quantity of money thrown into the country, not as the natural profits of foreign commerce, but for some special purpose independent of commercial profits, such as the railway and other loans of India expended in certain parts where the works are carried on, and where, therefore, a large collection of labour takes place requiring food that is not produced there; and on account of bad or imperfect communications occasioning a local and temporary rise in prices.

3rd.—From scarcity of food or other necessaries, either on account of bad season or bad communications, or both; in other words, either there is not enough of food produced, or the plenty of one district cannot supply the deficiency of another, or both.

We may now see how each of these causes has operated. As to the first cause, it is clear that so far from India adding any profits to its wealth from foreign commerce, not only does an amount, equal to the whole profits of foreign commerce including the whole of the opium revenue, go elsewhere, but even from the very produce of the country some £7,000,000 more annually. This shows, then, that there is no increase of capital or wealth in the country, and consequently no such general rise in prices as to indicate any increase of prosperity. From want of proper communications, produce in provinces near the seaports is exported to foreign countries, not because the foreign countries give better prices than can be obtained in this country, but because if not exported, the produce would simply perish. For instance, Bengal and Madras export rice at any reasonable prospect of profits, even though in some of the interior parts there may be scarcity, or even famine, as in the case of the North-West Provinces, Orissa, and Rajpootana.

The first cause, therefore, is not at all operative in India in raising prices; on the contrary, the constant drain diminishes capital, and thereby gradually and continuously diminishes the capability of the country even to keep up its absolutely necessary production. Besides the necessity of seeking foreign commerce on account of bad communications, there is a portion of the exports which is simply compulsory—I mean that portion which goes to England to pay for the political drain. So far, therefore, the alleged increase of prices in India does not arise from any natural addition to its wealth by means of a healthy and profitable foreign commerce. Then, the next thing to be examined is whether the different kinds of produce exported from British India are so exported because foreign countries offer more profitable markets for them, that is to say, offer greater prices than can be obtained in the country itself; thus indicating that, though prices have risen in the country itself, still higher prices are got from foreign countries. Suppose we find that Indian produce has been selling in foreign countries at about the same prices for the last fifteen years, what will be the inevitable conclusion? Either that, in the country itself, there is no great rise of prices, or that the people of India are such fools that, though there is an "enormous" rise in prices in their own country, they send their produce thousands of miles away—to get what? Not *higher* prices than can be got in the country itself, but sometimes much less! We may take the principal articles of export from India. The exceptional and temporary rise in the price of cotton, and its temporary effect on some other produce, was owing to the American War; but that is [illegible] to its

Sugar.—There are three or four qualities of sugar imported into the United Kingdom from India. I give below the price of middling as a fair representative of the bulk:—

Years.	Price per cwt. £ s. d.	Years.	Price per cwt. £ s. d.
1855	1 9 8	1863	1 6 5
1856	1 12 6	1864	1 5 11
1857	1 17 6	1865	1 3 6
1858	1 10 3	1866	1 3 4
1859	1 7 9	1867	1 3 3
1860	1 7 1	1868	1 3 6
1861	1 8 5	1869	1 7 2
1862	1 6 9	1870	1 5 7

The averages are from 1855-59 £1 11*s.* 6*d.*, 1860-64 £1 6*s.* 11*d.*, and 1865-70 £1 4*s.* 5*d.* There is, then, an actual decline, and it cannot, therefore, be expected that there was a rise in India notwithstanding.

Linseed.—Average prices as follows per quarter.—

Years.	£ s. d.	Average £ s. d.
1855	3 11 6	
1856	2 18 0	
1857	3 2 0	
1858	2 15 1	
1859	2 9 9	
		2 19 3
1860	2 12 9	
1861	2 15 10	
1862	3 4 7	
1863	3 4 7	
1864	2 19 7	
		2 19 6
1865	3 0 5	
1866	3 8 11	
1867	3 6 9	
1868	3 1 8	
1869	2 18 9	
1870	2 19 7	
		3 2 8

This shows a rise of about 5 per cent., which is nothing when allowance is made for the temporary effect of the American War from 1861, and the prices have latterly gone down again to the level of the average, 1855-59.

Rapeseed per quarter:—

Years.	£	s.	d.	Years.	£	s.	d.
1855...	3	9	8	1863...	2	10	6
1856...	2	18	6	1864...	2	16	11
1857...	3	1	0	1865...	3	5	7
1858...	2	13	4	1866...	2	17	11
1859...	2	4	8	1867...	2	12	6
1860...	2	16	11	1868...	2	11	4
1861...	2	19	6	1869...	2	18	11
1862...	3	7	4	1870...	3	4	11

This also shows the temporary effect of the American War, and hardly any rise, the averages being—1855-59, £2 17*s.* 5*d.*; 1860-64, £3: and 1865-70, £2 18*s.* 6*d.*

Wool.—Average price per lb.—

Years.	d.	Years.	d.
1855 ...	8¼	1863	11⅝
1856 ...	9	1864	11⅞
1857 ...	8¼	1865	11⅞
1858 ...	6¾	1866	9$\frac{15}{16}$
1859 ...	7¼	1867	7⅞
1860 ...	8¼	1868	7⅝
1861 ...	7¾	1869	7½
1862 ...	10	1870	7$\frac{7}{16}$

The temporary effect of the American War is clearly to be seen in the above prices, and latterly they are getting down again to their old level.

Indian Tea.—Average price per lb.—

Years.	s.	d.	Years.	s.	d.
1856	2	4¾	1864	2	3
1857	2	1¼	1865	2	3¼
1858	2	0	1866	1	11$\frac{5}{16}$
1859	2	0	1867	1	9½
1860	1	9	1868	1	9$\frac{11}{16}$
1861	1	9⅛	1869	1	8⅞
1862	1	9	1870	1	9
1863	1	11⅞			

Here again is a decline.

I have given above the most important articles of export, and it cannot be concluded from the above figures that prices have increased in India to any material extent, much less "enormously." The necessary causes for a healthy rise do not exist, the effect, therefore, is only a dream. On the contrary, the causes to diminish capital and labour are unceasingly at work, and the consequence can only be increased poverty instead of prosperity.

Cause No. 2 stated by me at the commencement of this paper, will partly account for such rise as has actually taken place in some parts of India, and has misled many persons to the conclusion of a general rise and increased prosperity.

During the last twenty years, something like £82,000,000 (Railway Report 1869) have been sent to India for railway works, out of which some £26,000,000 are spent in England for stores, &c., and about £55,000,000 remitted to India to be spent here. This amount has been spent in certain parts, with the effect of raising prices there in two ways. Large numbers of labourers are collected in such places, and to a great extent agricultural labour is diminished in their neighbourhood, the want of good communication preventing other parts from supplying the demand.

The result is that less food is produced and more mouths to feed, and, with the labourers well paid, a temporary and local rise of prices is the inevitable consequence. On looking over the maps, and examining the prices given in the tables of administration reports, it will be easily seen that, in every presidency in good seasons, the localities of high prices have been those only where there have been large public works going on. For instance, in the Central Provinces in the year 1867-68, when there was an average good season, the districts in which the price of rice was highest were—Hoshungabad Rs. 5 per maund, Baitool Rs. 4 per maund, Nursingpore Rs. 3-12 per maund, Jubulpore Rs. 3-12 per maund, Nagpur Rs. 3-8 per maund, and Saugur Rs 3-9 per maund. While the lowest prices were—Raipore and Balaspore Re. 1 per maund, Sumbulpore Rs 1-2, Balaghaut Rs. 2, Bhandara Rs. 2, Chindwara Rs. 1-8. Now, the places having the highest prices are almost all those along, or in the neighbourhood of, railway lines, or carrying on some public works; and those with lowest prices are away from the lines, &c. In 1868 69, the range of prices is about the same though higher on account of bad season, Hoshungabad being Rs. 8 and Raipore Rs. 2; and through the season being unequal in different parts, there is some corresponding divergence from the preceding year.

Take the *Madras Presidency* The districts with highest prices in 1867-68 are :—

Cuddapah	Rs. 492 per garce.*
Madura	" 477 "
Coimbatoor	" 474 "
Bellary	" 469 "

The districts with the lowest prices are—

Vizagapatam	Rs. 203 per garce.
Godavery	" 222 "
Ganjam	" 232 "
South Canara	" 308 "

* Garce =9,256 lbs. (Parliamentary Return 362 of 185

Almost all the high-price districts are on the railway line, or have public works. The districts of the lowest prices are away from th In the Godavery district I do not know how far irrigation has h to produce abundance.

Take the *Punjab*, for June 1868-69.—The report gives prices fo following districts only :—

Delhi	... Wheat 26 seers or 52 lbs. per Re.		
Umballa	,,	48 ,,	,,
Sealkote	,,	38 ,,	,,
Lahore	,,	34 ,,	,,
Multan	,,	34 ,,	,,
Peshawar	,,	30 ,,	,,

Now, the first three are those where railways are finished, the last thre are those where new lines are being constructed.

In the *North-West Provinces.*—For the month of June 1868 (I have taken this month in which there was no scarcity; the months after, prices gradually rose to famine prices)—

Meerut	...27 seers,	8 chittacks or	55 lbs. per Re. 1.	
Saharunpore	...25 ,,	14 ,,	50 ,, nearly	,,
Bareilly	25 ,,		50 ,, ,,	,,
Moradabad	24 ,,		48 ,, ,,	,,
Muttra				
Agra				
Cawnpore	...22 ,,		44 ,, ,,	,,
Benares	...18 ,,	4 ,,	36½ ,, ,,	,,
Allahabad	...17 ,,		34 ,, ,,	,,
Mirzapore	...17 ,,		34 ,, ,,	,,
Ajmere	...16 ,,		32 ,, ,,	,,

The East Indian Railway being finished, the irrigation-works now going on are beginning to tell; the Agra Canal raising prices at Agra and Muttra.

Cawnpore and the places mentioned after it have had railway works in progress about them. In these Provinces, besides railways, there is public works expenditure from imperial funds close upon a crore of rupees during 1868-69, greater part of which is spent in places where prices are high.

In the *Bombay Presidency.*—What with cotton money lately poured , and perhaps not quite re-drained yet, and large railway works going for some time past, prices are comparatively higher than in all the er parts of India, but most so only where railway works and cotton

combined, such as all such places on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India line as Surat, Broach, Kaira, Ahmedabad, &c., or on the G. I. P. line, either northward or south. Belgaum and Dharwar, not being on a line, have not high prices.

All the very high prices in the Bombay Presidency in the year 1863 (the year of the inquiry of the Price Commission) are things of the past. For instance, in the report of the Commission the prices given for the town of Belgaum for November 1863 are (page 32)—

Seers of 80 tolas or 2 lbs. per Rupee.

	14th Nov. Seers	21st Nov. Seers.
Coarse Rice	8	6.
Bajri	10	7
Jowari	9½	7

Contrast these with the prices in 1867-68 :—

	Nov. 1867 Seers	Nov. 1868 Seers
2nd Sort Rice	14·40	13 9
Bajri	24	26
Jowari	28	35

In *Bengal*.—All places which are cheapest in 1868 are distant from the railway lines,—Tipperah, Purneah, Cuttack, Puri, Dacca, Maunbhum. Even in some places where the railway line has passed, the prices are not so high—as they are, I think, rice-producing districts—such as Rajmahal and Bankurah. As in other parts of India, it will be found that in Bengal also prices rose for a time where railway and other public works were building. These facts show that railway capital and money for other public works, raised prices temporarily in certain localities.

I must not be misunderstood, however. I do not mean to complain of any such temporary effects produced during the prosecution of such public works as railways, roads, canals, or irrigation works, or any work of reproduction or saving. My object is only to show that the statement often made, that India is prosperous and happy because prices have risen, is a conclusion not warranted by actual facts; and that any partial, local, or temporary rise in prices is attributable to the temporary and local expenditure of railway and other loans, or of imperial and local funds on public works.

So far I have shown that any rise that has taken place has been only local and temporary, as long as railways or public works were building there. I shall now show more directly how in every province as it came under the British rule, prices went down, as the natural consequence of the drain setting in under the new system, and that there has not been a general rise of prices.

Take *Madras.*—Return 362 of 1853 gives "the average price per cwt. of Munghi 2nd sort in the month of January 1813" as 7s. 6½d. to 9s. 8d., and Bengal table-rice 14s. 0½d. After this, Madras kept sinking, till, in 1852, there is 3s. to 3s. 6¾d. per cwt., and the Board of Revenue felt it necessary to inquire into "the general decline of prices, and to find out any general measures of relief" to meet falling prices.—(Madras Selections No. XXXI. of 1856, page 1.) This selection gives prices from almost all districts of Madras, and the general result is that there is a continuous fall in prices (excepting scarcity years) from the commencement of the century to 1852, the year of the reports. Then further on, what are the prices now in the first half of March 1873?

Rice, 1st sort.

Present fortnight	... seers 12·4 or lbs. 27·28	So that best sort is about 8s. 2¼d. per cwt.: common sort 6s. 6½d. to 7s. 4d. per cwt. (*Indian Gazette*, 5th April 1873). 1 seer = 2·2 lbs.
Past	... .. 12·4	
Rice, common.		
Present fortnight	... seers 15·6 or lbs. 34·32	
Past „	... .. 13·9 „ 30·8	

This is the only number of the *Indian Gazette* I have come across. Again, the average price of Madras rice for the year 1868 in the United Kingdom, after paying for freight, insurance, commission, profits, and all other charges from Madras to arrival in that country, was 9s. 8d. per cwt. (trade returns, 1868), while the price for January 1813 given above is 8s. 2¾d. in Madras itself. Or, let us take the export price in the ports of the Madras Presidency. The export price of cargo rice in the ports of the Madras Presidency according to the price currents of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, in the year 1867, is put down uniformly in the price tables at Rs. 6 per bag of 164 lbs. or 2 Indian maunds; but in the remarks in which precise quotations are given, the price ranges from Rs. 3-15 to Rs. 6-2. Rs. 6, though a higher price than the average for a bag of 164 lbs., is equal to 8s. 2d. per cwt.; and even this price, though not higher than that of 1813, was owing to bad season and short crop; and certainly prices consequent upon bad seasons are not an indication of prosperity. In the year

1868, the season being average good, the price quoted for cargo rice is Rs. 3-15 per bag. Now and then, in the remarks higher prices are quoted, but Rs. 4 will be quite an approximate average. Rs. 4 per bag is nearly 5s. 6d. per cwt. During 1669, the same Rs. 3 15 is the general quotation; but the season of 1869 not being good, prices went up in 1870 to Rs. 5-8, with an average of about Rs. 5, or about 6s. 10d. per cwt. Thus, then, there is no material rise in price in the Madras Presidency compared with the commencement of this century. The subsequent fall made the poor people wretched. Government inquired and reduced the assessment, which, with expenditure on railways, &c, gave some little relief. But the depression is not yet got over. On the contrary, the Material and Moral Progress (Report for 1869, Parliamentary Return [c. 213 of 1870], page 71) tells us that "prices in Madras have been falling continuously," and my impression is that they so still continue.

Bengal.—The Parliamentary Return 362 of 1853 gives the prices at Calcutta from 1792 only (and that is stated to be a year of famine), when there was already about that period much depression by the action of the Company's rule. I cannot get in this return earlier prices of the time of the native rule to make a fair comparison. For 1813 the prices given in the then depressed condition are from 2s. 8¾d. to 3s. 7d. A comparison with this depression of the present prices is, of course, not fair. In 1832, *Patna rice is quoted at 7s. 5¾d. per cwt, and Patchery at* 7s. 1¾d. Now, the best sort of rice of Patna in the first half of March 1873 is quoted 21·50 seers, or 43 lbs., per rupee, or about 5s. 1½d. per cwt. In 1852 the above return quotes Patna at 5s. 4½d. per cwt. Colonel Baird Smith, in his famine report (Parliamentary Return 29 of 1862, page 55) quotes as follows the ordinary prices of grain, &c., "from an official statement prepared from authentic documents by the Fiscal of Chinsura" at that station between the years 1770 and 1813 (as given in "Gleanings in Science," vol. 1, page 369, 1829)—rice best sort 28 seers per rupee, coarse sort 40 seers per rupee. The same statement gives prices for the year 1803 also for ordinary rice at 40 seers per rupee (page 56). And in the *Bengal Government Gazette* for the year 1867-68, it will be found that, in some places in Bengal, the ordinary price of cheapest sort of rice is even then between 40 and 50 seers per rupee (this seer being 2 lbs). So we have the same story as Madras. Bengal first sank, and helped by a permanent settlement, by the railway loan, cotton, &c., again got over the depression to a certain extent.

Bombay.—The same return, 362 of 1853, gives the average price of rice between the highest and lowest prices of the year 1812-13, as 15s. 4½d. per cwt. This price goes on declining to about 3s. 5d. to 7s. 6¾d. in 1852, and what is it now in the first half of March of 1873 (*Indian Gazette*, 5th April 1873, page 448), after all favorable circumstances of railways and other public works, some of them still going on, cotton-wealth, &c.?

Rice best sort—

	Seers.		
Present fortnight.	7·4	= 16·28 lbs., less than	14s. per cwt.
Previous ,, ...	6·8	= 15 ,, ,,	15s. ,,
Rice, common ...	10	= 22 ,, ,,	10s. ,,

The average between the highest and lowest prices will be about 12s. 6d. per cwt., when in 1812-13 this is 15s. 4½d.

In the report of the Indapore re-settlement (Bombay Selections, cvii., new series, pages 118 and 71). the price of jowari is given from 1809 to 1865-66 :—

Years.		Pucca seers per Rupee.	Years.		Pucca seers per Rupee.
February	1809...	24	April	1824...	36¾
,,	1810...	24	,,	1825...	12½
,,	1811...	22	February	1826...	44
,,	1812...	25½	,,	1827...	64
,,	1813...	27	,,	1828...	32
March	1814...	28	,,	1829...	80
February	1815...	33½	,,	1830...	46
,,	1816...	26	May	1831...	40
April	1817...	48½	February	1832...	60
February	1818...	24	,,	1833...	23
,,	1819...	17	,,	1834...	46
,,	1820...	19½	,,	1835...	48
March	1821...	32	,,	1836...	38
,,	1822...	32	,,	1837...	66
,,	1823...	32			

After giving these prices, Lieutenant A. Nash remarks—"This table is chiefly interesting as showing the gradual diminution in the price of corn from the days of the Peishwas to our own. By comparing the prices at the commencement with those at the end of the table, and then reading the list over, this circumstance will become very apparent."

About the year 1836-37, when prices had gone down very low, the Survey Settlement commenced, and the prices subsequently are given for Indapore as follows :—

Years.	Seers per Rupee.	Years	Seers per Rupee.
1836-37	... 43	1851-52	... 40
1837-38	... 36	1852-53	... 56
1838-39	... 67	1853-54	... 56
1839-40	... 44	1854-55	. . 29
1840-41	... 64	1855-56	... 32
1841-42	... 56	1856-57	... 32
1842-43	... 68	1857-58	... 39
1843-44	... 72	1858-59	... 32
1844-45	.. 60	1859-60	.. 39
1845-46	... 36	1860-61	... 33
1846-47	... 15	1861-62	... 27
1847-48	... 48	1862-63	... 16
1848-49	.. 72	1863-64	... 13
1849-50	... 72	1864-65	... 16
1850-51	38	1865-66	... 18

Now, from the year of the Mutiny, followed by the cotton famine, the times were exceptional, so that the prices in 1856, or about that period, can only be considered normal, and that is about 32 seers, while in 1809-13 about 25 seers. Now, in 1867-68 the average from November 1867 to September 1868 for Ahmednuggur (*Bombay Government Gazette* price list) is about 24½ seers.

Thus, then, it is the old story. From the time of the Peishwa, prices kept going down under the British rule till, with the aid of railway loans, *cotton windfall, &c., they have laboured up again, with a tendency* to relapse.

I take the following figures from the Price Commission report of Bombay (Finance Committee's Report of 1871, page 617). I take jowari as the chief grain of the presidency :—

Tolas per Rupee

Years.	Poona.	Belgaum.	Ahmedabad.
1824	1,892	2,480	2,560
1825	1,548	2,600	1,840
1826	3,040	2,200	3,240
1827	3,268	2,800	3,600
1828	2,752	2,640	4,[illegible]
1829	3,440	4,200	[illegible]

Instead of quoting here the whole table, which is already published in the first report of the Finance Committee, page 617, I take six years, from 1850 to 1855 :—

Tolas per Rupee.

Years.	Poona.	Belgaum.	Ahmedabad.
1850	3.056	4,240	3,520
1851	3.440	4.560	4,320
1852	3,440	3,280	2,800
1853	4.128	3,200	2,800
1854	2.504	3.040	3.400
1855	2,432	2,540	4.520

Even taking the rough average without consideration of quantities in each year, the latter six years are lower than the former. It is only about and after 1857 that prices rose under exceptional and temporary circumstances—the Mutiny and the American War, aided by the expenditure on railways, &c. After the American War, prices have commenced falling. Contrast the prices in 1863 with those of 1867-68 for the same places—Poona, Belgaum, and Ahmedabad (I take the rough averages from the monthly prices given in the *Bombay Government Gazette* for 1867-68) :—

Tolas per Rupee.

Years.	Poona.	Belgaum.	Ahmedabad.
1863	1.120	720	880
1867-68	1.786	2.635	1,180

For 1868 and 1869. This year, except in the southern part of the Southern Division, was a bad season, and the Bombay Administration Report says that the distress in two districts, Poona and Ahmednuggur, became "so great that it became necessary to afford relief to the labouring poor by undertaking works of public utility." In the Northern Division, in Ahmedabad, Kaira, and the Panch Mahals, "the scanty rains of June and July were followed by severe floods in August, which were succeeded by drought. In Khandeish there was an entire failure of the later rains in some talookas." In some talookas, with no rain, "there were no crops to watch, and no harvest to reap." In Khandeish, also, *relief works had become necessary, as the effects of scarcity were* heightened by immigration from Rajpootana. Such was the generally unfavourable character of the season, and yet the rough average of retail prices from the *Bombay Government Gazette* is as follows for the same three places :—

Tolas of Jowari per Rupee.

Nov. to Oct.	Poona.	Belgaum.	Ahmedabad.
1868-69	1,227	2,100	930

(lower than those of 1863).

I may just say a word here about the Price Commission Report of Bombay of 1864 to which I have referred above, and from which Sir Bartle Frere has made up his statement, embodied in the first report of the Finance Committee, that all the tables given in it, as averages either of a number of years or of a number of places, are worthless for any correct and practical conclusions with regard to the actual change in prices or the actual condition of the people. Because, in these averages, as is generally done, no regard, I think, is had for the different quantities of produce in different years or different places. This remark applies, as I have already said before, to all averages taken on the wrong principle of adding up prices and dividing by the number of the prices.

Take Cotton.—I cannot get a list of prices in India, but the prices in Liverpool may be taken as a sufficient index of the changes in India. Dr. J. Forbes Royle, in his "Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India" (1851), gives before the title-page a diagram of the prices and quantity of American and Indian cotton imported into the United Kingdom from the year 1806 to 1848. The prices of Indian cotton in Liverpool in 1806 is 16¼d., in 1807 15¼d. In 1808 it went up to 20d., and then declined, till in 1811 it touched 12d. It rose again, till in 1814 it went up to 21d. It had subsequently various fluctuations, till in 1832 it just touched 4½d., but again continued to be above till 1840 with an average above 6d. It subsequently continued at a low average of about 4d., and would have remained so to this day, or perhaps gone out of the English market altogether, as was very nearly the case in 1860, but for the American War which sent it up. Now, looking at the figures given above, it will be seen that, now that the temporary impulse of the American War is over, cotton is fast sinking again, and we can no longer expect to see again that high curve of the first quarter of the present century ranging from 7d. to 21d. The Suez Canal opening direct communication with European Ports, has only saved the Indian cotton trade from perishing altogether. The Administration Report of 1871-72 gives a distressing picture of the season over nearly the whole of the presidency, and of the inability of the people to stand it; and are the prices of such years to be glad about, and to be taken in averages of rise?

The Central Provinces.—In the Central Provinces the average price of rice, as I have pointed out before, for the year 1867-68—a year of average good season—is Rs. 1-8 per maund of 80 lbs., not a high price certainly; and if these be an "enormous" rise in

wretched prices must they have been before? I have not materials for comparison with prices before the British rule.

Of the *North-West Provinces* I have not come across sufficient materials to make a fair comparison, but, from what data I have, I feel that the conclusion about these Provinces will be similar to those of other parts of India.

As an imperfect indication, I may refer to the table given in Colonel Baird Smith's report of prices in 1860, and those of 1868-69 given in the administration report. Both years have nearly the same common features,—in 1860, in July and August, scarcity prices; in 1868-69, latter part of the year, of scarcity. On a comparison, the prices of 1868-69 are, if anything, something lower on the whole, except at Allahabad and Cawnpore, where railway works are in progress. I give this comparison below.

Prices of fine Wheat at the undermentioned places.

SEERS PER RUPEE.

At the end of		Saharunpore.	Meerut.	Allyghur.	Cawnpore.	Allahabad.	Muttra.	Agra.
May	1860	26-13	22-8	19	25	24-1	21-12	17-8
	1868	25-14	27		23	18		23
June	1860	25-12	20	18	23	22-8	19	18
	1868	25-14	27-8		22	17	24	24
July	1860 (missing)							
	1868	23-11	26-8		21	17-8	24	23
August	1860	11-12	11-8	12-4	18	21-4	9-12	10
	1868	18-4	22		17	15	18	19-8
September	1860	13-2	11-8	10-8	17	20	9	9-12
	1868	11-13	11-4		16	15	16-2	14
October	1860	9-9	9-8	11-4	17	18-12	10-12	11
	1868	12-15	17-12					

This really does not show any enormous rise during the nine years which of all others are supposed to have raised prices most.

Take the *Punjab*.—The prices of wheat in Lahore are (Report of Punjab, 1850-51, page 74) as follows:—

Years.	lbs. per Rupee.	Years.	lbs. per Rupee.
1844	45	1848	54
1845	46	1849	38
1846	39½	1850	43¼
1847	46		

Mr. John (now Lord) Lawrence repeats, in his report of 1855-56 (page 28), that, for ten years up to 1850-51, wheat was Rs. 2 per maund of 82 lbs., *i.e.*, during the native rule, ten years previous to annexation, the price was 41 lbs. per rupee. Now, the Administration Report for 1855-56 (Government of India Selection No. XVIII. of 1856) gives the following table :—

AVERAGE PRICES.

For 10 years up to 1850-51.	Wheat Rs. 2 per maund of 82 lbs.
1851-52	Rs. 1 per maund.
1852-53	„ 1 $\frac{3}{16}$ „
1853-54	„ 1 $\frac{3}{16}$ „
1854-55	„ 1 „
1855-56	„ 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ „

This table shows how prices fell after the annexation. Assessments were revised and lowered, railway and other public works created demand for labour, and another additional very important element operated, which, in the words of Sir R. Temple, is this :—"But within the last year, the native army being Punjabi, all such sums have been paid to them and have been spent at home. Again, many thousands of Punjabi soldiers are serving abroad. These men not only remit their savings, but also have sent quantities of prize property and plunder, the spoils of Hindustan, to their native villages. The effect of all these is already perceptible in an increase of agricultural capital, a freer circulation of money, and a fresh impetus to cultivation."

Now, the prices after all such favorable circumstances, even as late as 1867-68, are about the same as they were in 1844-47—about 34 to 46 lbs. per rupee. In 1868-69 the prices are higher on account of bad season.

I trust I have made it clear that the so-called rise in prices is only a pulling up from the depth they had sunk into under the natural economic effect of the British rule, by the temporary help of the railway and other loans, and by the windfall of the high cotton prices for a short period—so that India got back a little of its lost blood, though the greater portion of it is borrowed.

But, among the causes of the occasional rise in prices and wh[illegible] are indiscriminately mixed up in the averages, [illegible] no

often the so-called high prices are the result of misfortune, of scarcity rather than of increased prosperity.

It will tax the ability of Indian statesmen much, and will require a great change in the policy of the British rule, before India will see prosperity, or even rise above its absolute wants.

WAGES.

It is alleged that there is great rise in wages, and that therefore India is increasing in prosperity. Almost all remarks applied to prices will do for this. The rise is only when railway and other works have gone on, and is only local and temporary. In other parts there is no material alteration.

With regard to *Bengal*, there is the same difficulty as in the case of prices—that I cannot get earlier wages than 1790-91, which were depressed times. I find for the year 1830-31 the daily wages of a cooly was on zemindari estate two annas in the Collectorates of Dinagepore, Bakergunge, Dacca, 24-Purgunnahs, Murshedabad, in the Purgunnahs of Calcutta, Barughati (Return No. 362 of 1853).

Now, in the year 1866-67, the daily wage of unskilled labour in several districts of Bengal, where even public works were going on, were as follows :—

	a.	p.
1st Division Grand Trunk-road Division	2	6
2nd " " "	2	0
Patna Branch Road Division	2	0
Barrakar Division	2	2
Tirhoot	1	6
Behar Road "	2	0
Barrackpore "	2	8
Purneah "	2	6
Bhagulpore	2	6
Behrampore	2	6
Dinapore "	1	6
Ramghur " ... ...As. 2 to	1	6
24 Pergunnahs "	2	6
Chittagong "	2	6
Burdwan "	2	6
... ...	1	6

In some divisions it is as high as 4 annas, but the general rate is as above, and it is the rates paid by the Public Works Department. So the general average rate of a cooly on zemindari estates, I think, cannot

be much above two annas a day—just what it was forty years ago. I have obtained the above figures from the Public Works Department through a friend in Calcutta.

Bombay.—Sir Bartle Frere has given a table from the Price Commission Report of 1864 of Bombay, of the monthly wages of a cooly or common labourer (Finance Committee, first report, page 616). On examining this table (which I do not repeat here), it will be seen that there is hardly a rise in wages worth mentioning between the average of 1824-29 and 1850-59, the intervening period having some depression. It is after 1859, as in the case of prices and from same causes (Mutiny, railways, and cotton), wages rose suddenly. But that they are falling again will be evident from what is passing in Bombay itself, as the centre of the greatest activity, and as where large public works are still going on, one would hardly expect a fall. I obtained the following figures from one of the Executive Engineers' office for wages paid by the Public Works Department. The following rates were current during the last six years in Bombay (the letter is dated 11th June 1872):—

Years.	Wages of Biggari per diem a	p	Wages of Women per diem. a.	p	Wages of Boys per diem. a.	p.
1867-68	6	0	4	0	3	0
1868-69	6	0	4	0	3	0
1869-70	5	0	3	6	2	4
1870-71	5	0	3	0	2	4
1871-72	5	0	3	0	2	4

This is a fall from 1863, when in Bombay the maximum was Rs. 13-8 per month, and minimum Rs. 7-12 per month, or 7 annas and $2\frac{1}{2}$ pies per diem and 4 annas and $1\frac{2}{3}$ pies per diem respectively. Now, had large public buildings not been building in Bombay, these wages would have gone much lower than given in the tables above. I am not aware how the wages are during 1872 and 1873, but my impression is that they are lower, and will be again down, after the present buildings are finished, to the old levels shown in the table to which I have already referred (page 616 of Finance Committee's first report).

In Punjab the highest rate in 1867-68 is 5 annas and 4 annas per day, chiefly in those parts where public works are going on, such as Sealkote, Multan, Lahore, &c. But even in these the lowest and in most of the other districts the rate generally is 2 annas. The average given of wages of unskilled labour in the Report for 1868-69 is—

Highest, 3 annas 3 pies, or $4\frac{7}{8}$d
Lowest, 2 annas 5 pies, or $3\frac{5}{8}$d.

This average is taken without any reference to the number of persons earning the different wages. Were this element considered, the average will come down to the old famous 3d. a day. There is the further element to consider, how many days of the year are the different wages earned! However, even with regard to any high rate, that is, in some districts, the Punjab Government says what is applicable to other parts of India under similar circumstances. The Administration Report for 1867-68 (page 83) says—"The rates of unskilled labour range from 2 annas (3d.) to 5 annas (7½d.) per diem. There has been a considerable rise in rates in places affected by the railway and other public works, and labour in any shape commands higher remuneration than formerly; but as prices of the necessaries of life have risen in even a higher ratio, owing chiefly to the increase of facility of export, it may be doubted whether the position of the unskilled labouring classes has materially improved." Leaving the cause to be what it may, this is apparent, that higher wages in some places have not done much good to the poor labourer. The general rate of wages is, however, about 2 annas. In the Central Provinces (excepting those parts where railway works have been going on), in Raipore, Belaspore, Sumbulpore, Balaghat, Bhundara, and Chindwara, the rate of wages for unskilled labour is generally 2 annas only, both for the years 1867-68 and 1868-69. On the other hand, where railway works are going on and the price of food is high, wages are also high—as in Hoshungabad, 3 annas; Baitool 4 annas; Nursingpore, 3 annas; Jubbulpore, 5 annas; Nagpore, 3 annas, &c. Thus only locally and temporarily are there high wages in some parts. The general rate of wages is not improved. Even with all such high wages for a few, the average all over the Provinces in 1868-69, as well as in 1870-71, is put down as 3 annas, or 4½d.; but if the number of those earning the different wages, and the number of days when such wages are earned, were considered, as well as the temporary effect of the buildings of public works, we shall again come to our old friend 3d. per day, or perhaps less. Except, therefore, all over India where railway or public works have congested labour temporarily, without good facility of communication of bringing food, the general rate of wages is scarcely above 2 annas a day. The notion of a general rise of wages, and of the vastly improved condition of the labourer, is a delusion. Here is the latest summary of wages on the highest authority (Material and Moral Progress of India for 1871-72, pages 100-101). In Punjab, wages are 6d. to 2d. a day for unskilled labour. In Oudh 1½d. for unskilled labour a day. In Central Provinces, unskilled labour

is 3d. to 1½d. per day. In the Bombay Presidency unskilled labour is 6d. to 3d. a day. The rates of other provinces are not given. It must be remembered that the lower figure is the rate earned by the majority; and are these present rates of 1½d. to 3d. an enormous rise on the former ones?

BULLION.

It is often alleged that India has imported large quantities of bullion, and is very much enriched thereby. Let us see what the facts are!

First of all, India has not got its imports of silver as so much profits on its exports, or making up so much deficit of imports against exports and profits. As far as exports go, I have already shown that the imports (including all bullion) are short of exports *plus* profits, to the extent of not only the whole profits, but the whole opium revenue, and a good deal from the produce itself besides. The import of bullion has been chiefly from commercial and financial necessities, as will be seen further on, except during the few years of the American War, when some portion was sent in because the people could not suddenly create a large demand for English goods in payment of profits. The total balance of the imports and exports of bullion from the year 1801 to 1863, according to Parliamentary Return 133 of 1864, is £234,353,686; and from 1864 to 1869, according to Return c 184 of 1870, is £101,123,448 (which includes, mark! the years of the great cotton windfall, and large remittances for railway loans), making altogether £335,477,134 from 1801 to 1869. The British rulers introduced universally the system of collecting all revenue in money instead of in kind. This circumstance produced a demand for coin. The foreign trade of the country having increased (though without any benefit to India), increased the demand for coin. The coinage of India from 1801 to 1869, according to the same returns, amount to £265,652,749, exclusive of coinage in Madras for the years 1801 to 1807, and for Bombay for the years 1821-22, 1824 to 1831, and 1833 (particulars of which are ...), leaving a balance of about £70,000,000 of bullion for all ... of the country. It may be said that some of the coinage ... re-melted. This cannot be to a large extent, as specie is cheaper than coin, as the mint charge is 2 per cent. ... Mr. Harrison, in reply to question 3993 of the Finance ... confirms this—that the coinage "is burdened with a cl... cent, which is a clear loss to all persons wishing to use it f... purpose than that of coin."

Then there is the wear and tear to consider. The wear and tear of shillings and sixpences given by the return (24 of 1817) is 28 per cent. on shillings and 47 per cent. on sixpences. The period of the wear is not given in the return. In India, this wear, from the necessity of moving large quantity of coin for Government purposes, and a much rougher and more widespread use of the coin by the people generally, the percentage per annum must be a large one indeed.

Mr. Harrison again says on the subject—"*Question* 3992.—But do you, then, think that a million fresh coinage a year is sufficient to supply the wants of India? *Mr. Harrison.*—More than sufficient, I suppose, to supply the waste of coin or metal." This, I cannot help thinking, is under the mark, but it shows that nearly a million a year must be imported for simply making up waste of coin or metal.

The coinage of India as per return is from 1801 to 1869, about £266,000,000 (not including the coinage in Native States). Deducting only £66,000,000 for wastage for the sixty-nine years, there should be in circulation £200,000,000. Taking the wide extent of the country (equal to all Europe, except Russia it is said), this amount for revenue, commercial, and social purposes is not an extravagant one. Strike off even £50,000,000 for re-melting, though at the loss of 2 per cent. value, I take the coin as only £150,000,000. Deducting this amount and wastage of £66,000,000—or say even £50,000,000 only (to be under the mark)—making a total of £200,000,000, there will remain for all other social and industrial wants, besides coinage, about £135,000,000. This distributed over a population of above 200,000,000, hardly gives 13s. 6d. per head, that is to say, during altogether sixty-nine years, India imported only 13s. 6d. per head of bullion for all its various purposes, except coin. What an insignificant sum!! Take even the whole import altogether of £335,000,000 during the long period of sixty-nine years, and what is it? Simply about 33s. 6d. per head for all possible purposes, and without making any allowance for wear and tear. Just see what the United Kingdom has retained for its purposes. I cannot get any returns of import of silver and gold before 1858. I take only, then, 1858 to 1869 (both inclusive). The total imports are £322,628,000, and the total exports £268,319,000, leaving a balance of about £54,300,000. Deducting about £10,000,000 for the excess of the quantity in the Bank of England at the end of 1869 over 1857, there remain about £44,000,000 for the social and trade use of the country, allowing equal amounts for coin in 1858 and 1869. This, therefore, is about 30s. a head retained by the United Kingdom within

a period of twelve years, independent of its circulating coin, while retained only 33s. 6d. a head during a period of sixty-nine years f its purposes. Much is said about the hoarding by the natives, how little is the share for each to hoard, and what amounts in a shape hoardings, in all plate, jewellery, watches, &c., the people in England! I do not suppose that any Englishman would say t the natives of India ought to have no taste and no ornaments or artic of use, and must only live like animals; but, after all, how little the is for each, if every one had its share to hoard or to use. The fact i that, far from hoarding, millions who are living on "scanty subsistence" do not know what it is to have a silver piece in their possession. I cannot be otherwise. To talk of oriental wealth now, as far as British India is concerned, is only a figure of speech, a dream! When we talk of all the silver having a purchasing power, we forget how minutely and widely a large portion of it must be distributed in India to be of no use for national purposes. The notion that the import of silver has made India rich, is another strange delusion! There is one important circumstance which is not borne in mind. The silver imported is *not* for making up the balance of exports and profits over imports, or for what is called balance of trade. Far from it, as I have already explained. It is imported as a simple necessity, but it therefore no more makes India richer, because so much *silver* is imported. If I give out £20 worth of goods to anybody, and in return get £5 in other goods and £5 in silver, and yet if by so doing, though I have received only £10 worth in all for the £20 I have parted with, I am richer by £5, because I have received £5 in silver, then my richness will be very unenviable indeed. The phenomenon in fact has a delusive effect. Besides not giving due consideration to the above circumstances, the bewilderment of many people at what are called enormous imports of silver in India is like that of a child which, because it can itself be satisfied with a small piece of bread, wonders at a big man eating up a whole loaf, though that loaf may be but a very "scanty subsistence" for the poor big man.

The little England can have, £1 a head out of £30,000,000, the big India must have £200,000,000 to give this share per head to its population. Yet the 33s. 6d. per head in sixty-nine years appears to the bewildered Englishman something enormously larger than 33s. a head in twelve years they themselves have got, and that as a portion of the profits of trade—while India has it for sheer necessity, and at the highest price, as silver is its last destination, and paying that

produce of the country, not from any profits of trade, thereby diminishing to that extent its own means of subsistence.

There is one more point to be borne in mind. How much did the East India Company first drain away from India, before it, as a matter of necessity, began to re-import bullion for its wants? What are the statistics of the imports and exports of bullion before 1801?

Where can we find an account of the fortunes which the Company's servants made, by foul means or fair, in spite of their masters' orders, and which they may have taken over to their country in various ways independently of the custom-house, with themselves in their own boxes?

Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) says in his minute of 1787 (Report of Select Committee of 1812, appendix, page 183) in reference to Bengal—

"137. The exports of specie from the country for the last twenty-five years have been great, and particularly during the last ten of that period. It is well understood, although the remittances to China are by the Government, provided by bills, that specie to a large amount has been exported to answer them. . . . . Silver bullion is also remitted by individuals to Europe; the amount cannot be calculated, but must, since the Company's accession to the Dewany, have been very considerable.

"140. Upon the whole, I have no hesitation in concluding that, since the Company's acquisition of the Dewany, the current specie of the country has been *greatly diminished* in quantity; that the old channels of importation by which the drains were formerly replenished are now in a great measure closed; and that the necessity of supplying China, Madras, and Bombay with money, as well as the exportation of it by the Europeans to England, will continue still further to exhaust the country of its silver. . . . .

"142. It is obvious to any observation that the specie of the countr is much diminished; and I consider this as a radical evil."

In a quotation I have given before, Lord Cornwallis mentions 'th great diminution of the current specie,' in pointing out the result of th drain.

Such was the exhaustion of British territory in India of its speci before it began to re-import. The East India Company and their ser vants carried away *viâ* China or direct to England, the former the surplu of revenue, the latter their savings and their bribes, in specie. Th

country was exhausted, and was compelled to re-import speci its absolute wants, and it is from the time of such re-importations exhaustion that we have the return of bullion from the year 1801, which, after all, is only 34s. a head for all possible wants, commer social, religious, revenue, industrial, trade, railway and other pul works, or any other, in a period of sixty-nine years. And having specie left to pay for the heavy English drain, it began to pay in produce and manufactures, diminishing thereby the share of its childre year by year, and their capacity for production. Be it remembered als that this import of specie includes all imported for building railways, and which is a debt on the country to be repaid. This debt to the end of 1869 was some £82,000,000.

As far as I could I have now placed before you a series of facts and figures directly bearing upon the question of the Poverty of India. I now place before you a few further notes as to the moral effect which the chief causes of the poverty of India has produced on our British rulers.

NON-FULFILMENT OF SOLEMN PROMISES.

"We have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made," are the words of the highest Indian authority, His Grace the Duke of Argyll. The evil which is the cause of the excessive drain from India, and its consequent poverty, and which consists in the excessive employment of Europeans in every possible way, leads the British Government into the false and immoral position and policy of not fulfilling "their duty, or the promises and engagements made by them." I shall now illustrate this phase of the condition of the natives in some of the various departments of the State. Here is a old and solemn promise made forty years ago. Parliament enacted in 833 (Chapter LXXXV, Section LXXXVII.)—"And be it enacted at no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His jesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of th, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any ce, office, or employment under the said Company."

t the enactment of this clause, Mr. Macaulay, on July 10, 1833, in ding the East India Company's charter bill on behalf of Goverr said as follows—on this part of the bill, in words h gentleman:—

"There is, however, one part of the bill on which, after what has recently passed elsewhere, I feel myself irresistibly impelled to say a few words. I allude to that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause which enacts that no native of our Indian Empire shall, by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion be incapable of holding office. At the risk of being called by that nickname which is regarded as the most opprobrious of all nicknames by men of selfish hearts and contracted minds—at the risk of being called a philosopher—I must say that, to the last day of my life, I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the bill which contains that clause. We are told that the time can never come when the natives of India can be admitted to high civil and military office. We are told that this is the condition on which we hold our power. We are told that we are bound to confer on our subjects—every benefit which they are capable of enjoying?—No. Which it is in our power to confer on them?—No. But which we can confer on them without hazard to our own dominion. Against that proposition I solemnly protest, as inconsistent alike with sound policy and sound morality.

"I am far, very far, from wishing to proceed hastily in this delicate matter. I feel that, for the good of India itself, the admission of natives to high offices must be effected by slow degrees. But that when the fulness of time is come, when the interest of India requires the change, we ought to refuse to make that change lest we should endanger our own power:—this is a doctrine which I cannot think of without indignation. Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear.

"'Propter vitam vivendi perdere causus' is a despicable policy either in individuals or in states. In the present case, such a policy would be not only despicable but absurd. The mere extent of empire is not necessarily an advantage. To many Governments it has been cumbersome, to some it has been fatal. It will be allowed by every statesman of our time that the prosperity of a community is made up of the prosperity of those who compose the community, and that it is the most childish ambition to covet dominion which adds to no man's comfort or security. To the great trading nation, to the great manufacturing nation, no progress which any portion of the human race can make in knowledge, in taste for the conveniences of life, or in the wealth by which those conveniences are produced, can be matter of indifference. It is scarcely possible to calculate the benefits which we might derive from the diffusion of European civilization among the vast population of the East. It would be on the most selfish view of the case; far bette

for us that the people of India were well-governed and independ
us, than ill-governed and subject to us—that they were ruled by
own kings, but wearing our broadcloth and working with our cu
than that they were performing their *salams* to English collectors
English magistrates, but were too ignorant to value, or too poor to
English manufactures. To trade with civilized men is infinitely m
profitable than to govern savages. That would, indeed, be a dot
wisdom which, in order that India might remain a dependency, wo
make it an useless and costly dependency—which would keep a hundr
millions of men from being our customers in order that they mig
continue to be our slaves. It was, as Bernier tells us, the practice o
the miserable tyrants whom he found in India, when they dreaded th
capacity and spirit of some distinguished subject, and yet could not
venture to murder him, to administer to him a daily dose of the *pousta*—
a preparation of opium, the effect of which was in a few months to
destroy all the bodily and mental powers of the wretch who was drugged
with it, and to turn him into an helpless idiot. That detestable artifice,
more horrible than assassination itself, was worthy of those who employed it. It is no model for the English nation. We shall never
consent to administer the *pousta* to a whole community, to stupefy and
paralyse a great people whom God has committed to our charge, for the
wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control.
What is that power worth which is founded on vice, on ignorance, and
on misery—which we can hold only by violating the most sacred duties
which, as governors, we owe to the governed—which, as a people blessed
with far more than an ordinary measure of political liberty, and of
intellectual light, we owe to a race debased by three thousand years of
despotism and priest-craft? We are free, we are civilized to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure
of freedom and civilization. Are we to keep the people of India ignorant
in order that we may keep them submissive? or do we think that we
can give them knowledge without awaking ambition? or do we mean to
waken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will
nswer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them
ust be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains
at we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office
have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us;
path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national

"The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness It is difficult to form any conjectures as to the fate reserved for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena; the laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system, till it has outgrown the system; that, by good government, we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English History. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverses. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."

I should not add one word of any other speeches, though others also had spoken at the time, and with general approbation, of the sentiments expressed; I would only say, that had these pledges and policy been faithfully followed, now after forty years great blessing would have been the result both to England and India. Once more I appeal to the British to revive the memory of those noble sentiments, to follow the "plain path of duty that is before you." That unfortunate plea—unfortunate both for England and India—of political danger was fully considered and deliberately cast aside, by the statesmen who enacted "that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause," as unworthy of the British nation, and they as deliberately adopted the policy of plain duty and true glory.

In such language and with such noble declaration was this clause proclaimed to the world. I have made a copy of all the speeches delivered in Parliament on this subject since 1830; but as I cannot insert them all here, I content myself with one of the early ones which I have read to you, and the latest delivered by the highest Indian authority which I give further on.

Again, in 1858, our Gracious Majesty, in solemn, honest, and distinct terms, gave the following pledge in her gracious proclamation:—"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge." Such were the great solemn pledges given by the Queen and Parliament.

We may now see what the present (1873) highest authority, His Grace the Secretary of State for India, says as to the due fulfilment of these pledges, when the East India Association were making efforts in respect of the admission of natives in the Covenanted Civil Service.

The following is the correspondence between the East India Association and Mr. Grant Duff in 1873, giving His Grace's speech, and a brief account of the events from 1867 to 1873:—

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,
20, *Great George Street, Westminster*,
London, September 1873.

To

M. E. GRANT DUFF, Esq., M.P.,

Under-Secretary of State for India, India Office.

SIR,—By the direction of the Council of the East India Association, I have to request you to submit this letter for the kind consideration of His Grace the Secretary of State for India.

On the 21st August 1867, this Association applied to Sir Stafford Northcote, the then Secretary of State for India, asking that the competitive examination for a portion of the appointments to the Indian Civil Service should be held in India, under such rules and arrangements as he might think proper, and expressing an opinion that, after the selection had been made in India by the first examination, it was essential that the selected candidates should be required to come to England to pass their further examinations with the selected candidates for this country.

Sir Stafford Northcote soon after introduced a clause in the Bill he submitted to Parliament. entitled "The Governor-General of India Bill."

The enactment of this Bill continued in abeyance, until, under the auspices of His Grace the present Secretary of State, it became law on the 25th March 1870, as "East India (Laws and Regulations) Act." Moving the second reading of the Bill on the 11th March 1869, His Grace, in commenting upon Clause 6, in a candid and generous manner made an unreserved acknowledgment of past failures of promises, non-fulfilment of duty, and held out hopes of the future complete fulfilment to an adequate extent, as follows:—

"I now come to a clause—the 6th—which is one of very great "importance, involving some modification in our practice, and in the "principles of our legislation as regards the Civil Service in India. Its "object is to set free the hands of the Governor-General, under such "restrictions and regulations as may be agreed to by the Government at "home, to select, for the Covenanted Service of India, natives of that "country, although they may not have gone through the competitive "examination in this country. It may be asked how far this provision "is consistent with the measures adopted by Parliament for securing "efficiency in that service; but there is a previous and, in my opinion, a "much more important question which I trust will be considered—how "far this provision is essential to enable us to perform our duties and "fulfil our pledges and professions towards the people of India? . . .

"With regard, however, to the employment of natives in the Govern-"ment of their country, in the Covenanted Service formerly of the "Company and now of the Crown, I must say that we have not fulfilled "our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made.

"In the Act of 1833 this declaration was solemnly put forth by the "Parliament of England:—'And be it enacted that no native of the said "'territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident "'therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, "'colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or "'employment under the said Company.'

"Now, I well remember that in the debates in this House in 1853, "when the renewal of the charter was under the consideration of Lord "Aberdeen's Government, my late noble friend Lord Monteagle com-"plained, and I think with great force, that, while professing to open "every office of profit and employment under the Company or the Crown "to the natives of India, we practically excluded them by laying down "regulations as to fitness which we knew natives could never fulfil. If "the only door of admission to the Civil Service of India is a competitive

"examination carried on in London, what chance or what possibility is "there of natives of India acquiring that fair share in the administration "of their own country which their education and abilities would enable "them to fulfil, and therefore entitle them to possess? I have always "felt that the regulations laid down for the competitive examination "rendered nugatory the declaration of the Act of 1833; and so strongly "has this been felt of late years by the Government of India, that "various suggestions have been made to remedy the evil. One of the "very last—which, however, has not yet been finally sanctioned at home, "and respecting which I must say there are serious doubts—has been "suggested by Sir John Lawrence, who is now about to approach our "shores, and who is certainly one of the most distinguished men who "have ever wielded the destinies of our Indian Empire. The palliative "which he proposes is that nine scholarships—nine scholarships for a "Government of upwards of 180,000,000 of people!—should be annually "at the disposal for certain natives, selected partly by competition, and "partly with reference to their social rank and position, and that these "nine scholars should be sent home with a salary of £200 a year each, "to compete with the whole force of the British population seeking ad- "mission through the competitive examinations. Now, in the first "place, I would point out the utter inadequacy of the scheme to the "ends of the case. To speak of nine scholarships distributed over the "whole of India as any fulfilment of our pledges or obligations to the "natives, would be a farce. I will not go into the details of the scheme, "as they are still under consideration; but I think it is by no means "expedient to lay down as a principle that it is wholly useless to require "natives seeking employment in our Civil Service to see something of "English society and manners. It is true that, in the new schools and "colleges, they pass most distinguished examinations, and, as far as "books can teach them, are familiar with the history and constitution "of this country; but there are some offices with regard to which it "would be a most important, if not an essential, qualification that the "young men appointed to them should have seen something of the "actual working of the English constitution, and should have been "impressed by its working, as any one must be who resides for any time "in this great political society. Under any new regulations which may "be made under this clause, it will, therefore, be expedient to provide "that natives appointed to certain places shall have some personal "knowledge of the working of English institutions. I would, however, "by no means make this a general condition, for there are many places

Such is the candid confession of non-performance of duty and non-fulfilment of solemn pledges for thirty-six years, and the renewed pledge to make amends for past failures and provide adequate admission for the future for a fair share in the administration of our own country. The inadequacy is clearly shown by the ridicule of nine scholarships for 180,000,000 souls, and the proposal to adopt means "for the abolition of the monopoly of Europeans." When was this confession and this new pledge made? It was to pass the 6th clause of Act 33 Vic., cap. 3. The clause was passed on 25th March 1870, one year after the above speech was made, and nearly three years after it was first proposed. Next March (1874) it will be four years since this clause has been passed. Twice did Sir C. Wingfield ask questions in the House of Commons, and no satisfactory reply was given. At last the East India Association addressed the letter which I have read to you, to the India Office, and from the reply you have seen how slow our Indian authorities had been, so as to draw three reminders from the Secretary of State.

With regard to the remark in the letter as to the complaint of the natives that, "had the enactment referred to the interests of the English community, no such long and unreasonable delay would have taken place," I need simply point to the fact of the manner in which the Coopers' Hill College was proposed and carried out in spite of all difficulties.

Now about the scholarships to which His Grace alluded to in his speech. These scholarships had nothing to do with the provision for affording facilities to natives to enter the Covenanted Service. They were something for a quite different purpose. The following correspondence of the East India Association of 3rd March 1870 with Mr. Grant Duff, gives briefly the real state of the case :—

East India Association,
20, *Great George Street*,
Westminster, S.W., 3rd March 1870.

Sir,—I am directed by the Council of the East India Association to request you to submit, for the kind consideration of His Grace the Duke of Argyll, the following resolutions passed at a large meeting of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association.

Resolutions.

That the Managing Committee, Bombay Branch, be requested to bring to the notice of the head body in London, the recent suspension of

the Government of India scholarships, and at the same time to lay before it the following representations on the subject:—

1. That the Bombay Branch has learnt with great regret that the Government scholarships, lately established to enable Indian youths to proceed to England for educational purposes, are not to be awarded this year.

2. That the Bombay Branch are aware that the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India considers these scholarships as quite an inadequate provision for a government of 180,000,000 souls, and they look forward with hopeful confidence to the day when His Grace will unfold before the British Legislature a measure suggested by his long experience and study of Indian affairs, elaborated and matured by the generous and large-minded sympathy and interest which he has always evinced towards the natives of India, and worthy at once of his own high name and intellect, and those of the country which has entrusted him with his present high post.

3. That, while thus far from being un-mindful of the good intentions which have most probably prompted the suspension of these scholarships, the Bombay Branch feel bound to submit that, even as a temporary and inadequate measure, these scholarships were calculated to do an amount of good which the preparation of a larger and more comprehensive scheme did not by any means in the meantime render it imperative to forego.

4. That the suddenness of the suspension of these scholarships has given it a sort of retrospective effect with regard to those youths who framed their course of study in the expectation of obtaining the benefits of the notifications issued by the several Indian Governments in respect of these scholarships, thus entailing great disappointment on particular individuals.

5. That the East Indian Association will have the kindness to carry the above representations to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, in the manner it may deem most proper and effective.

In submitting these resolutions, the Council respectfully urge that the object of the proposer, the late lamented Sir H. Edwards, of this prayer for scholarships in the memorial presented the 21st August 1867, to the late Secretary of State, Sir S. Northcote, was "to aid the natives not merely to enable [illegible] mpete for the Civil Service, but to return in variou

so that by degrees they might form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence on native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and the rulers.' It is evident that Lord Lawrence, the then Governor-General of India, also understood and declared the object of these scholarships to be as above; for, in the resolution No. 360, the object is stated to be "of encouraging natives of India to resort more freely to England for the purpose of perfecting their education, and of studying the various learned professions, or for the civil and other services in this country;" and also, in another part of the same resolution, it is declared to be "not only to afford to the students facilities for obtaining a University degree, and for passing the competitive examinations for admission into the Indian Civil Service, but also to enable them to pursue the study of Law, Medicine, or Civil Engineering, and otherwise prepare themselves for the exercise of a liberal profession."

The Council, therefore, venture to submit that, considering the important objects pointed out by Sir H. E. Edwardes, it is very desirable that the scholarships be continued.

The Council are glad to find, from your speech in the House of Commons, that the question of these scholarships has not yet been settled, and they therefore trust that His Grace will accede to the request so urgently made in the above resolutions.

The Council have every reason to believe that the natives of the other presidencies also share similar feelings, and confidently leave the matter in the hands of His Grace.

I have the honor to be,
Your obedient Servant,

DADABHAI NAOROJI,
Honorary Secretary.

MOUNTSTUART E. GRANT DUFF, Esq., M.P.,
Under-Secretary of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, *March* 18, 1870.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, on the subject of the Government of India scholarships.

In reply, I am instructed to inform you that the Secretary of State in Council has very fully considered the whole subject, and does not deem it expedient to proceed further with the scheme of scholarships.

You are aware that a bill is now before Parliament which will enable the Government to give to the natives of India more extensive and important employment in the public service.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
HERMAN MERIVALE.

It is now (1873) nearly four years and this "employment" is still under consideration; but the scholarships which had nothing to do with this matter, after being proclaimed to the world in the *Indian Gazette*, and after a brief life of one year, are gone. I next examine how far the great pledges of 1833 and 1858 have been carried out in the uncovenanted and other services.

The Uncovenanted Service.

Sir S. Northcote, in his dispatch of 8th February 1868, wrote to the Indian Government—"The Legislature has determined that the more important and responsible appointments in those provinces shall be administered exclusively by those who are now admitted to the public service solely by competition, but there is a large class of appointments in the regulation, as well as in the non-regulation provinces, some of them scarcely less honorable and lucrative than those reserved by law for the Covenanted Civil Service, to which the natives of India have certainly a preferential claim, but which, as you seem to admit, have up to this time been too exclusively conferred upon Europeans. These persons, however competent, not having entered the service by the prescribed channel, can have no claim upon the patronage of the Government—none, at least, that ought to be allowed to override the inherent rights of the natives of the country; and therefore, while all due consideration should be shown to well-deserving incumbents, both as regards their present position and their promotion, there can be no valid reason why the class of appointments which they now hold, should not be filled, in future, by natives of ability and high character." Now, is this done? I have not been able to get a complete return of the higher Uncovenanted Servants. I shall use what I have ment of India, in their dispatch in the Financial

Secretary of State for India, No. 227, dated 4th October 1870, gives two tables; the first headed—"Abstract of Appendix A referred to in the 6th paragraph of the above dispatch, being a statement of the number of offices in India which were filled in 1869 by Uncovenanted Servants, but *which might have been filled by Covenanted Servants or Military Officers.*" Now, this list gives of such Uncovenanted Servants 1,302 Europeans and 221 natives.

I am sorry I cannot get a return of the salaries of these 1,302 European Uncovenanted Servants; but with regard to natives, the second table of the same dispatch shows that out of these 221

only 1	gets a salary of	Rs.	1,500 to 1,600	per month.
1	"	"	1,200 to 1,300	"
1	"	"	1,100 to 1,200	"
11	"	"	1,000 to 1,100	"
5	"	"	800 to 900	"
14	"	"	700 to 800	"
47	"	"	600 to 700	"
60	"	"	500 to 600	"
125	"	"	400 to 500	"
265				

"One Native Judge of the Bengal High Court at Rs. 4,160-10-8 per mensem."

Out of the last 125 there must be about 44 which the Government of India did not think fit for the Covenanted Servants or Military Officers. And it must also be borne in mind that the 1,302 do not include all those uncovenanted appointments which are filled by military officers already. If we can get a return of all uncovenanted appointments from Rs. 400 upwards, we shall then see how "the inherent right" possessors, the children of the soil, have fared, even in the Uncovenanted Service, before and since the dispatch.

If anything, the tendency and language of the Indian Government is such, in the very correspondence from which I have given the table, that even the small number of natives may be squeezed out. All appointments that are worth anything are to pass to the Covenanted Servants and the military officers, and to the rest the natives are welcome! Here and there, perhaps, a few better crumbs will be thrown to them. I sincerely hope I may prove a false prophet. An annual return is necessary to show whether Sir S. Northcote's dispatch has not been also one more dead-letter.

THE ENGINEERING SERVICE.

When Cooper's Hill Engineering College was in contemplation, some correspondence passed between me and His Grace the Secretary of State. In this I gave detailed particulars of the cases of Messrs. Daji Nilkunt, Lallubbhoy Kheshowlal, Chambas Appa, Gungadhur Venaek, and Bomanji Sorabji. Now, the first four had duly qualified themselves and were entitled to be promoted to the Engineering Department as far back as 1861, and the fifth in 1867, and yet they never got admission into the Engineering Department as far as I was then (1873) aware, though a large number of appointments had been made during the period. I said, in connection with this part of my letter, that such treatment and bitter disappointments produced much mischief, that the Public Works Department rules were a mere farce, &c. &c., and requested inquiry. This His Grace promised to do, but I do not know what has been done. But Mr. Grant Duff, in his speech on 3rd March 1871 in Parliament, said—"Then we are told that we were asking too much money, that the Engineering College would be merely a college for the rich, We replied that we asked £150 a year for three years, in return for which we gave to those young men who passed through the college £420 in their very first year of service. It is said, too, that we are excluding the natives from competing. So far from this being the case, young Englishmen are obliged to pay for being educated for the Public Works Department, while young natives of India are actually paid for allowing themselves to be educated for that service, and the scholarships available for that purpose are not taken up." Now, somehow or other, it did not please Mr. G. Duff to tell the whole truth. He omitted the most essential part of the whole story. He did not tell the honorable members that what he said about the encouragement with regard to the English youths, only a minute before, did not at all exist with regard to the natives. He did not tell that, in return for any natives who duly qualify themselves in India, we do not give £420 in their very first year of service, or allow them fair and equal promotion with the English. The native, on the contrary, has every possible discouragement thrown in his way, as will be seen subsequently. And, lastly, in his peroration, what great things done by the "we" of the India Office Mr. Duff points out—"We claim to have done, first, an imperative duty to India in getting for her the trained engineering ability which she wanted." From whom, gentlemen? Not from her own children, but from *English* youths, as if India was simply a howling desert and had no people in it at all.

by mere savages and had no national wants. But after this clever way of benefiting India, Mr. Duff proceeds to point out what the "we" have done for England—"We have created a new profession. We have widened the area of competition. We have offered a first-rate education cheaper than a third-rate education can now be got. We have done service even to those institutions which growl most at us. . . We have done service to practical men. . . Lastly, we have done good service to English scientific education." It would appear as if India and Indians existed only to give England the above advantages. Now, here is His Grace giving the first intimation of his intention for establishing a college, on 28th July 1870, before the House of Lords. And on what ground does he recommend it? Among others, the following:—"It would afford an opening to young men in THIS country, which they would, he thought, be anxious to seize, because it would enable them to secure a very considerable position almost immediately on their arrival in India, where they would start with a salary of about £400 a year, and rise in their profession by selection and ability. They would be entirely at the disposal of the Governor-General of India, and they would have the prospect of retiring with a pension larger than in former times." It would appear that while saying this, His Grace altogether forgets that, besides these "anxious" young gentlemen of England, there were India's own children also, who had the first claim to be provided for in their own country, if India's good were the real policy of England; and that there were solemn pledges to be fulfilled, and the national wants of India to be considered. Why did it not occur to him that similar provision should be made for the natives?

The case of the five natives referred to before, is enough to show how the code and rules were a mere farce. But this is not all. The following will show how even when a positive pledge for one appointment was given in Bombay, in addition to the rules of the code already referred to—how even that was trifled with, and how only under strong protest of the Principal of the College and the Director of Public Instruction that it is restored this year (1873). In 1869, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, at the Convocation, exhorted the students to emulate their forefathers in their engineering skill, &c. I immediately complained, in a letter to the *Times of India*, of the uselessness of such exhortations, when every care was taken that the natives shall *not* get into the service. Soon after, it was some consolation to find a little encouragement held out, and the first Licentiate of Engineering every year was guaranteed an

Assistant Engineership, and the first year Government became liberal and gave three instead of one. But the fates again pursue us, and that guarantee of *one* Assistant Engineership soon virtually vanished. Let the authorities themselves speak on this subject.

In the Report of 1869-70, the Director of Public Instruction said (page 65)—"In the University Examination three candidates passed the examination for the degree of L. C. E. The best of these received the appointment in the Engineering Branch of the Public Works Department, which Government guarantees yearly. Eight such appointments are guaranteed to the Thomason College at Roorkee, where the first Department on 1st April 1870 contained 31 students, while the University Department of the Poona College contained 38 on the same date. But the Poona College has no cause to complain of want of encouragement, as Government has since been pleased to appoint the remaining two Licentiates also to be Assistant Engineers. All the graduates of the year have thus been admitted to a high position in the public service, and I hope that they will justify the liberality of Government." So far so good. But the effort of liberality soon passed off; and we have a different tale the very next year, which is the very second year after the guarantee.

The Principal of the Poona College says (Report 1870-71, para. 8, Public Instruction Report, page 365)—"The three students who obtained the degree of L. C. E. in 1869 have all been provided with appointments by Government. Up to the present, however, the first student at the L. C. E. examination in 1870 has not been appointed, though it is now more than six months since he passed. This delay on the part of the Public Works Department, in conferring an appointment guaranteed by Government, will, I fear, affect injuriously our next year's attendance."

Upon this the Director of Public Instruction says—"In 1870 two students of the University class passed the examination for the degree of Licentiate, and eight passed the first examination in Civil Engineering. The great attraction to the University department of the College is the appointment in the Engineering branch of the Public Works Department, guaranteed by Government yearly to the student who passes the L. C. E examination with highest marks. This guarantee has failed on this occasion" (the usual fate of everything promised to natives), "as neither of the Licentiates of 1870 has appointment. For whatever reason the Public

offered *a third grade overseership* at Rs. 60 per mensem—a post which he could have obtained by simply passing successfully the final examination of the second department of the College. The case of another Licentiate, Mr. Narayen Babaji Joshi, is a still harder one. This youth passed the final examination of the second department of this College (taking second place) in October 1867. He subsequently served as an overseer in the Public Works Department for two years, during which time he conducted himself to the entire satisfaction of his superiors. He resigned his appointment and joined the University class in this College in November 1869, and now that he has obtained the University degree, for which he has sacrificed a permanent appointment, he is without any employment, and is obliged to hold a post in the College on Rs. 50 per mensem—a much lower salary than he had when he was an overseer in the Public Works Department two and a half years ago. . . . But *the Engineering graduates have absolutely no future* to look forward to, and it cannot be expected that candidates will be found to go up for the University degree if there be absolutely no likelihood of subsequent employment. At present almost all the engineering employment in the country is in the hands of Government. The work of the old Railway Companies in this presidency is completed, and the new railways are being undertaken under Government supervision. Except in the presidency towns, there is little scope for private engineering enterprise, and if Government does not come to the assistance of the College and its University graduates, the University degree will, three or four years hence, be entirely unsought for, and the University department of the College will be numbered among the things of the past." I understand from Nowroji Furdoonji's evidence that Government has yielded, and reguaranteed one appointment as before. Such is the story of the grand guarantee of one appointment in our presidency. Now with regard to promotions.

In 1847, after a regular course of three years under Professor Pole, nine natives passed a severe examination, and were admitted into the Public Works Department, but, to their great disappointment, not in the Engineering department. The little batch gradually dispersed—some leaving the service, seeing poor prospects before them. After a long eleven years, three of them had the good fortune of being admitted in the Engineering department in 1858, but one only now continues in the service. What is Mr. Kahandas's position later on? T " list of ' October 1868, I find him an Executive Engineer of t'

the following is the position of others in the same list, for reasons I do not know :—Three Executive Engineers of the 2nd Grade whose date of appointment in the Department is 1859—and of one in 1860. Of the five Executive Engineers of the 3rd Grade above Mr. Kahandas, the date of appointment of three is 1860, of one is 1862, and of another 1864. How Mr. Kahandas is placed at present relatively with others, I have not yet ascertained. Mr. Naservanji Chandabhoy, after all sorts of praises, is much less fortunate, and leaves the service, as he calls it, in disgust. Now we may see how our neighbours are faring.

Madras.

The following is the cry from Madras. In the Report on Public Instruction for the year 1870-71, at page 242, Captain Rogers, the Acting Principal of the Civil Engineering College, says—"In the case of natives, it is evidently the difficulty of obtaining employment, after completing the course, which deters them from entering the institution." The *Director* of Public Instruction, Mr. E. B. Powell, says (page 21)—"It is to be remarked with regret that, owing to the absence of encouragement, the *first* department exists rather in name than in reality. It is clearly most important that educated natives of the country should be led to take up Civil Engineering as a profession; but in the present state of things, when almost all works are executed by Government, Hindus of the higher classes cannot be expected to study Civil Engineering without having a fair prospect of being employed in the superior grades of the Public Works Department."

Roorkee Engineering College.

In its first institution in 1848, the natives were not admitted in the upper subordinate class at all—till the year 1862. In the Engineering Department I work out from the College Calendar of 1871-72 the natives passed, and their present appointment, as follows :

	Year.	Names of Natives passed.	Their present *Appointments,*
1.	1851	Ameerkhan.	
2.	1852	Huree Charan.	
3.	„	Kanyalal...	Exec. Engr. 2nd Grade
4.	1853	Nilmoner Mitra.	
5.	1854	Azmutoollah.	
6.	1855	Rampursad.	
7.	„	Madhosadan Chatterji....	Asst. Engr. Ist Grade.

	Year.	Names of Natives passed.	Their present Appointments.
8.	1858	Soondaralal.	
9.	1859	Narandas	
10.	„	Ghasuram.	
11.	„	Sheoprasad.	
12.	1860	Khetternath Chatterji.	Asst Engr 1st Grade.
13.	1862	Isser Chandar Sircar	„ „ „
14.	„	Beharilal	„ „ „
15.	1870	Rhadhilal	Engineer Apprentice.
16.	„	Bujputroy...	„ „
17.	1871	Bhajat Sing.	
18.	„	Sher Nath.	

Out of the total number of 112 that passed from 1851 to 1870, there are 16 natives, and 7 only have appointments at present. Why the others have not, I am not able to ascertain. About the first Bengalee that passed, the *Hindoo Patriot* says he was so ill-treated that he resigned Government service in disgust, and alludes to another having done the same. From the falling-off from the year 1862 to 1870, I infer that there was no encouragement to natives. Out of the 96 Europeans passed during the same time, 10 only have no "present appointments" put after their name, and 2 are with their regiments. Again, Kanyalal, who passed in 1852, is an Executive Engineer of the 2nd Grade, while 1 European who passed a year after, 2 Europeans who passed 2 years after, and 3 Europeans who passed 3 years after, are Executive Engineers, 1st Grade, and 2 passed 2 years after, 1 passed 3 years after, 1 passed 5 years after, and 1 passed 6 years after, are also Executive Engineers 2nd Grade, and these lucky persons have superseded some European seniors also. Madhosadan Chatterji, passed in 1855, is now an Assistant Engineer of the 1st Grade, while 2 Europeans passed a year after him are *Executive Engineers* of 1st Grade, 1 passed 2 years after him is in "Survey Department" (and I cannot say whether this is higher or not), 1 passed 3 years after is an Executive Engineer of the 2nd Grade; and of those passed 4 years after him, 2 are Executive Engineers of 3rd Grade, 1 Executive Engineer of 4th Grade, and 1 Deputy Conservator of Forests (I do not know whether this is higher); and 2 Assistant Engineers of the 1st Grade, *i.e.*, in the same footing with him; of those passed 5 years after, 1 is Executive Engineer of 3rd Grade, 2 Executive Engineers of 4th Grade, and 1 Assistant Engineer of 1st Grade; of those passed 6 years after, 1 is Executive Engineer, 3rd Grade, and 1 Executive Engineer, 4th Grade; of those passed 7 years after, 2 are Executive Engineers 4th Grade, 1 Assistant

1st Grade Revenue Survey, and 1 Assistant Engineer, 1st Grade; of those passed 8 years after, 1 is Executive Engineer 4th Grade and 1 Assistant Superintendent, 1st Grade Survey Department; of those passed 9 years after, 4 are Executive Engineers of 4th Grade, 1 is Assistant Superintendent, 1st Grade Survey Department, and 2 are Assistant Engineers, 1st Grade; of those passed 10 years after, 1 is Executive Engineer, 4th Grade, 1 Deputy Assistant Seperintendent (?) Revenue Survey, and 1 Assistant Engineer of 1st Grade; of those passed 11 years after, 1 is Assistant Engineer, 1st Grade; of those passed 12 years after, 1 is Executive Engineer, 4th Grade, 1 is Assistant Engineer, 1st Grade, and 1 is Deputy Conservator of Forests. As to the natives, the abovementioned 1 passed in 1855, 1 passed in 1860, and 2 in 1862—are only Assistant Engincers of the 1st Grade, so that the very few who have been fortunate enough to get appointments are all at a stand at the 1st Grade of Assistant Engineers, except one who is Executive Engineer of the 2nd Grade. What may be the reason of such unequal treatment? And yet Mr. Grant Duff coolly tells Parliament "that the scholarships available for that purpose are not taken up," as if these scholarships for two or three years were the end and aim of their life-career. The upper subordinate department was entirely closed to natives till 1862; the lower subordinate was only open to them. Under such circumstances, is it any wonder that the natives do not go in for the higher Engineering Department? I cannot do better than let the Principal of the College himself speak to show how he struggles to get a guarantee for the natives which he thinks will not commit Government to more than one or two appointments annually, and what he thinks of the fitness of natives and their first claims (Principal Lang's Report for 1870-71, College Calendar for 1871-72, page 269)—"Nor can I hope to see many natives join it, although I consider that they have perhaps the first claims upon the College, and should be more encouraged to enter the higher grades of the P. W. Department. . . . A sub-overseer as turned out of this College is in many particulars a more highly trained subordinate, after his two years' curriculum, than the overseer who leaves after one session in the College; and I am by no means prepared to assent that he is not, on 35 rupees a month, quite as useful a man in most cases as the European overseer on Rs. 100. . . . But few, however, comparatively of the higher or wealthier families have furnished candidates for the superior grades of the Engineering profession. . . . That the natives of this country under favorable conditions are capable of excellence both as architects and

builders, the beauty and solidity of many of the historical monuments of the country fully testify; and that they could compete with European skill in the choice and composition of building materials, may be proved by comparing an old terrace-roof at Delhi or Lahore with an Allahabad gunshed, or many a recent barrack."

After referring to the encouragement given to one native, the Principal proceeds—"But I consider that yet more encouragement should be given. I do not think that the natives have yet made sufficient way in the profession to feel confidence in themselves, or to command the confidence of the public. Such we may hope to see effected ere long, but the time has not yet come for State aid and encouragement to be withdrawn; and it is with this view that I have urged that, for the *present*, Government should guarantee appointments to all passed native students in the Engineering classes, whether they stand amongst the first eight on the lists at the final examinations or not, especially as such a guarantee would commit them to but very few—one or two—appointments annually. When the guarantee did commit Government to a large number of appointments, it would be time to withdraw it; its object would have been gained, the stream would have set in in the required direction, and might be expected to flow on.

"18. Although this proposition has not yet received the approval of the Government of India, I hope that it may be found possible to sanction it, as such a guarantee, published in the calendar and circulars of the College, will be a thoroughly satisfactory assurance to a candidate or student that it rests only with himself to command an entrance into the P. W. Department."

Such is the struggle, and such are the reasons which Mr. Duff might have told Parliament why the scholarships were not taken up.

Bengal.

Bengal appears to have been liberal about 1867-68, but, with the usual misfortune of natives, seems to be falling-off. The Administration Report of 1871-72 speaks in somewhat hopeful language, but we must wait and see. I give the extracts from the reports of the College since 1867-68 to explain what I mean (Educational Report of 1867-68, p. 522, Presidency College)—"The six Licentiates of 1867-68 have received appointments in the grade of Assistant Engineers in the Public Works Department on probation." I understand all the six to be natives.

(1868-69, page 437)—"Three out of the four final students of the Session of 1867-68 went up to the University examination for a license, and two were passed—one in the first class, and one in the second." (Page 438)—"The two Licentiates were awarded scholarships. . . . But after being attached for a short time to some of the works in progress in Calcutta, they applied for and obtained appointments as Engineer apprentices in the Public Works Department." Why they applied for the apprenticeship, and did not get the Assistant Engineership, I cannot ascertain. It looks as if this were the first step towards the cessation of former liberality, for we see afterwards as follows (Report 1869-70, page 302)—"There were 8 students in the final class of the Session who went up to the University Examination. One was a candidate for B. C. E., and he passed in the second class. The other 7 went in for the license, and four passed in the second." Whether these have obtained appointments I cannot say; there is complete silence on this matter—as if this were the second step towards the discouragement. We do not read even of the apprenticeship now. (Report 1870-71, page 305)—"Nine of the students in the third year class went up to the University examination for a license, and 3 were passed, 1 being placed in the first class and 2 in the second." I could not find out whether appointments were given to these: the report is again silent. The following is the hopeful, but unfortunately not very clear, language of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor (Bengal Administration Report, 1871-72, page 237)—"Students who obtain a Licentiate's certificates, are, after a short probation, eligible for the grade of Assistant Engineer." Now, what this expression 'eligible' means, it is difficult to say. Were not the 5 men of Bombay, about whom I have already spoken, eligible to be Assistant Engineers? And there they were with the precious eligibility, and that only in their possession for years, and I do not know whether this eligibility of some of the previous Bengal successful Licentiates has ripened into appointment.

"The several branches of the Public Works Department have hitherto been able to provide employment for all, or nearly all, the students who pass the several Civil Engineering examinations, and adopt Engineering as a profession." The word 'nearly' is again a very suspicious one. That the subordinates may be all employed is a necessity—for Europeans cannot be got for inferior work, but if the word 'nearly' is applied to the Licentiates, then we have the same story as in the other presidencies. In 1872, 7 have passed the Licentiate and 1 the degree of Bachelor. It would be very interesting and gratifying to know whe-

ther these 8 have obtained appointments as Assistant Engineers, or will get them. Altogether, I think some 45 passed the Licentiate since 1861—a return of how these men have fared in their appointments and promotion will be a welcome one. The following sentence is an encouraging one, and makes me think that Bengal has not been so unjust as the other presidencies:—"Some Bengalees who graduated in the Civil Engineering College have already obtained lucrative and responsible posts in the Engineering Departments of Government, and a few years' experience will show whether Bengalees are, or are not, unsuited for, and whether the best Bengalee students will continue to keep aloof from the profession of Civil Engineering." Are these appointments like those of the passed natives of Roorkee, to a certain point and no further; or have the natives fared, and will they fare, equally with the Europeans in their promotion? The only pity is that the word 'some' commences this sentence instead of *all*, unless it means all who have graduated, or who have liked to enter Government service. We shall have not only to know whether the Bengalee is or is not unsuited, &c., but also what treatment he receives at the hands of the P. W. Department in his future career. Unless both these matters are taken together, the conclusion about suitability or otherwise will be simply absurd and worthless.

THE NATIVE MEDICAL SERVICE.

In this also the natives are put at great disadvantage, in having to go to England to find admission. But apart from this, the treatment in India is as follows:—I give below a statement of the difference between the treatment of the European and native divisions.

SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

(1) *Preliminary Education*—

Individuals, natives of Bombay, who ultimately wish to become sub-assistant surgeons, must enter the Medical College by first producing the University certificate of having passed the Matriculation or First Examination in Arts. When admitted, they have to pay an entrance fee of Rs. 25, and a monthly fee of Rs. 5 throughout the college course of five years.

O

APOTHECARY CLASS.

(1) *Preliminary Education.*

The members of the apothecary class enter the service as hospital apprentices, and candidates who enter the service pass a most elementary examination, consisting of reading an ordinary schoolbook, some knowledge of explaining sentences, dictation, and arithmetic as far as Rule of Three and fractions. A candidate satisfying the examiners on these points is admitted into the Medi-

seen that the members of the apothecary class enter the Medical Service in

assistant surgeons receive pay as follows :—

		Monthly Rs.
8	Sub-Assistants	each 350
9	"	" 300
12	"	" 200
5	"	" 100

	Rs.
W. Conway, Sada Political Agency	350
W. Waite, Khandeish Bheel Corps.	450
T. MacGuire, Honorary Assistant Surgeon	450

And there are others also, but they are omitted here, as their salaries cannot be made out just now.

RANK OR POSITION.

(9) The rank of sub-assistant surgeons is that of "*native commissioned officers* of the army," whose designations and pay are as follows :—

	Monthly
Subadar	Rs. 100
Jemadar	" 35
Havildar	" 16

Sub-assistant surgeons must remain sub-assistant surgeons all their life-time, with such low rank as native commissioned officers, whose education is next to nothing It is also understood that when in civil employ (which is not often the case). the sub-assistant surgeons hold the relative rank of mamlatdars. deputy collectors. and subordinate judges. Their relative ranks were mentioned in the first set of rules published some twenty four years ago. They are omitted in the rules of "Sub-Assistant Surgeons and Charitable Dispensaries" published by Government under date 25th March 1861. Rule 8 says—"In official intercourse it is the wish of Government that sub-assistant surgeons should be treated with the same degree of respect which is paid to native commissioned officers of the army, &c." What this "&c." means I do not know.

(9) Apothecaries generally are *warrant medical officers* (Rule 8 of 1st July 1868)—5 apothecaries now hold the rank of *honorary assistant surgeon*, or that of lieutenant; junior assistant apothecaries can reach the rank of sub-assistant surgeons by a College study of TWO years, and the same privilege is allowed to hospital assistants. This is being done within the last two years. Now, contrast the rules for the sub-assistant surgeons with those of the apothecary class, so very different and favourable in every respect for the favored class.

These rules can be seen in the supplement to the *Indian Medical Gazette* of 1st July 1868. They are too long for insertion here.

SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

ASSISTANT APOTHECARIES AND APOTHECARIES.

PROMOTION.

(10) For the students who form the ollege classes proper.

For the graduates of the Grant Medical College there was first an Entrance examination in the College. Then the A Examination (medical) at the end of three years' College course, and a final examination at the end of five years' course. After the opening of the Bombay University, the Entrance Examination is the present Matriculation Examination. Then, at the end of the third year, there is the First L. M. Examination taken at the University, and at the end of the fifth year there is the Second L. M. Examination.

(10) The only examinations which the members of the apothecary class are required to undergo are two—namely, one (of English knowledge) on the apprentices entering the Medical Service, that is, the same as mentioned in para. 1 under the head of "Preliminary Education"; the second is the medical examination, which is taken at the end of the three years' College course, as mentioned in para. 3 and *N.B.* There are no more examinations than these two, although the apothecary may serve the State for full thirty years, and although he may rise from the rank of apprentice (Rs. 16 pay) to that of uncovenanted medical officer on Rs. 700 monthly.

After this the student becomes a sub-assistant surgeon, and is admitted into the 3rd class. After seven years' service he is *again examined* in the College, and if successful, is promoted to 2nd class of sub-assistant surgeon. Then, at the end of 14 years' service, he is *examined again*, and if successful, is promoted to the 1st class of sub-assistant surgeon. After this there is no promotion till the sub-assistant surgeon is either pensioned or dies.

(11) Thus for the graduates or licentiates becoming sub-assistant surgeons, and during *thirty years' service, there* are *five* examinations—one Entrance, *and four* Medical, *viz.*—

1*st.*—The First Entrance or the Matriculation Examination on entering the College.

2*nd.*—First L. M Examination

3*rd.*—Second L. M Examination.

Then, after joining the Medical Service *as sub-assistant surgeon*—

[illegible]

the sub-assistant surgeon has kept up to the advances made by the Medical Service.

[illegible]

are cared for.

(11) *During thirty years service* there only two examinations—one in English, the entrance examination; and the other the medical, at the end of three years' course—and the man may rise up to Rs. 700 per month For further encouragement, Rule 46 of the Rules of 1868 provides for the further advancement of the junior members of the apothecary class, when well recommended to rise to the position of sub-assistant surgeon, and allowed after five years' service to attend the Medical College for a period not exceeding two years, to qualify themselves for the grade of sub-assistant surgeon. Now, the rule does not state whether, after these two years' study, the person has to pass any such examination as the [illegible]

medical officer or honorary assistant surgeon *without any examination whatever.*

(12) Special provisions are made for the apothecary class for retiring, invalid, and wound pensions, as from paras. 22 to 26 of General Order No. 550 of 1868. Para 27 provides pensions to the *widows* of the apothecary class.

What can be a better test of the comparative merits of these two classes of servants than the following, and how different is their treatment *in spite of all professions of equality of all British subjects* without reference to colour or creed!—

GRADUATES AND L. MS.

During the last sixteen years the following graduates of G. M. College *and licentiates of medicine of the* University of Bombay *have* passed the examination of assistant surgeon in

APOTHECARIES.

This class of subordinate medical servants are in existence fully for half-a-century at *least. Their number has* always been large, and they are now 105 in all.

England, without a single failure, and they are all now in the Medical Service. Many more would prove their competence but for the unfair disadvantage at which they are placed in having to go to England at much expense and inconvenience.

G. G. M. C. 1.—Rustomji Byramji, M.D. He passed in 1856; so he is now full surgeon. He is now serving at Jacobabad.

L. M. 2.—Atmaram S. Jayaker, assistant surgeon, passed in 1867, acting civil surgeon at Muscat.

L. M. 3.—A. J. Howell, assistant surgeon, passed in 1869.

L. M. 4.—Ruttonlal Girdhurlal, M.D., an assistant surgeon, passed in 1872. He is now serving in the Bengal Presidency. Although he was a candidate from Bombay, he preferred to go to the Bengal Presidency.

Besides all these—

G. G. M. C.—Dr. Muncherji Byramji Cohola, M. D., should be mentioned. This gentleman is now in the Bombay Medical Service as an uncovenanted medical officer, and superintendent of vaccination, Northern Division. He had gone to England to pass for an assistant surgeon, but unfortunately for him he had gone there soon after the Indian Mutiny; when all natives of India were prohibited admission into the Indian Medical Service, and therefore he had to return disappointed to Bombay without the examination. He, however, passed a successful examination in England for M. D.

Even an honorary assistant surgeonship is not accorded to the sub-assistant surgeon, no matter what his merits.

Not a single apothecary or assistant apothecary has up to this day ventured to appear for the examination of an assistant surgeon.

It is true that five apothecaries now hold the *honorary* rank of assistant surgeon, but this honorary rank is only given to them in India by the Indian Government, in consequence of that strange order of the Government of India No. 550 of 1868.

Before the publication of this order the two most senior apothecaries used to be made honorary sub-assistant surgeons, beyond which grade they could not aspire. Now-a-days the same senior apothecaries laugh at the idea of being called sub-assistant surgeons, as Government could accord them the higher rank of honorary assistant surgeon. The attainment of this rank does not, involve the idea of any examination whatever. All promotions take place in this class of servants by length of service only.

This comparison shows how natives, far better educated, are put very much inferior in rank, position, and emoluments to Europeans very much inferior in acquirements. The class of natives from which alone some have gone over and successfully passed the examination in England, is put below a class of Europeans from which not one has even ventured, as far as I can ascertain, to stand the ordeal of the same examination.

In the Telegraph and Forest service it is the same; natives are virtually debarred by being required to go to England to enter the higher departments, as far as I am aware. So here we are after forty years, as if the great enactment, of which great statesmen were proud, had never taken place. And all pledges; even such as that of our Most Gracious Majesty, were idle words.

Now I conclude my notes on the Poverty of India. As I told you before, these notes were written more than two to three years ago. It remains to be seen what modification should be made in these views by the light of the events of the subsequent years. For the present the inevitable conclusion is that there is a heavy and exhausting annual drain, both material and moral, from India, caused by the excessive employment of Europeans; and to remedy this unnatural and serious evil, such employment needs to be limited to some reasonable extent, so that India may be able to retain to itself some portion of the profits of its trade, and, by thus increasing its capital and prosperity, may be strengthened and confirmed in its loyalty and gratitude to the British nation. I hoped to be able to speak more definitely on this point, but though it is now nearly three years since Sir D. Wedderburn moved for a return of the number, salaries, allowances, &c., of all Europeans and natives, employed in all the departments of the State drawing a salary of above Rs. 100, it is not forthcoming yet.

I expected that such a return would enable us to consider more carefully the extent and remedy of the serious evil I am complaining of. I would have closed my paper here, but as I have seen what appears to be a confirmation of the remedy I ask for of the necessity of clipping European service, from a most unexpected quarter, I desire to say a few more words. The quarter I mean is the *Bombay Gazette*, or Mr. Maclean. If I understand him rightly, we do not appear to be far from each other, except what difference may arise from his interpretation of his own words. In his paper of 23rd March last, in commenting upon the causes of "the debased rupee," he considers home remittances to have some effect in that direction. And he proposes the remedy. I give his own words. He says—"To decrease these (home remittances) by clipping establishments, or rather re-framing them on an economical basis, *by never employing other than natives of this country*[*] except where good policy and public convenience demand it, and if possible, by establishing some check on the extravagant follies of the Secretary of State, should be the task of the Indian Government." This is just what I ask now, and what I asked before the Select Committee. Not only that the native services will be economical in themselves, but that, even if they were as highly paid as the European services were at present, the *economical* result to India will be pure gain, as all such payments will [illegible]

capital of the country. The only thing to be ascertained is what Mr. Maclean's ideas are as to the extent of the employment of Europeans that "good policy and public convenience may demand."

The demoralising effect upon our rulers of this fundamental and serious evil shows itself in various ways, besides the most prominent one of the open non-performance of engagements, &c., which I have already pointed out. Take, for instance, the revenue legislation, for the Presidency of Bombay. This legislation, instead of maintaining the height of English justice, in which it commenced in the earlier Regulations of 1827, and in which English prestige took its foundaion, gradually degenerated into a legalised Asiatic despotism, till the new Revenue Jurisdiction Bill crowned the edifice, and be which the Collector, who was hitherto the "king," now becomes thy emperor, and whose will generally will be the law of "the land."

The drain of India's wealth on the one hand, and the exigencies of the State expenditure increasing daily on the other, set all the ordinary laws of political economy and justice at naught, and lead the rulers to all sorts of ingenious and oppressive devices to make the two ends meets and to descend more and more every day to the principles of Asiatic despotism, so contrary to English grain and genius. Owing to this on unnatural policy of the British rule of ignoring India's interests, and making it the drudge for the benefit of England, the whole rule move, in a wrong, unnatural, and suicidal groove.

As much as our rulers swerve from "the path of duty that is plain before them," so much do they depart from "the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, and of national honour."

Nature's laws cannot be trifled with, and so long as they are immutable, every violation of them carries with it its own Nemesis as sure as night follows day.

REPLY TO CRITICISMS.

(July 1876.)

(Before an adjourned Meeting of Bombay Branch of the E. I. Association, on Monday evening, 24th July 1876, in the Framjee Cowasjee Institute. Mr. R. N. Khote in the chair.)

I BEGIN with Mr. Maclean. He has very much misunderstood my papers. As a first instance, when he asks me to deduct the exports of India (less the exports from Native States) from my estimate of the

production of India, he does not see that my estimate is for the *total production* in India, and that what is exported is not to be deducted therefrom.

As a second instance, he asks me to add 15,000,000*l.* for cotton manufactures. My estimate for production *includes* all *raw* cotton of British India, and I have already included in my estimate the additional value the raw cotton acquires by the application of industry in its conversion into cloth. Coal and foreign stores that are used in the mills are paid for from, and are therefore *included* in, the production I have estimated. The only additional value is that of the labour employed. But even if we allow the *whole* additional value acquired by raw cotton in its conversion into cloth, what will it be? Mr. Maclean's "Guide to Bombay"(1875) (which is much later than the time of my notes) gives the number of the then working spindles as about 6 lakhs in the whole of the Bombay Presidency. Taking 5 oz. per day per spindle and 340 working days in the year, the total quantity of raw cotton consumed will be about 81,300 candies, which, at Rs. 150 per candy, amounts to about 1,220,000*l.* The price of cloth is generally about double the price of raw cotton, as I have ascertained from the details of two or three mills of Bombay; so that the whole addition caused by the mills to the value of raw cotton is only 1,250,000*l.*, say 1,500,000*l.* sterling to leave a wide margin. Then, again, there are, about the time of my notes, yarn imports into India worth about 2,500,000*l.*, per annum. This, of course, is paid for from the production of the country. The value added to it is its conversion into cloth. Now the cost of weaving is about 25 per cent. of the value of yarn, so that the value thus added is about 600,000*l.*, say 1,000,000*l.*, to include any contingency, making the total value to be added to the raw production of about 2,500,000*l.* If deduction is made for coal and foreign stores, this amount will be much lessened. Again, we know that hand-spinning is much broken down, and there can be but a little quantity of cloth woven out of hand-spun yarn in India. Giving even 500,000*l.* more for that industry, the outside total of addition to the raw produce would come to, as a high estimate, 3,000,000*l.* instead of the 15,000,000*l.* which Mr. Maclean asks me to add without giving a single figure for his data. Let him give any reasonable data, and I shall gladly modify my figures so far.

As a third instance of misunderstanding my paper, when Mr. Maclean asks me to take 5,000,000*l.* for gold and silver ornaments made in this country, he forgets that gold and silver are not produced in this country. All bullion is *imported*, and is paid for from th

fore can add nothing to my estimate of production. The only addition is the industry employed on it to convert it int o ornaments. This industry for the ordinary native ornaments will be amply covered by taking on an average an eighth of the value of the metal, which will give about 625,000*l.*, or say 750,000*l.* sterling, or even 1,000,000*l.*, while Mr. Maclean wants me to take 5,000,000*l.*

As a fourth instance: while Mr. Maclean tells me to add 15,000,000*l.* and 5,000,000*l.* when there should be hardly one-fifth of these amounts, he does not see that I have actually allowed in my paper for all manufacturing industrial value, to be added to that of raw produce, as 17,000,000*l.*; and, further, for any omissions 30,000,000*l.* more (*East India Association Journal*, vol. ix., No. 4, page 257).

These four instances, I think, would be enough to show the character of Mr. Maclean's criticism, and I pass over several other similar mistakes and mis-statements. I come to what is considered as his most pointed and most powerful argument, but which in reality is all moonshine. After contradicting flatly in my paper his assertion that the exports of the United States were in excess of imports, I had said that I had no reliable figures for the years after 1869. To this he replies, "Here they are;" and he gives them as follows. I quote his own words: "Mr. Dadabhai says he cannot get 'authentic figures' of "American trade for a later year than 1869; here they are for "him:—

Imports—Merchandize and Bullion.		Exports—Merchandize and Bullion.	
1869	£87.027.017	1869	£99.330.735
1870	97.779.351	1870	117.534.993
1871	112,552.770	1871	138.084.908
1872	117.250.880	1872	128.337.183
1873	132.700.295	1873	142.240.730
1874	110.172.249	1874	130.582.689
	£667.085.481		£756.111,238

"The excess of exports over imports for the six years is therefore, "89,000,000*l.* sterling, giving a yearly average of nearly 15,000,000*l.* "against only 11,500,000*l.* for India. The explanation of the deficit in "imports in the case of the United States is, of course, similar to that "which accounts for so much of the Indian deficit. The United States "form a favourite field for investment of English capital, the interest of "which is paid by America in the form of exports of produce. Yet we "never heard an American citizen complain that his country was being "drained of its wealth for the benefit of foreigners. He is only anxious

"to borrow as much English capital as he can, knowing that, invested "in reproductive works, it will repay him a hundredfold the paltry rate "of interest he has to send abroad."

To these remarks of Mr. Maclean I reply, that he has taken his figures from the "Statesman's Year Book." This book has made curious mistakes. It has *included* bullion in the figures for exports of "merchandize," and *again* given bullion separately; and it has *not* converted the "*currency*" value of exports of "domestic produce" from the Atlantic port into *gold*. These two and some such other mistakes render this book's figures for the years quoted above, taken by Mr. Maclean, utterly wrong. I give the following illustration of these mistakes in the figures for the year ending 30th June, 1871. The correct official* figures are:—

RE-EXPORTS (GOLD VALUE).

Merchandize	$14,421,270
Gold and Silver	14,038,629
Total	$28,459,899

Merchandize. EXPORTS.

From Atlantic Ports. Currency Value.	From Pacific Ports. Gold Value.	Specie and Bullion (Gold Value). From Atlantic Ports	From Pacific Ports.
$464,300,771 ..	$13,712,624	$76,187,027 ...	$8,318,229
(equal to Gold Value) $414,826,393	...	Total...$84,505,256	

Total—Mixed Value, $562,518,651, equal to Gold Value, $513,044,273

TOTAL EXPORTS.

Domestic Exports (Gold Value)	...$513,044,273
Re-Exports (Gold Value)	... 28,459,899
Total (Gold Value)	.. $541,504,172

Now, instead of the above correct official figure of $541,504,172 as the *total* exports from the United States (including bullion), the "Statesman's Book" makes "merchandize" $590,978,550 and bullion $98,441,989, which I find to be made up as follows: It takes from the official returns *total mixed* value of domestic exports, $562,518,651, and then adds to it the *total* re-exports, $28,459,899, and makes the addition of these two figures as the total for "merchandize"—viz., $590,978,550. It will be now seen by a comparison of these figures with the official

* Monthly Reports on the Commerce and Navigation of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, for the year ending

ones, that the "currency" value of the domestic exports from the Atlantic ports is *not* converted into gold, and that though in the two official totals of $562,518,651 and $28,459,899, bullion is *already included*, the total of these in the "Statesman's Book" is given for "merchandize" alone, and a further statement is given for bullion as $98,441,989, made up nearly of $84,505,256 of domestic exports and $14,038,629 of re-exports.

Mr. Maclean takes the total $590,978,550 of "merchandize" (which *already includes* bullion) and bullion *over again*, $98,543,885, and makes the exports $689,420,539, or 138,084,908*l.* It will thus be seen that his figure for 1871 contains bullion to the extent of $98,543,885, or 19,889,198*l.* taken *twice*, and the *currency* value of domestic produce exported from the Atlantic ports is *not* converted into gold value, making a further error of $49,474,378; or the total error in Mr. Maclean's figure for exports for 1871 alone is $98,543,885 + 49,474,378 = $148,018,263, or nearly 31,000,000*l.* sterling at 50d. per $.

I take 50*d.* per $, as the Parliamentary Returns for Foreign States, No. XII., have taken this rate of exchange.

Mr. Maclean has given the figures for six years. I am not able to verify the figure for 1874, so I give a comparison of the *official correct* figures and his figures for the years ending June, 1869, to 1873.

The "Statesman's Book's" wrong figures :—

IMPORTS.

	Merchandize.	Bullion.
1869...	$417,506,379	$19,807,876
1870...	462,377,587	26,419,179
1871...	541,493,774	21,270,024
1872...	572,510,304	13,743,689
1873...	642,030,539	21,480,937
	$2,635,918,583	$102,721,705
Add...	102,721,705	...
Total	$2,738,640,288	

EXPORTS.

	Merchandize.	Bullion.
1869...	$439,134,529	$57,138,380
1870...	529,519,302	58,155,666
1871...	590,978,550	98,441,989
1872...	561,808,381	79,877,534
1873...	626,595,077	84,608,574
	$2,748,035,839	$378,222,143
Add...	378,222,143	...
	$3,126,257,982	
	2,738,640,288	
	$387,617,694, Excess of Exports.	

Official correct figures* :—

Imports—Including Bullion. (Gold Value.)	
1869	$437,314,255
1870	462,377,587
1871	541 493,708
1872	640,338,706
1873	663,617,147
Total	$2,745,141,403
Deduct Exports ...	2,466,589,293
Excess of Imports...	$278,552,110

Exports—Including Bullion. (Gold Value.)	Domestic.	Foreign.
1869...	$318,082,663	$25,173,414
1870...	420 500,275	30,427,159
1871...	512,802,267	28,459,899
1872...	501,285,371	22,769,749
1873...	578,938,985	28,149,511
	$2,331,609,561	$134,979,732
Total...	$2,466,589,273	

Mr. Maclean's total error for the five years, 1869 to 1873, is therefore $278,552,110 + 387,617,694 = $666,169,804 = 138,785,000*l.*, at 50*d.* per $; or $133,233,961 = 27,757,000*l.* per annum.

In making, however, a comparison between the trade returns of India and the United States, there is one important matter to be considered, and when taken into account, as it ought to be, the imports of the United States will be some 16 per cent. more than they are above shown to be. In India the exports are declared at the value at the port of export. It is the same with the United States. The imports in India are declared at the "*wholesale cash price* less trade discount"† at the *port of import*, which means the value at the foreign port of export, *plus* freight, insurance, and other charges to the Indian port of import, and also *plus* 10 per cent. for profits. This is the principle on which the imports are declared in the Custom Houses in India when the tariff value is not already fixed, or the market price not agreed upon by the importer and the Custom House. But in the case of the United States the declared value‡ of imports is only the value declared at the *foreign port* from which the merchandize was *exported*, which means *without* adding the cost of freight, insurance and other charges, and 10 per cent. profits. Now Mr. Edward Young, the "Chief of the Bureau of Statis-

* Monthly Reports on Commerce and Navigation of the United States, by Edward Young, Ph. D., Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, for the year ending 30th June 1874, p. 177.

† Customs Act (6) of 1863, section 180, also inquiry at the Custom House, gave 10 per cent. to be added on the importer's invoice, or 20 per cent. on the manufacturer's invoice.

‡ Annual Report of Commerce and Navigation, 1873, says (p. 3): "Import "entries: sworn specie values at foreign places of export."

tics, Treasury Department" of the United States, calculates 6 per cent.* as representing the freight from *foreign* ports to America.

This 6 per cent. for freight (without taking the further additional charges for insurance, commission, &c., into account), together with the 10 per cent. as calculated in India for declaration for imports, makes it necessary to add 16 per cent. to the imports of the United States, before the actual excess of imports of the United States, on the principle adopted in India, can be ascertained and compared with that of India. In that case the actual excess of imports over exports in the United States will be $717,774,734 = 149,536,403*l.*† for the five years, 1869 to 1873, or $143,554,947 = 29,907,280*l.* per annum. Thus the correct result about the United States (on the principle of the Indian Custom House) is that, instead of there being an excess of *exports* of 15,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, there is actually an excess of *imports* of *double* that amount, or nearly 30,000,000*l.* sterling; thus making a difference between Mr. Maclean's and the correct figures of nearly 45,000,000*l.* sterling per annum.

Mr. Maclean clearly admits my most important statements; he says: "It has been estimated that the amount of the annual earnings "of Englishmen connected with India which are thus transmitted "home cannot be less than 20,000,000*l.*, and we should be inclined to "place it at a *very much higher figure.*"‡

Again: "To decrease these (home remittances) by clipping establish-"ments, or rather re-framing on an economical basis, *by never employing* "*other than natives of this country*‡ except when good policy and "public convenience demand it, and, if possible, by establishing some "check on the extravagant follies of the Secretary of State, should be "the task of the Indian Government."

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* Monthly Reports for the year ending 30th June, 1874, p. 352: "The value "of the imports of merchandize, as presented in the first table, being those at the "ports of shipment, it will be proper to add thereto the amount of freights to the "several ports of the United States . . . it is believed that 6 per cent. on the total "value of imports is an estimate of approximate accuracy."

† Total Imports	$2,745,141,403
Add 16 per cent. ...	439,222,624
	$3,184,364,027
Deduct Exports......	2,466,589,293

Excess of Imports ...$717,774,734, at 50d., for five years = £149,536,403
Average per annum $143.554,947, at 50d. = £29,907,280.

‡ The italics are mine.

This is just what I say, that there is an enormous transfer of the wealth of this country to England, and the remedy is the employment of Natives only, beyond the exigencies of the British rule. But for this single circumstance, his remarks about the United States would apply to India perfectly well—viz., "He (the American) is only anxious to "borrow as much English capital as he can, knowing that, invested in "reproductive works, it will repay him a hundredfold the paltry rate of "interest he has to send abroad."

The Indian will do *just the same*, but while the American derives *the full benefit* of what he borrows, the Indian, borrowing with one hand, has to give the money away to England with the other hand in these "home remittances" of Englishmen and "home charges," getting for himself the *burden* only of the debt. The very idea of comparing the circumstances and condition of the United States and India as being similar, is simply absurd; on this point another reason will be given further on.

I will now answer Mr. Shapoorjee, who says India is in the same boat with the United States. In support of his assertion, he says the United States have foreign debts of about 1,625,000,000*l.* I requested him to show me any official or sufficiently reliable authority for these figures, and he shows me none.

Had Mr. Shapoorjee read my papers carefully, he would not have said a word about America's public debt, for he would have seen that I have excluded from my total of imports and exports those very years in which the United States contracted nearly the whole of its public debt (1863 to 1866). Again, Mr. Shapoorjee tells us that the railways of the United States "could not have cost "less than 20,000*l.* a mile," while the "Railway Manual" for 1873-4, which he has kindly lent me, gives the average cost at $55,116, and the "Statesman's Book" gives $50,000 a-mile. This is about 10,000*l.* to 11,000*l.*, or nearly half of Mr. Shapoorjee's figure; and thus nearly half of his "850,000,000*l*, if not more," of foreign capital for railways disappears. Now I give one more reason why Mr. Shapoorjee's figure of 1,625,000,000*l.* sterling as the present foreign debt of the United States cannot be accepted. Mr. Edward Young, whom I have already mentioned,—the highest official authority on the Treasury statistics of the United States,—calculates and gives (in his official "Monthly reports on the Commerce and Navigation of the "United States for the year ending June 30, 1874," page 352) his

own personal and unofficial estimate of the "aggregate foreign debts "of the United States." He says; "Although there were no national "securities held abroad at the commencement of our late war, yet some "of the bonds of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and probably of "Massachusetts and other States, as well as railroad shares and securi- "ties, were owned in Europe. In the absence of accurate data on the "subject, it is believed that $50,000,000 is an ample estimate for these "*ante bellum* securities. With this addition, our aggregate foreign debt "amounts to nearly TWELVE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS." Such is Mr. Young's estimate of the aggregate debts, "national, State, municipal, and "corporation, held in foreign countries"—*i.e.*, $1,200,000,000—when Mr. Shapoorjee asks us to take the figures nearly seven times larger;— 1,625,000,000*l.* equal to $7,800,000,000. I trust I may be excused for not accepting his figures, and his conclusions based thereon. Again, Mr. Shapoorjee has been good enough to give me an extract from the *Westminster Review* of January 1876. This extract gives (in 1875) the national production of the United Kingdom as 28*l.* per head of population, of the United States as 28*l.* per head, and of Russia as 7*l.* 10s. per head; France, 22*l.*; Austria, 18*l.*; and Italy, 15*l.*; while India hardly produces 2*l.* a-head. The simple fact, then, that the United States is the second richest country in the world, and its people have *all* their revenues and resources at *their own* command and for *their own* benefit only, is enough to show that it is simply absurd and idle to compare it, in its circumstances and condition, as being in the same boat with the half-starving and ever-draining India. When the Americans are subjected to a "home remittance" to a foreign country of some "very much higher figure" than 20,000,000*l.* sterling a-year, and "home charges," and when a large number of foreigners engross all official and important positions to their own exclusion, causing thereby such heavy drain, *then* will be the proper time to make a comparison between America and India.

The comparison with Russia and other European States is equally unreasonable. In spite of the inferior administration of Russia, and the great military expenditure, its national income is nearly four times as much as that of India, and that of the other European States is much larger still; and they have no "home remittances and charges" to remit, which India has to do from its wretched income of hardly 2*l.* per head per annum.

Mr. Schrottky misunderstands me when he thinks that in the present discussion about the *material condition* of India, I mention the necessity

of the employment of natives as anything more than the only remedy by which the capital of the country can be saved to itself, to enable the agricultural as well as all other industries to get the necessary lifeblood for their maintenance and progress. If it were possible that every European coming to India would make it his home, so that the item of the "home remittances and charges" would be nearly eliminated, it would not matter at all, as far as the present question of the material prosperity of the country is concerned, whether the European or the Native is in office. The only remedy is, that either the Europeans must, like the Mahomedan conquerors, become Natives and *remain in* the country, or remain *out* of office beyond the exigency of the British rule. If not, then it is idle to hope that India can rise in material prosperity, or be anything else but a wretched drudge for England's benefit. On the other hand, a natural and just policy would make India, with its teeming population, the best customer for England, and the best field for England's enterprise, and its agriculture would derive all the aid which Mr. Schrottky could desire in the goodness of his heart.

To Mr. Trant I have only to say that his political economy may be applicable to a Native-governed country, but when he takes the element of the "home remittances and charges" into account, he will not differ much from me.

In reply to Mr. Collett's remarks, I have to request him to take several elements into account which he appears to have forgotten.

1. To add 15 per cent.* profits to exports. (During the American War, the percentage of profits on the exported produce was very much larger.)

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* For the following countries the profits, or excess of imports over exports, are as under, subject to modification for foreign debts or loans :—

The United Kingdom	25 per cent.	(1858 to 1870)
Australia	15 „ „	(1858 to 1868)
British North America	29 „ „	(1858 to 1868)
(*East India Association Journal*, vol. ix, No. 4, page 263)		
United States (as under)	18 „ „	(1869 to 1873)
Imports...		$2,745,141,403
Add 6 per cent. Freight (leaving other charges)—Commission, Insurance, &c.—alone		164,708,484
		$2,909,849,887
Deduct Exports		2,466,589 293
Excess of Imports or Profits—say, 18 per cent. above Exports		$443,260 594

2. To deduct from import nearly 140,000,000*l.* of foreign debt (public and railway) incurred during the eighteen years he has taken.

3. To remember that the profits of opium as well as of all India's commerce are as much India's property and resources as the profits in coal, iron, and all other exported produce and manufactures of England are England's property and resources, though all such profits are derived from foreign nations; and that all the profits of opium and general commerce of India are included in my total production of India.

4. To remember that, notwithstanding that opium and the profits of commerce are legitimate property and resources of India, even after deducting these amounts, or that, in addition to these amounts being sent away to England, there is the further amount of about 200,000,000*l.* in principal alone gone to England during the thirty-eight years I have taken; and that Mr. Collett has not pointed out any mistake in my calculations.

For his eighteen years also, if he will take the items he has forgotten, his results will not differ from mine.

For 1858 to 1875 his figure for Exports is		£910,995,000
Add 15 per cent. Profits		136,649,250
Total proceeds of Exports		£1,047,644,250
His Imports are	£764.310,000	
Deduct Loans Imported, about	140,000,000	
Actual Commercial Imports (including Government Store)...		£624,310,000
Excess of proceeds of Exports		£423,334,250
Deduct Railway Interest		51,133,987
Transfer to England from India's resources (excluding Interest on Railway Loans)		372,200,263
This transfer is equal to the whole of the Opium Revenue	£108,156,107	
The whole of profits on Exports	136.649.250	
And furthermore, from India's resources ...	127,394,906	

or nearly 130,000,000*l.* in addition to the railway interest. The actual transfer is even larger than this, as will be seen further on.

Mark, then, during Mr. Collett's eighteen years *all* opium revenue, *all* profits of commerce and guaranteed interest on railways, are transferred to England, and 130,000,000*l.*, besides making a total, in principal alone, of 424,000,000*l.*, or 372,000,000*l.* excluding railway

interest. Moreover, it must be remembered that during the American War great profits were made, and this having to be added to the exports, is so much more transferred to England.

Thus, as Mr. Collett's figures are imperfect, I need not trouble the meeting with any comments on the confusion into which he has fallen on account thereof. I have taken his own figures and shown what they lead to, as the best way of pointing out his mistake.

Thanks to my critics, they have led me into a closer examination of some points, and I find the case of India worse than what I have already made out, I have to modify some of my figures,* which I now do.

I have shown that the imports into India (*including* bullion) from 1835 to 1872 are 943,000,000*l*. Now, in making out a nation's balance-sheet with foreign countries, the balance of profit should be taken between the price of exports at the port of export, and the price of imports as *laid down* or costing at the port of import, and not the *market* price at the place of import, which include the profit on the import obtained in the importing country itself.

I may illustrate thus I laid out Rs 1,000 in cotton and sent it to England. There it realized proceeds, say, Rs 1,150 This may be remitted to me in silver, so that when the transaction is completed, I receive into my hands Rs. 1,150, in the place of Rs 1,000 which I had first laid out, so that the country has added Rs 150 thereby to its capital. But suppose, instead of getting silver, I imported, say, ten bales of piece goods which were laid down in Bombay for Rs. 1,150. The gain to the country so far is the same in both cases—an addition of Rs. 150. But any gain to me *after* that in the sale of these piece goods in India itself is *no* gain to India. Suppose I sold these goods for Rs. 1,300. That simply means that I had these goods and another person had Rs. 1,300, and we simply exchanged The country has no addition made to its already existing property. It is the same—viz, the ten bales of piece goods and Rs. 1,300; only they have changed hands. Bearing this in mind, and also that the declared value of imports into India is not the *laying down* price, but the *market*† price, which means the *laying down* price *plus* 10 per cent. profit, it is necessary, for ascertaining the *real* profits from the *foreign commerce* of India, to deduct 10 per cent. from the declared value of imports (merchandize). Doing this the

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* *East India Association Journal*, vol. ix., No. 4, p. 264.

† See the first note at page 149

total imports from 1835 to 1872 should be taken at 943,000,000*l.* minus 62,000,000*l.*,* which will be equal to 881,000,000*l.* In that case the real deficit of imports under what the imports ought to have been (1,438,000,000*l.*) will be 557,000,000*l.* in place of the nearly 500,000,000*l.* I have given in my paper.

The figure of the amount, after deducting opium and profits of commerce, will be 248,000,000*l.* instead of nearly 200,000,000*l.*; or the total transfer of wealth to England in addition to the railway interest (40,000,000*l.*) will be 517,000,000*l.*, instead of 453,000,000*l.* given in my paper, and the yearly average of every five years of this amount of 517,000,000*l.* will be proportionately larger—about 13 per cent. The averages will be about—

1835 to 1839	£6,000,000
1840 to 1844	6,600,000
1845 to 1849	8,700,000
1850 to 1854	8,400,000
1855 to 1859	8,700,000
† 1860 to 1864	19,000,000
1865 to 1869	27,500,000
1870 to 1872	31,000,000

This average during the American War would be much increased if the whole profits on the exported produce of the time could be ascertained.

In preparing this reply I have had to work out all the figures hurriedly, but I hope they will be found correct.

I have not seen the late Administration Reports, but I trust they give fuller details than the previous ones with which I had to deal, and if so, more precise results could be obtained as to the actual annual production of the country, which is the most important point to be settled to give us an accurate knowledge of the actual poverty or otherwise of this country.

Since I wrote the above I purchased a copy of the latest Administration Report of Bengal (1874–5) in the hope of obtaining from it some more definite statistics about production than I have been able to embody

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* Imports—merchandize, 1834-5 to 1872, 618,000,000*l.*, 10 per cent. of which is nearly 62,000,000*l.*

† I could not find the amount of enfaced paper given for every year before 1860. I have, therefore, taken the whole amount in 1860, which increases the average for 1860-64, and correspondingly diminishes the average of the previous years, but not to a large extent.

in my paper. Great was my disappointment when I read Sir R. Temple's statement: "Again, the survey embraced only the exterior boundaries of each village or parish, and afforded no details of cultivation and waste, culturable or unculturable." The question at issue is a simple matter of facts and science. Is there so much cultivated land or not? is there so much produce or not? and are such and such the prices or not? And then common arithmetic gives you certain results. No amount of indirect reasoning or assumption can falsify facts and arithmetic, and make 2 and 2 equal 5. So far as the official statistics are imperfect, it is the duty of the Government to give to the public full details. We know the national production of other countries, and there is no reason why the Indian Government should not be able to give us similar important information That would be the best and surest guide and test of the actual condition of the people of India, and our rulers would see from them their way clearly to the most proper and effectual remedies. I have not the least doubt in my mind that if the English Government once clearly see the evil, they will *not shrink* from applying the proper remedies. My estimate of 40s. a-head has been accepted and argued upon by an Under-Secreta of State (Mr. G. Duff) and a Viceroy (Lord Mayo), and another Vic (Lord Lawrence) has told us that the mass of the people are half-f. It is not the question of the ordinary proportion of the poor in eve country. Mr. Grant Duff, *in his reply to* Mr. Lawson, asked whether "already poor population of India" was to be ground down to the "dust" by the removal of the opium duty. So the margin between present condition of India and of being ground down "to the v. "dust" is only the opium revenue. Is this prosperity? I have b. lately reading the expression, "balance in favour of India." Th writers evidently suppose that what they call the balance of trade favour of India was something that India had to receive some time other. They do not seem to understand that of all the *deficit* of imp against the proceeds of export, not a single pie *in cash or goods* is to received by India; that, similarly, of all the *excess* of imports in the other parts of the British Empire to the extent of 15 to 25 per cent. over exports, or 18 per cent. in the United States, not a single farthing has to be paid to any country. It is, in fact, the profit of their exports and the deficit of India is so much transfer of its wealth to England.

Mr. Dadabhai concluded by thanking the meeting for extending so much indulgence to him, and the many gentlemen who had come forward to join in the discussion. When they first met in that hall, their fear was that they would have none to oppose or to criticise the paper; but he was agreeably surprised to find that it had been criticised by so many, and he was sure that this would bring out the real truth, and he hoped that in future his critics would exert their influence to make India some thing like the United States. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.)

THE REMEDY.

When I wrote these notes in 1873, or read them in 1876, I little dreamt that they would so soon obtain such terrible *confirmation* as the present deplorable famines have given them.

The chief cause of India's poverty, misery, and all material evils, is the exhaustion of its previous wealth, the continuously increasing exhausting and weakening drain from its annual *production* by the very excessive expenditure on the European portion of all its services, and the burden of a large amount a year to be paid to *foreign* countries for interest on the public debt, which is chiefly caused by the British rule.

The obvious remedy is to allow India to keep what it produces, and to help it as much as it lay in the power of the British nation to reduce her burden of the interest on the public debt; with a reasonable provision for the means absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the British rule.

For this purpose it is necessary, on the one hand, *to limit within a certain amount*, the total of *every* kind of expenditure (pay, pensions and every possible kind of allowance), for the *European* portion of *all* the services both in England and India, directly or indirectly connected with or under the control of Government (including, therefore, guaranteed railways or other works, manufactures, local funds, &c.); and to guarantee the public debt; and on the other hand, for the important political object of maintaining the British rule, to reserve by law for *Europeans alone*, such places of power as may be absolutely necessary for the purpose with a fair proportion of the army, within the limited amount of expenditure for the European portion of all the services.

Under some judicious arrangement of the kind I propose, the people of India, being allowed to keep most of what they produced, will rise in material prosperity under, what is upon the whole, a good system of administration, blessing the hand that gave such prosperity, and *increas-*

ing the benefit to the English people also manifold, by the extensive commercial relations that must necessarily be then developed between England and India: and all fears of any danger to the British rule will be dispelled, both from the gratitude, loyalty, and *self-interest* of the people of India, and from the possession of important posts of power and a fair portion of the army by Europeans alone. Then will Macaulay's words be verified to the *glory of England*, as also to her *benefit*:—

"We shall never consent to administer the *pousta* to a whole community, to stupefy and paralyse a great people whom God has committed to our charge;" and we shall not "keep a hundred millions (two hundred millions), of men from being our customers, in order that they might continue to be our slaves."

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES.

CHAPTER IV.

I.

INDIA'S INTEREST IN THE GENERAL ELECTION (1886).

(Before a meeting of the members of the Bombay Presidency Assiocation, held in the rooms of the Association on Tuesday evening, the 29th September 1885. Mr. (now Sir) Dinsha Maneckji Petit in the chair.)

The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji proposed:—"That the following candidates, on account of their services and opinions publicly expressed by them on Indian questions, are deserving of the support of the Indian people:—The Right Honourable Mr. John Bright, the Marquis of Hartington, Mr. J. Slagg, Sir J. Phear, Mr. L. Ghose, Mr. W. Digby, Mr. W. S. Blunt, Mr. S. Keay, Mr. S. Laing, Captain Verney, and Mr. W. C. Plowden. That the views regarding Indian questions publicly expressed by the following candidates cannot be approved by the people of India, and these candidates cannot be accepted as representing Indian interests:—Sir Richard Temple, Mr. J. M. Maclean, Mr. A. S. Ayrton, Sir Lewis Pelly, and Sir Roper Lethbridge." He said:—I speak to the motion which is placed in my hands with a deep sense of its importance. Hitherto it has been, and it will be so generally, that the English people can mostly derive their information about India from Anglo-Indians, official and non-official, but chiefly from the former. But there are Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Indians. Some, but their number is small, have used their eyes rightly, have looked beyond the narrow circle of their own office, have sympathised with the natives, and tried to understand them and to find out their true wants and aspirations. Unfortunately the larger number of Anglo-Indians do not take such wide views, or such interest in the natives as would enable them to judge rightly of the actual condition of India. Now when we consider of what extreme importance it is to us that the people of England should have correct information of our condition and wants; how almost entirely we have to depend upon the people and Parliament of England to make those great reforms which alone can remove the serious evils from which we are suffering, it is no ordinary necessity for us that we should [illegible]e some steps, by which we may inform the great British public, on [illegible] sources of information they could rely with any confidence. As

I have said, the number of those who have the necessary true experience and interest in the natives is very small. It is extremely necessary that such should be pointed out by us. We also find that several Englishmen visiting India, as impartial observers, without any bias or prejudices, have often formed a more correct estimate of the position and necessities of India than many an Anglo-Indian of the so-called experience of twenty or thirty years. Even some, who have not been here at all, form fair and just estimates. It is not always that we can approach the British people in a way so as to secure the general attention of the whole nation at the same time. The present occasion of the new elections is one of those rare occasions in which we can appeal to the whole nation, and especially in a way most useful for our purpose. It is in Parliament that our chief battles have to be fought. The election of its members, especially those who profess to speak on Indian matters, requires our earnest attention, and we should point out clearly to the electors, which of those candidates who make India a plank in their credentials, have our confidence. We do not at all intend to influence the electors in any way in matters of their choice of the representatives that suit them best for their local politics. What we desire to impress upon them is, that so far as the important element of the deliberations on Indian questions is concerned, we desire to name those candidates who are deserving of our confidence and support, and on whom we can rely as would fairly and righteously represent our real wants and just rights before Parliament. It is with this object that I ask you to adopt the resolution before you. The first name in our resolution is the bright name of The Right Honourable Mr. John Bright. Now I do not certainly presume that I can say anything, or that our association can do anything that can in the least add to the high position Mr. Bright occupies. What I say, therefore, is not with any view that we give any support to him, but as an expression of our esteem and admiration, and of our gratitude for the warm and righteous interest he has evinced on our behalf. I would not certainly take up your time in telling you what he is and what he has done. His fame and name are familiar to the wide world. I may simply refer to a few matters concerning ourselves. Our great charter is the gracious Proclamation of the Queen. That proclamation is the very test by which we test friends or foes; and it is Mr. Bright who first proposed and urged the duty and necessity of issuing such a proclamation, at a time when the heads of many were bewildered and lost, in his ...ch ...he India Bill in 1858. I should not tarry long on the

for if I went on quoting from Mr. Bright's speeches, to show what he has done more than a quarter of a century ago, asking for us what we have been only latterly beginning to give utterance to, I might detain you for hours. I must, however, give you a few short extracts, showing both the earnestness and the intense sense of justice of the man. "The people of India," he said, "have the highest and strongest claims upon you—claims which you cannot forget—claims which if you do not act upon, you may rely upon it that, if there be a judgment for nations—as I believe there is, as for individuals—our children in no distant generation must pay the penalty which we have purchased by neglecting our duty to the populations of India." In his speech of 1853, on the occasion of the renewal of the E. I. Company's charter, referring to the miserable condition of the masses of India, he said:—"I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the government of that country." When, may I ask, will our rulers see this "fundamental error?" I have purposely confined myself to his older utterances so far, that we may fully appreciate the righteous advocacy at a time when our own voice was feeble and hardly heard at all. You will allow me to make one reference to his later words, and you will see how he is yet the same man and the same friend of India. In his "Public Letters," in a letter written by him last year to a gentleman at Calcutta, he says:—"It is to me a great mystery that England should be in the position she now is in relation to India. I hope it may be within the ordering of Providence that ultimately good may arise from it. I am convinced that this can only come from the most just Government which we are able to confer upon your countless millions, and it will always be a duty and a pleasure to me to help forward any measure that may tend to the well-being of your people." The Marquis of Hartington also occupies a position to which we can hardly add anything. But as we have during his State Secretaryship of India observed his disposition towards a due appreciation of and fulfilment of the noble principles of the proclamation, and his emphatic identifying himself with the righteous Ripon policy at a time of crucial trial—during the excitement of the Ilbert Bill—we cannot but take this opportunity of expressing our thanks and our confidence in him. To assure you the more fully of this duty upon us, you will permit me to read a few words on this very topic from his speech of 23rd August, 1883. After pointing

out the insufficiency of the administration, and the inability of India to afford more for it, he said :—"If the country is to be better governed, that can only be done by the employment of the best and most intelligent of the natives in the service. There is a further reason, in my opinion, why this policy should be adopted, and that is, that it is not wise to educate the people of India, to introduce among them, your civilization and your progress and your literature, and at the same time to tell them, they shall never have any chance of taking any part or share in the administration of the affairs of their country except by their getting rid, in the first instance, of their European rulers." I cannot refrain myself from expressing my deep regret that we are not able to include in our present list a name that stands pre-eminently high as one of our best friends—I mean Mr. Fawcett. But I trust you will allow me to give a few short extracts, as a warning and a voice from the grave, of one who had the welfare of the poor and dumb millions at heart. Though he is dead his spirit may guide our other friends, and our rulers. I give these extracts as specially bearing on the present disastrous move of imposing a permanent additional annual burden of some two to three crores of rupees upon us, and on the whole Indian problem. With reference to the Afghan policy he said in 1879:—"It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that in the existing financial condition of India, no peril can be more serious than the adoption of a policy, which, if it should lead to a large additional expenditure, would sooner or later necessitate an increase of taxation. . . The additional taxation which must be the inevitable accompaniment of increased expenditure will bring upon India the gravest perils." Again—"The question, however, as to the exact proportion in which the cost of pursuing a forward policy in Afghanistan should be borne by England and India respectively will have again to be considered anew, now that it has become necessary to renew hostilities in Afghanistan." These words apply with equal force to-day when we are threatened with a large unnecessary additional burden. On the subject of the whole Indian problem, he said:—"Although there is much in the present financial condition of India to cause the most serious apprehension, yet there is one circumstance connected with it which may fairly be regarded as a most hopeful omen for the future. Until quite lately, India was looked upon as an extremely wealthy country, and there was no project, however costly, that India was not supposed to be rich enough to pay for. Now, however, juster ideas of the resources of the country and of the condition of the people prevail. The recurrence of famines. . . . have at length led the

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Queen as irrevocable," and I believe he consistently carried out this principle when here with the princes of this Presidency. We cannot also forget that when acting upon his own instincts he did good in matters of education and social intercourse, and nominated to the Legislative Council our friends the Hon. Budroodeen and the Hon. Telang as representatives of the educated class, retaining also the Hon. Mundlik. You can easily conceive then my reluctance to speak against him, notwithstanding some mistakes and failures in his administration as Governor under official misguidance. But when I see that after his arrival in England he has made statements so incorrect and mischievous in results, in some matters most vital to India, it is incumbent upon us to say that he does not know the true state of India. Fancy, gentlemen, my regret and surprise when I read these words from the latest Governor of Bombay :—"At the present time her (India's) people were not heavily taxed, and it was a great mistake to suppose that they were." This is a matter of easy ascertainment, and the heaviness of taxation is repeated by *acknowledged eminent men. Here are a few figures which will* tell their own tale. The income of the United Kingdom may be roughly taken at £1,200,000,000 and its gross revenue about £87,000,000, giving a proportion of about 7½ per cent. of the income. Of British India the income is hardly £400,000,000 and its gross revenue about £70,000,000, giving 17½ per cent. of the income, and yet Sir James tells the English people that the people of India are not heavily taxed, though paying out of this wretched income, a gross revenue of more than double the proportion of what the people of the enormously rich England pay for their gross revenue. Contrast with Sir James's statement the picture which Mr. Fawcett gives in his paper in the *Nineteenth Century*, of October, 1879 :—"If a comparison is made between the financial resources of England and India, it will be found almost impossible to convey an adequate idea of the poverty of the latter country * * an consequently it is found that taxation in India has *reached almost its extreme limits*." Again he says : "It is particularly worthy of remark that the Viceroy and Secretary of State now unreservedly accept the conclusion that the *limit of taxation has been reached in India*, and that it has consequently become imperatively necessary that expenditure should be reduced." (The italics are mine.) Now, gentlemen, mark this particularly. When in 1879 the Conservative Viceroy and Secretary of State had, as Mr. Fawcett says, unreservedly accepted that the limit of taxation had been reached in India, the gross revenue was only £65,000,000, while the budgetted revenue of

the present year is already £72,000,000, and we are now threatened by the same Government with an addition of £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 more permanently. This is terrible. Change the entire system as Mr. Fawcett says, substitute far the present destructive foreign agency, the constructive and conservative native agency, except for the highest posts of power, and you can have a hundred millions or two hundred millions with ease for purposes of government or taxation. This is the difference between Fawcett and Fergusson. Both are gentlemen, but the former speaks from careful hard study, the latter without it. Mischievous as such statements generally are, they are still more so when delivered before a Manchester audience, who unfortunately yet do not understand their own true interests, and the interests of the English workmen. They do not understand yet that their greatest interest is in increasing the ability of the Indians to buy their manufactures. That if India were able to buy a pound worth of their cotton manufactures per head per annum, that would give them a trade of £250,000,000 a year instead of the present poor imports into India of £25,000,000 of cotton yarn and manufactures from all foreign countries of the world. Sir James, I think, has made another statement that all offices in India are occupied by the natives except the highest. I am not able to put my hand just now upon the place where I read it. But if my impression be correct, I would not waste words and your time to animadvert upon such an extraordinary incorrect statement, so utterly contrary to notorious facts. Why, it is the head and front, the very soul of all our evils and grievances that the statement is not the fact or reality as it ought to be. This is the very thing which will put an end to all our troubles, and remedy all our evils of poverty and otherwise. Let Sir James bring it about, and he will be our greatest benefactor and England's best friend. In concluding, I may lay down a test for our appeal to the electors, that whichever candidates are not in accord with the Royal Proclamation, and with the lines of the Ripon policy, they are those whom we ask to be not regarded as trustworthy and fair interpreters of our views and wishes. The resolution has Mr. Blunt's name in the first list and Mr. Aryton's in the second. This will show that we are not actuated by a spirit of partisanship. Whoever are our real friends, be they Liberal or Conservative, we call them our friends. Differences of opinion in some details will no doubt occur between us and our friends, but we are desirous to support them, because the broad and important lines of policy, which India needs, such as those of the Proclamation and the Ripon policy, and the broad and

of our true condition, are well understood and adopted by those friends for their guidance in their work for the welfare of India. (Applause.)

II.

THE ELECTION SPEECHES IN ENGLAND.*

(Before various meetings in support of his candidature as the Liberal candidate for the Holborn Division of Finsbury in the General Election of 1886.)

1

THE HON. DADABHAI NAOROJI'S GREAT SPEECH.†

(At a meeting of the Electors of the Holborn Division, held on the 27th June 1886, in the Town Hall, Holborn. Mr. W. Percy Bunting in the chair.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, (on rising to address the meeting, was received with prolonged cheering, the audience rising and waving hats and handkerchiefs,) said : I really do not know how I can thank you from the bottom of my heart, for the permission you have given me to stand before you as a candidate for your borough. I appreciate the honour most highly. I will not take up more of your time on this point, because you may believe me when I say that I thank you from the bottom

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† It was a very crowded meeting of the Electors of the Holborn Division, and on the crowded platform were Mr. Bryce, M. P., Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, Mr. B. Molloy, M. P., the Rev. Stewart Headlam, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Major Evans Bell, Mr. W. Martin Wood (late editor of the *Times of India*), and others. Letters from Lord Ripon, Mr. Charles Harrison, Mr. Samuel Smith, M. P., Professor Hunter, M. P., Lord Hobhouse, Mr. John Slagg, Mr. Chesson, Mr. Arnold Morley, M. P., and others, warmly approving of the candidature of Mr. Dadabhai, were read. Lord Ripon wrote :—"I have learnt with much pleasure that you contemplate offering yourself as a candidate for a seat in parliament at the approaching General Election. Your intimate acquaintance with the feelings and wishes of the people of India, particularly in the Bombay Presidency, would enable you to give very valuable assistance in the discussion of Indian questions in the House of Commons. Your experience in the Bombay Council would be useful to you, and I am quite sure that your election to parliament would give great satisfaction to your compatriots in India."

* At a fully attended Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Holborn Liberal Association, held on Friday, the 18th of June, 1886, it was unanimously resolved —"That this Meeting, having heard the political views of The Honorable Dadabhai Naoroji, earnestly commends him to the Electors of Holborn as a fit and proper person to represent the Liberals and Radicals of the Borough in Parliament."—THOS. JOHNSON, *Chairman*. HARRY T. EVE, *Hon. Sec.*

The following is Mr. Dadabhai's Manifesto to the Electors of the Holborn Division of Finsbury.

GENTLEMEN,

I am greatly honored by an invitation to contest your Borough as the Liberal Candidate.

To many of you I am a man of strange name and race. This fact must plead as my excuse for a few remarks about myself. I am an Indian subject of the

heart. It is really and truly so. (Cheers.) Standing as I do to represent the 250,000,000 of your fellow subjects in India, of e I know thoroughly well my duty; for if I am returned by you, rst duty will be to consnlt completely and fully the interest of my

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een. The best years of my life have been spent in mercantile pursuits in this ntry. With English life and English politics I am familiar; I have voted at itish Elections; I have worked for Liberal Candidates. Now, by your favour, nspire to a seat in the British Parliament.

In my own country I have been largely concerned with important affairs. I vas Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Baroda. I have done my share of munici-pal work in the Town Council and Municipality of Bombay. At this moment I am a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council. On the condition of my coun-try I have frequently written, having given special study to economic questions affecting my countrymen; I have not the less given my best attention and consi-deration to subjects gravely affecting the welfare of my English fellow subjects.

I am a Liberal in politics, prepared to support the great measures of Social Reform, including a change in the Land Laws affecting dwellers alike in town and country, which have been announced by the Great Leader of the Party.

Upon the momentous issue now before the Electors of Great Britain and Ireland, I am at one with Mr. Gladstone in his noble-hearted and heroic effort to satisfy the just aspirations of the Irish people to control their own affairs while yet remain-ing a part of the great British Empire. The Irish problem must be solved.

To my mind a measure of Irish Self-Government, embodying the principles of Mr. Gladstone's Manifesto to his Constituents, far from disintegrating the Empire, as some wrongly allege, is, in my humble opinion, calculated to produce a real and lasting union between Great Britain and Ireland in place of the sham, or worse than sham, union which at present exists. Further, I am of opinion that when Ireland gets her own Parliament, the material advancement of the Irish people will be ensured.

It is with especial pride and pleasure that I, an Indian, address a Metropolitan Constituency as a candidate for the suffrages of the Electors. I remember that it was a neighbouring Constituency to your own that elected my friend Henry Fawcett, when he was rejected by Brighton, and retained him as its repre-sentative until his lamented death.

I will not, here and now, set forth the features of Indian Reform which I hope to be privileged, by your kind favour, to advocate in the House of Commons. In due course I hope to take counsel with you on these matters.

I pray you, members of the race which rules India, to remember the conditio of that Empire, and to give me the opportunity of serving my countrymen i Parliament.

By favour of the Executive Committee of your Liberal Association, I have t opportunity of appealing to the Electors of your Borough, and I appeal to yo generous spirit, which is always prepared to do what is good and right, to g me your votes, enable me to enter Parliament, and there demonstrate the pres need of my country and countrymen for a consideration of Indian affairs from t standpoint. At the same time I need hardly add that I should give my best fullest attention to the interests of my constituents.

The time for fighting is short. I may not be able to see all the Electors b the day of polling; but by public meetings, and in other ways, I hope to b to make myself acquainted with you, and to lay my views in detail before yo

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

DADABHAI NAOR

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB,

June 19th, 1886.

The following was the result of the ballot:—Colonel F. Duncan

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (L) 1950.

constituents. I do not want at present to plead the cause of India. I am glad that that cause has been ably and eloquently pleaded by our worthy chairman, by Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, and by Mr. Bryce. But the time must come, if I am returned, to lay before you the condition of India—what little we want from you, and with little we are always satisfied. For the present, therefore, I would come to the burning question of the day—the Irish Home Rule. (Loud cheers.)

"CONSISTENT WITH JUSTICE."

The question now before you is whether Ireland shall have its Home Rule or not. ("Yes, yes.") The details are a different question altogether. I will therefore confine myself to those particular points which affect the principle of Home Rule. The first thing I will say is something about Mr. Gladstone himself. (Loud cheers.) Grand Old Man he is—(renewed cheers)—and not only all England, but all India says so. (Vociferous cheers.) He has been much twitted that he is inconsistent with himself—that he has said something some time ago and something different now. But those that can understand the man can understand how very often a great man may appear inconsistent when in reality he is consistent in the best and highest sense of the word. That is, he is consistent with truth, justice, right, and has the courage of his convictions. Mr. Gladstone thought something at one time, but as circumstances changed, and new light came, and new power was wielded by the Irish people, he saw that this change of circumstances required a reconsideration of the whole question. He came to the conclusion that the only remedy for this discord between two sisters was to let the younger sister have her own household. (Cheers.) When he saw that he had the courage of his conviction, the moral courage to come forward before the world and say, "I see that this is the remedy: let the English nation adopt it." And I have no doubt that they will adopt it.

"INCOMPATIBLE WITH TYRANNY."

I have lived in this country actually for twenty years, and my entire connection in business with England has been thirty years, and I say that if there is one thing more certain than another that I have learned, it is that the English nation is incompatible with tyranny. It will at times be proud and imperious, and will even carry a wrong to a long extent; but the time will come when it will be disgusted with its own tyranny and its own wrong. (Cheers.) When once an Englishman sees his mistake he has the moral courage to rectify it. (Cheers.) Mr.

Gladstone, then, has represented your highest and most generous instincts, and I have no doubt that the response from the country, sooner or later, must come to the height of his argument and of his sentiment. The greatest argument against Home Rule is that it will disintegrate the Empire. Now, it has been a surprise to me how this word Empire has been so extraordinarily used and abused.

The Nonsense of Disintegration.

What is the British Empire? Is it simply Great Britain and Ireland? Why it exists over the whole surface of the world—east, west, north, south—and the sun never sets upon it. Is that Empire to be broken down, even though Ireland be entirely separated? Do you mean to say that the British Empire hangs only upon the thread of the Irish will? (Laughter.) Has England conquered the British Empire simply because Ireland did it? What nonsense it is to say that such an Empire could be disintegrated, even if unhappily Ireland were separated! Do the colonies hold you in affection because Ireland is with you? Is the Indian Empire submissive to you because you depend upon Ireland? Such a thing would be the highest humiliation for the English people to say. (Cheers.) The next question is, Will Ireland separate? ("No") Well, we may say that because we wish it should not, but we must consider it carefully. Let us suppose that the Irish are something like human beings. (Laughter and cheers.) Let us suppose them to be guided by the ordinary motives of humanity. I put it to you fairly whether Ireland will separate or not. I say she will not.

Home Rule—Home Life.

What will Ireland be after it has thus Home Rule? It will simply have its own household, just as a son who has come of age wishes to have a home in which his wife may be supreme. Ireland simply asks its own household independence, and that does not in the least mean that the Empire is disadvantaged. The Imperial concern is in no way concerned in it. Just as, I and my partner being in business, I leave the management of the concern to him. I have confidence in him. I know he would not deprive me of a single farthing; but as a partner in the firm I am not compelled to live with him, nor to submit myself to him for food and clothing, and the necessaries of life. You do not mean to say that, because Ireland has a separate household, therefore she will also be separated from the Imperial firm, and that they would have no connection with each other? The British Empire [illegible] to be shared by them.

The Analogy of the Colonies.

Take the Colonies. They have their own self-government, as Ireland asks, but there the position of the colonies ends. Ireland, with this Parliament granted to it, will be in a far higher position than the colonies are. Ireland will be a part of the ruling power of the British Empire. She and England will be partners as rulers of the British Empire, which the colonies are not. And if the Irish separate, what are they? An insignificant country. If they should remain separate, and England and America, or England and France should go to war, they would be crushed. There is a saying among the Indians that when two Elephants fight the trees are uprooted. (Laughter.) What could Ireland do? It would not be her interest to sever herself from England, and to lose the honour of a share in the most glorious Empire that ever existed on the face of the earth. (Loud cheers.) Do you then for a moment suppose that Ireland will throw itself down from the high pedestal on which it at present stands? It supplies the British Empire with some of its best statesmen and warriors. (Cheers.) Is this the country so blind to its own interests that it will not understand that by leaving England it throws itself to the bottom of the sea? With England it is the ruler of mankind. I say therefore that Ireland will never separate from you. (Cheers.) Home Rule will bring peace and prosperity to them, and they will have a higher share in the British Empire. (Cheers.) Depend upon it, gentlemen, if I live ten years more—I hope I shall live—if this bill is passed, that every one of you, and every one of the present opponents of Home Rule, will congratulate himself that he did, or allowed to be done, this justice to Ireland. (Cheers.)

A People "Valiant, Generous, and Tender."

There is one more point which is important to be dealt with. I am only confining myself to the principle of Home Rule. Another objection taken to the Bill is that the Irish are a bad lot—(laughter)—that they are poor, wretched, ungrateful, and so forth. ("Who said so?") Some people say so. ("Salisbury," and cheers and hisses.) We shall see what one says whom you have entrusted with the rulership of two hundred and fifty millions of people—I allude to Lord Dufferin, himself an Irishman. (Cheers.) What does he say? How does he describe Ireland? I may shoot the two birds at once by referring to his description of the country as well as of the people. He says that Ireland is a lovely and fertile land, caressed by a clement atmosphere, held in the embrace of the sea, with a coast filled with the noblest harbours of the

world, and "inhabited by a race valiant, generous, and tender, gifted beyond measure with the power of physical endurance, and graced with the liveliest intelligence." It is not necessary for me to say any more about a people of that character. I think it is a slander on humanity and human nature to say that any people, and more especially the Irish, are not open to the feelings of gratitude, to the feelings of kindness. If there is anything for which the Irish are distinguished—I say this not merely from my study of your country, but from my experience of some Irish people—*that if ever I have found a warm-hearted* people in the world, I have found the Irish. (Loud cheers.)

A People "Accessible to Justice."

But I will bring before you the testimony of another great man, whom, though he is at present at variance with us on this question of a separate Parliament, we always respect. It is a name highly respected by the natives of India, and, I know, by the Liberals of this country. I mean John Bright. (Hisses and cheers.) What does he say? "If there be a *people on the face of the earth whose hearts are accessible to justice, it is* the Irish people." (Cheers.) Now, I am endeavouring to take all the important points brought forward against this Home Rule. Mr. Gladstone proposes that they should give a certain proportion of money to the Imperial Exchequer. Their opponents say, "Oh, they will promise all sorts of things." Now, I want this to be carefully considered. The basis of the most powerful of human motives is self-interest. It is to the interest of Ireland never to separate from England.

Not Tribute, but Partnership.

I will now show you that this, which is called a tribute and a degradation, is nothing of the kind. Ireland would feel it its duty to pay this It is not tribute in any sense of the word. Ireland is a partner in the Imperial firm. Ireland shares both the glory and the profit of the British rule. Its children will be employed as fully in the administration and the conduct of the Empire as any Englishman will be. Ireland, in giving only something like £1 in £15 to the Exchequer will more than amply benefit. It is a partnership, and they are bound to supply their capital just as much as the senior partner is bound to supply his. They will get the full benefit of it. Tribute is a thing for which you get no return in material benefit, and to call this tribute is an abuse of words. I have pointed out that those great bugbears, the separation, the tribute, and the bad character of the Irish are pure myths. The Irish are a people that are believed by many an Englishman to be as high in intellect and in

morality as any on the face of the earth. If they are bad now, it is your own doing. (Cheers.) You first debase them, and then give them a bad name, and then want to hang them. No, the time has come when you do understand the happy inspiration which Mr. Gladstone has conceived.

Home Rule—the Golden Rule.

You do know now that Ireland must be treated as you treat yourselves. You say that Irishmen must be under the same laws as Englishmen, and must have the same rights. Very good. The opponents say yes, and therefore they must submit to the laws which the British Parliament makes. I put to them one simple question. Will Englishmen for a single day submit to laws made for them by those who are not Englishmen? What is the proudest chapter in British history? That of the Stuarts. You did not tolerate the laws of your own Sovereign, because you thought they were not your laws. (Cheers.) You waged civil war, regardless of consequences, and fought and struggled till you established the principle that the English will be their own sovereign, and your own sons your own legislators and guides. You did not submit to a ruler, though he was your own countryman. Our opponents forget that they are not giving the same rights to the Irish people. They are oblivious of this right, and say Ireland must be governed by laws that we make for her. They do not understand that what is our own, however bad it is, is dearer to us than what is given to us by another, however high and good he may be. (Cheers.) No one race of people can ever legislate satisfactorily for another race. Then they object that the Saxon race is far superior to the Celtic, and that the Saxon must govern the whole, though in the next breath they admit that the one cannot understand the other. (Laughter.) A grand patriarch said to his people thousands of years ago, "Here is good, here is evil; make your choice: choose the good, and reject the evil." A grand patriarch of to-day—the Grand Old Man—(loud cheers)—tells you, "Here is the good, here is the evil; choose the good, reject the evil." And I do not say I hope and trust, but I am sure, that the English nation, sooner or later, will come to that conclusion—will choose the good, and will reject the evil.

A Word about India.

I only want now to say one word about my own country. (Loud cheers.) I feel that my task has been so much lessened by previous speakers, that I will not trouble you much upon this point. I appeal to you for the sake of the two hundred and fifty millions of India. I have

a right to do so, because I know that India regards me—at least, so is said—as a fair representative. I want to appeal to you in their nam that, whether you send me or another to Parliament, you at once mak up your minds that India ought to have some representation—(cheers —in your British Parliament. I cannot place my case better than in the words of an illustrious English lady, whose name for patriotism, philanthropy, and self-sacrifice is the highest amongst your race—Miss Florence Nightingale. (Loud cheers.) She writes to me in these words:—

MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE TO THE ELECTORS OF HOLBORN.

"London, June 23, 1886.—My dear Sir,—My warmest good wishes are yours in the approaching election for Holborn, and this not only for your sake, but yet more for that of India and of England, so important is it that the millions of India should in the British Parliament here be represented by one who, like yourself, has devoted his life to them in such a high fashion—to the difficult and delicate task of unravelling and explaining what stands at the bottom of India's poverty, what are India's rights, and what is the right for India: rights so compatible with, indeed so dependent on, loyalty to the British Crown; rights which we are all seeking after for those great multitudes, developing, not every day like foliage in May, but slowly and surely. The last five or eight years have made a difference in India's cultivated classes which has astonished statesmen—in education, the seeds of which were so sedulously sown by the British Government—in power, of returning to the management of their own local affairs, which they had from time immemorial; that is, in the powers and responsibilities of local self-government, their right use of which would be equally advantageous to the Government of India and to India (notwithstanding some blunders), and a noble because careful beginning has been made in giving them this power. Therefore do I hail you and yearn after your return to this Parliament, to continue the work you have so well begun in enlightening England and India on Indian affairs. I wish I could attend your first public meeting, to which you kindly invite me to-morrow; but alas for me, who for so many years have been unable from illness to do anything out of my rooms.—Your most ardent well-wisher, FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE." (Loud cheers.)

INDIA'S APPEAL.

Well, gentlemen, in the words of this illustrious lady, I appeal not to you, the constituents of Holborn, but to the whole English nation, on the behalf of 250 millions of your fellow su[illegible] sixth

applause.) That telegram had been despatched from India since it was known that Holborn had honoured him with their acceptance. This was not the time or the place for him to enter into the wants of India, which his countrymen were desirous he should represent in the House of Commons. This was the time to consider a far more immediately urgent question—the question of Home Rule for Ireland. (Cheers and applause.)

After dealing at length with the question, the speaker went on to say one word no behalf of his own country. Miss Nightingale had written him a letter in which she appealed to the English nation on behalf of India, and expressed her pleasure at the success of the meeting in the Holborn Town Hall, and her ardent hope that the electors of Holborn would return Mr. Naoroji to the House of Commons. Lord Ripon had also written him a letter since the meeting in the Town Hall, congratulating him on the success of that meeting, and expressing the hope that he would be returned; a fact which would give great joy to his compatriots in India. (Cheers and applause.) The speaker concluded by making an earnest appeal on behalf of the five millions in Ireland and 250,000,000 of India, and resumed his seat amid cheers.

3

THE HON. DADABHAI NAOROJI AT THE OLD FRIENDS' HALL.

(*Before a Meeting of the Electors of the Holborn Division in the Old Friends', St. Martin's Lane, on Tuesday night, 29th June 1886 Mr. J. P. Murrough in the chair.*)

The Hon. D. Naoroji, on rising, was received with rapturous applause. After some few preliminary remarks the speaker said, amid cheers, that England had shown herself to be the friend of struggling nationalities all over the world, and it was a great pity that when she came to Ireland she should stop there. He did not think, however, that England would stop at the case of Ireland, which had now spoken with a firm voice her demand for Home Rule. Much had been said that this question had not been formally brought before the country, but times and circumstances produced the man fit for the purpose. A great deal had been made of the heated expressions of the Irish members when the battle was raging. No doubt words had been uttered which in cooler moments would be heartily condemned, but when men were in the thick of the fight they did not care how or where they hit. (Cheers.) Now, however, in peaceful moments, a better tone and temper prevailed. It was an Irish poet who said that failure was rebellion, and ccess

patriotism. Well Mr. Gladstone had converted rebellion into patriotism, and the rebels of yesterday were the patriots of to-day. (Cheers and applause.) He had no doubt whatever in his mind, that the Irish people would justify the confidence of the Grand Old Man—(cheers)—and the English people at the present juncture would also, he believed, justify the confidence to be placed in them to return him to power to do this great act of justice for Ireland. (Loud cheers.) On the motion of Mr. Campbell, a vote of confidence in the Hon. D. Naoroji's candidature was unanimously passed. A vote of thanks to the chairman brought the proceedings to a close.

4

THE HON. DADABHAI NAOROJI AT THE PHŒNIX HALL.

(Before a crowded meeting of the Electors in the Phœnix Hall, Hatton Hall, on Wednesday night, 30th June 1886. Mr. T. Johnston in the chair.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was received with ringing cheers, thanked the electors for the kind reception they had accorded to him. He had come there from a distant land, which under the dispensation of Providence, was ruled by a race distinguished for its love of liberty and justice, and he appealed to that race that they should grant that liberty and justice to India which they so highly esteemed themselves. He had received a telegram stating that on the previous day a meeting had been held in Bombay, thanking Holborn and Deptford for having chosen as Liberal candidates Mr. Lalmohun Ghose and the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji. It was also stated that meetings were being held throughout the length and breadth of the Bombay Presidency, in which the most lively interest was exhibited in the elections for these two constituencies. He could assure them that it was not for the simple ambition of placing the letters M.P. after his name that he sought their suffrages, but because he wished to continue a worker in the good cause. If he were honoured with their representation, he could assure them he would do justice to their choice. (Hear, hear and applause.) During his whole life he had always made it a point to work for the amelioration of the poor, distressed and ignorant, and he hoped to pursue that course to the end of his days. He would consider it to be the crowning work of his life to get into the British Parliament to endeavour to serve 250,000,000 of his countrymen, and of their fellow subjects in India. After stating his opinion of the Irish question, the speaker said it would be for the people of England to choose the good and reject the evil. (Hear, hear.) The good was to do justice to Ireland, and by doing that they would be rejecting the evil. (Loud and prolonged cheers and applause.)

THE HON. DADABHAI NAOROJI AT THE TOWN HALL.

(Before a crowded meeting of the Electors on Friday, July 2nd, 1886, in the Town Hall, Holborn. Mr. Eve, B. L., in the chair. This meeting was a most enthusiastic one.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, (who was received with loud and prolonged cheers and applause, which lasted for several minutes), said:—He had had before the honour of addressing them in that hall. He referred to the object of his standing before them, viz., to ask for justice for India; and he was not going to dwell longer on the point, except to read to them the substance of three telegrams he had received from that country. The National Telegraphic Union, which represented all parts of India, had sent a telegram to Holborn and Deptford to assist Lalmohun Ghose and himself in getting seats in Parliament, and also thanked them for accepting their candidature. On the subject of Home Rule he had already addressed to them certain arguments, but he would now take up the thread of those arguments, and answer certain objections. He would not enter into details, for the simple reason that the principle of a measure should be first agreed upon, and if they agreed in adopting the principle it was time enough to discuss the details, but if the principle was not agreed upon, it would be simple waste of time discussing the details. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He had, therefore, dwelt upon the consistency of the moral courage of Mr. Gladstone in acceding to the demands of the expressed wish of the Irish people. In sending his message of peace to Ireland, amid the turmoil by which he was surrounded, he had kept his temper and pursued the even tenor of his way, confident in the strength and of the righteousness of his cause. He did his utmost to meet the views of his party, which proved how great and good a man he was. There were persons who called themselves Unionists, but really it was the Gladstonians who were the Unionists, and the opposition was the sham Unionists, because the Union they were defending was a sham union, and not one of hearts and affections. (Cheers and applause.) They could not say there had een a real union during the past eighty-six years, or that it had produced any good result. (Hear, hear, and applause.) The union between the two countries had really been brought about by the basest corruption; in fact, so mean were the ways by which it was brought ut, that Lord Cornwallis was so utterly disgusted that he said, "Would od that I had never put my hand in this dirty business." (Applause.) re they afraid that Empire would be broken up simply ... had a Home Rule Government? In India there

native states which possessed Home Rule, the only connection that they had with the British rule being that they paid a small tribute to the British authorities. These native states proved a strength to the British Empire, for in 1857, at the time of the Indian Mutiny, these states formed contingents to restore peace to the country; and again, at the scare of Russian invasion, these states, thoroughly independent, came forward ready to assist the British forces in repelling that invasion. A great deal was said about the exclusion of the Irish members, and that taxation should not go without representation; but if the Irish people, whose right it was to be represented in the Imperial Parliament of their own free will, wished to forego that chance, why should others complain? (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Speaking of the opposition to the measure expressed by certain persons in Ireland, the Speaker said that all classes, after the passing of the Bill, ought to unite in doing the best they could for their country; and the gentlemen who had spoken on behalf of the Protestant Home Rule Association had shown there was no danger whatever in their minds on the score of persecution of the minority. He had not the least doubt in his mind, although in the present excitement opposition of this kind might be raised by those who enjoyed certain privileges, still the time must come when these very gentlemen would be foremost in taking advantage of the privileges conferred upon Ireland, and would be glad that they had been conferred upon her. He had not the least fear that any one in Ireland would have reason to complain of the effect of opening a new Parliament there. (Hear, hear.) At one time Home Rule was synonymous with rebellion, but the Irish leaders had managed their affairs in such a way that it was now synonymous with patriotism. The time had come when the greatest statesman of the age held out the hand of fellowship to them, gave them a message of peace, and they thankfully accepted the offer made to them and said now will begin the regeneration of the country. They showed that if they knew how to fight they also knew how to make peace. Having shown this capacity on their part, they might rely upon it they would justify the confidence which Mr. Gladstone was willing to put in them. Much was said about the curtailment of the powers of the Imperial Parliament. Mr. Bright said that any laws which Parliament passed they could also repeal. Some said if the Irish had a Parliament they would enact laws which would be oppressive and contrary to the wishes of the English people, and which would end in civil war. Suppose the Irish were so foolish to do such a thing, as Englishmen, had they never known what civil war was—they who

refused to take the laws from their own sovereign, and said they woul
have them, as they were not made by the people themselves.
should not forget that love created love, confidence produced confide
thistles produced thistles, and evil was never productive of good exc
Providence turned it in some way or other. They had had no c
fidence in the Irish. Lord Salisbury, in speaking before the Worsh
ful Company of Grocers, said, "In respect to institutions and propert
we have again and again the fact forced upon us that confidence wi
create far greater riches than by confiscation can ever be gained.
you destroy confidence, no confiscation will repay you." He would only
ask the same thing from Lord Salisbury. Let them have confidence in
the Irish, and the Irish would rise and prosper. One of the great
arguments used against the Irish was the outrages and murders and assas-
sinations that took place there. But did they suppose that a nation
who, in physical endurance, was as good as any on the face of the earth,
and whose mental calibre distinguished them amongst men, did they
think they would take a blow without giving another. It was absurd
to expect such a thing. He did not want for a moment to justify the
outrages or any violence that might have taken place in Ireland, but he
would say in the nature of things, they could not expect any other
result. Those who opposed the measure because there were outrages
committed in Ireland, were using that as a shift, because they had no
other argument. See what Mr. Bright says:—"The first thing that
ever called my attention to the state of Ireland was the reading an
account of one of these outrages. I thought of it for a moment, but
the truth struck me at once, and all I have ever seen since confirms it,
when law refuses its duty, when Government denies the right of the
people . . . those people are driven back from law and from the
ways of civilization to that which is termed the law of nature, and if
not the strongest, the law of the vindictive." After referring to the
decision of the population in Ireland, he said he hoped that the measure
would be accepted with gratitude, and that it would be given not only
s a matter of justice, but of reparation of the past. By giving this boon
Ireland, England would add to its history a brighter chapter than any
at present contained. Their greatest man had been inspired to do
at act. Let them feel that inspiration and help him in the struggles
ich he was now undergoing, carrying him on their shoulders to
ory, and not only would they earn the blessing of five millions of
hmen, but they would also earn the blessing of fifty times five
ions of the inhabitants of India.* (Cheers.)

r the above meeting the following resolution was passed—"That this meeting
lborn electors having heard the expression of the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji's
al opinions, cordially accepts him as the Liberal candidate for this boro
edges itself to use every legitimate effort to secure his return.'

6

GREAT RECEPTION MEETING IN BOMBAY.

(Before the public meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay called by the Bombay Presidency Association at the Framjee Cowasjee Institute on Sunday, the 13th February 1887, to pass a vote of thanks to the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose for their exertions on behalf of India at the Parliamentary elections of 1886 in England. Mr. (now Sir) Dinshaw M. Petit in the chair.)

The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (amidst long and immense cheering), said :—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel extremely obliged by the very kind reception you have given to my friend Mr. Ghose and myself, and for the confidence you have reposed in us. Such hearty acknowledgments of my humble services and of my friend's arduous exertion cannot but encourage us largely in our future work. (Cheers.) As natives of India, we are bound to do whatever lies within our power and opportunities. In undertaking the work of trying to get a seat in Parliament, the first question that naturally arose was whether it would be of any good to India and whether an Indian member would be listened to. The first thing, therefore, I did on arriving in England was to consult many English friends, several of whom are eminent statesmen of the day and members of Parliament. I was almost universally advised that I should not hesitate to try to carry out my intentions, that it was extremely desirable that there should be at least one or two Indians in Parliament to enable members to learn the native view of questions from natives themselves. (Cheers.) That if I could by any possibility work way into the House, I would certainly be doing a great service not only to India, but to a large extent to England also. (Cheers.) Several fundamental important questions of policy can be fought out and decided in Parliament alone as they depend upon Acts of Parliament, and Parliament is the ultimate appeal in every important question in which Government and the native public may differ. To get direct representation from India was not at present possible. An indirect representation through the liberality and aid of some British constituency was the only door open to us. I undertook to contest Holborn under many disadvantages. I was just occupied in making acquaintances and feeling my way. I had no time to find out and make the acquaintance of any constituency ; I was quite unknown to the political world, when of a sudden the resolution came on upon me. The Liberal leaders very properly advised me that I should not lose this opportunity of contesting some seat, no matter however a forlorn hope it might be, as the best means of making myself known

to the English constituencies, and of securing a better chance and choice for the next opportunity. That I could not expect to get in at a rush, which even an Englishman was rarely able to do except under particularly favourable circumstances. I took the advice and selected Holborn out of three offers I have received. I thus not only got experience of an English contest, but it also satisfied me as to what prospects an Indian had of receiving fair and even generous treatment at the hands of English electors. The elections clearly showed me that a suitable Indian candidate has as good a chance as any Englishman, or even some advantage over an Englishman, for there is a general and genuine desire among English electors to give to India any help in their power. (Cheers.) I had only nine days of work from my first meeting at the Holborn Town Hall, and sometimes I had to attend two or three meetings on the same day. The meetings were as enthusiastic and cordial in reception as one's heart could desire. Now the incident I refer to is this. Of canvassing I was able to do but very little. Some liberal electors, who were opposed to Irish Home rule, intended to vote for the conservative candidate, but to evince their sympathy with India, they promised me to abstain from voting altogether. Unknown as I was to the Holborn electors, the exceedingly enthusiastic and generous treatment they gave me, and that nearly two thousand of them recorded their votes in my favour, must be quite enough to satisfy any that the English public desire to help us to have our own voice in the House of Commons (Cheers.) Letters and personal congratulations I received from many for what they called my "plucky contest." Lord Ripon —(cheers)—wrote to me not to be discouraged, as my want of success was shared by so many other liberals as to deprive it of personal character; that it was the circumstances of the moment, as it turned out, that worked specially against me, and he trusted I would be successful on a future occasion. Now it was quite true that owing to the deep split among the liberals in the home rule question, it was estimated by some that I had lost nearly a thousand votes by the abstention of liberal voters. In short, with my whole experience at Holborn, of both the manner and events of the contest, I am more than ever confirmed in my opinion that India may fairly expect from the English public just and generous treatment. (Cheers). I have no doubt that my friend Mr. Ghose—(cheers)—with his larger electioneering experience of two arduous contests, will be able to tell you of [illegible] on and future hopefulness. There is one great a[illegible] their contests, which in itself is an ample [illegible]

I mean the increasing and earnest interest that has been aroused in the English public about Indian matters. From everywhere you begin to receive expressions of desire to know the truth about India, and invitations come to you to address on Indian subjects. The moral effect of these contests is important and invaluable. (Hear, hear.) A letter I received from an English friend on the eve of my departure for India this time fairly represents the general English feeling I have met with. Nothing would give him, he says, greater satisfaction than to see me sitting in the House of Commons—(cheers)—where I would arouse in the English representatives a keen sense of England's responsibilities, and show them how to fulfil them. (Cheers.) For the sake of England and of India alike, he earnestly hoped that I might be a pioneer of this sacred work. My presence in the House of Commons was to his mind more important than that of any Englishman whom he knew—(cheers)—though that seemed saying a good deal. With these few remarks I once more return to you my most hearty thanks for the reception you have given us, and it would be an important credential as well as an encouragement in our further efforts. (Loud cheers.)

III.

1

THE FIRST INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(Held in the Gokuldass Tejpal Sanscrit School, Gowallia Tank, Bombay).

First Day's Proceedings (28th December 1885*).*

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said :—I had no thought of speaking on this resolution,* but I see I must say something. There is a notion running under some remarks, that if a Conservative Government appoints a Committee, it will not be a good one. I do not think there is any good reason for that assumption. The Conservatives are not so bad as that they will never do a good thing, nor are the Liberals so good that they never did a bad thing. In fact we owe good to both, and we have nothing to do with them yet as parties. We are thankful to either party that does us good. The Proclamation is the gift of a Conservative

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* *Resolution.*—That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised inquiry into the working of the Indian Administration here and in England should be intrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and in England.

Government. I have some experience of a Parliamentary Committee
that Committee, a Liberal one; and yet under the Chairmanship o
gentleman like Mr. Ayrton, you cannot be sure of a fair hearing.
the other hand, a fair minded Chairman and similar members, be the
Conservatives or Liberals, would make a good Committee, and give
fair inquiry. Much depends upon the Secretary of State for India.
he is a fair minded person and not biassed in any particular way, you
will have a fair Committee. If we are asking for a Parliamentary
Committee, we need not be afraid of asking one from a Conservative
Government. A Secretary of State like Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord
Iddesleigh) will give a fair one, and we should not assume that the
present Secretary will not give a good one. We should only desire
that Anglo-Indians may not be put in it, or only a few such in whom
Natives have confidence. In such an inquiry Anglo-Indian officials are
on their trial, and they should not be allowed to sit in judgment upon
themselves.

From the remarks already made, there appears to be an undecidedness,
whether to ask for a Committee, or for a Royal Commission. And there
seems also a notion underneath, that if we were not satisfied with the
one we could ask for the other. Now we must bear in mind that it is
not an easy thing to get a Parliamentary Committee or a Royal Com-
mission, and that you cannot have either whenever you like. Do not
suppose that if we have a Committee or a Commission and if we say
we are dissatisfied with its results, we would at once get another for the
asking. We must make up our minds definitively as to what we want
and what would be the best thing for us. You should not leave it open
whether there should be a Committee or Commission. Whichever you
want, say it out once for all. In dealing with Englishmen, make up
our minds deliberately, speak clearly, and work perseveringly. Then
nd then only can you hope to be listened to, and get your wishes.
ou must not show that you do not know your own mind. Therefore,
ow your own mind, and say clearly whether you desire a Parliamentary
mmittee, or a Royal Commission. It is evidently the desire here,
t a full and impartial enquiry by fair and high minded English states-
with an adequate number of Natives on the enquiring body, should
arried on in India itself. If so, then we must remember that a
iamentary Committee can consist only of members of Parliament,
can sit in the Parliament House only. For our purpose to lay
he actual conditions of India, an inquiry *in* India, in all depart-
and in the whole condition of India—material and moral—is

absolutely necessary. No enquiry in England, and that with the evidence of Anglo-Indians chiefly—who themselves are on trial, and who would not naturally condemn their own doings and work—can ever bring out the truth about India's true condition and wants, and necessary reforms. We, then irresistibly come to one conclusion, that an enquiry in India itself is absolutely necessary, and that such an enquiry can be conducted by a Royal Commission. Only let us clearly say our mind that we ask for a Royal Commission. Do not let there be any doubt about what we do really want. If I am right in interpreting your desire, then I say let there be no vague general resolution, but say clearly and distinctly that we require a Royal Commission.

Second Day's Proceedings (29th December 1885).

The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay), in supporting the resolution,* said :—I am glad my friends, the Hon'ble Mr. Telang and the Hon'ble Mr. S. Iyer, have relieved me of much trouble, as they have anticipated a deal of what I had to say, which I need not repeat.

We asked for representation in the Legislative Councils of India. It is not for us to teach the English people how necessary representation is for good government. We have learnt the lesson from them, and knowing from them how great a blessing it is to those nations who enjoy it, and how utterly un-English it is for the English nation to withhold it from us, we can, with confidence and trust, ask them to give us this. I do not want to complain of the past. It is past and gone. It cannot be said now that the time is not come to give us representation. Thanks to our rulers themselves, we have now sufficiently advanced to know the value of representation and to understand the necessity that representation must go with taxation, that the taxed must have a voice in the taxation that is imposed on them. We are British subjects, and I say we can demand what we are entitled to and expect still at British hands as their greatest and most noble institution and heritage. It is our inheritance also and we should not be kept out of it.

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* *Resolution.*—That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Legislative Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the North West Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) essential ; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration ; and that a standing committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities."

Why, if we are to be denied Britain's best institutions, what good is it to India to be under the British sway? It will be simply another Asiatic despotism. What makes us proud to be British subjects, what attaches us to this foreign rule with deeper loyalty than even our own past Native rule, is the fact that Britain is the parent of free and representative government, and, that we, as her subjects and children, are entitled to inherit the great blessing of freedom and representation. We claim the inheritance. If not, we are not the British subjects which the Proclamation proclaims us to be—equal in rights and privileges with the rest of Her Majesty's subjects. We are only British drudges or slaves. Let us persevere. Britain would never *be* a slave and could not, in her very nature and instinct, *make* a slave. Her greatest glory is freedom and representation, and, as her subjects, we shall have these blessed gifts.

Coming to the immediate and practical part of our demand, I may say that it will be to Government itself a great advantage and relief—advantage, inasmuch as it will have the help of those who know the true wants of the Natives, and in whom the Natives have confidence, and relief so far that the responsibility of legislation will not be upon the head of Government only, but upon that of the representatives of the people also. And the people will have to blame themselves if they fail to send the right sort of men to represent themselves. I think Government has now reason rather to thank than repel us for demanding this boon which, if granted, will, on the one hand, make government easier and more effective, and, on the other, attach the people to British rule more deeply than before.

Our first reform should be to have the power to tax ourselves. With that and another reform for which I shall move hereafter, India will advance in material and moral prosperity, and bless and benefit England. The proposal about the right of interpellation is very important,—as important and useful to Government itself as to the people. The very fact that questions will be put in the Council, will prevent in a measure that evil which at present is beyond Government's reach to redress. Government will be relieved of the odium and inconvenience which it at present suffers from misunderstanding and want of opportunities of giving explanation. The British Parliament and public, and the British Government in all its departments, benefit largely by this power of putting questions in Parliament and the same will be the result here. There will be, cir stances of India, one essential difference between the

and the Indian Legislative Councils. In Parliament, the Government, if defeated, resigns, and the Opposition comes into power. That cannot be done in India. Whether defeated or not, Government will remain in power. Moreover, the Secretary of State for India will have the power to veto, and no harm can happen. If the Government, either Provincial or Supreme, disregard the vote against it, and if the Secretary of State support the disregarding Government, there will be, as a last remedy, the Standing Committee of Parliament as the ultimate appellate body to decide on the point of disagreement; and thus Parliament will truly, and not merely nominally as at present, become the *final* controlling authority.

We are British subjects and subjects of the same gracious sovereign who has pledged her royal word that we are to her as all her other subjects, and we have a right to all British institutions. If we are true to ourselves, and perseveringly ask what we desire, the British people are the very people on earth who will give what is right and just. From what has already been done in the past we have ample reason to indulge in this belief. Let us for the future equally rely on that character and instinct of the British. *They* have taught us our wants and they will supply them.

After some discussion, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said:—Before the Hon'ble Mr. Telang replies, I may ask to be allowed to say a few words. I may just explain what an important thing this Standing Committee will be. During the East India Company's time, Parliament was entirely independent of it. Parliament was then truly an effective appellate body. It took up Indian questions quite freely and judged fairly, without the circumstance of parties ever interfering with its deliberations. If there was a complaint against the Company, Parliament was free to sit in judgment on it. What is the position since the transfer of the government to the Crown? The Secretary of State for India is the Parliament. Every question in which he is concerned becomes a Cabinet question. His majority is at his back. This majority has no concern in Indian matters further than to back the Government, *i.e.* the Secretary of State for India. All appeals, therefore, to Parliament against the Secretary of State become a mere farce. M. P.s are utterly discouraged from their inability to do any thing. And the Secretary of State becomes the true Great Mogul of India—a despotic monarch. His will is his law. Nor can the people of India influence him, as their voice is not represented in Parliament. Thus, that tribunal can scarcely exercise any effectual check over his despotism. The present legislative

machinery, from the Local Councils upwards, is simply a de
legalise despotism and give it the false mask of constitutionalism.
tax-payers have no voice in the imposition of the taxes they pay
Parliament has not the ability to prevent the levy of unfair or oppre
taxation. The ultimate controlling authority seems helpless to co
anything! Now if we have complete representative legislation h
and if we have a Standing Committee in Parliament, we shall have b
the voice of the taxed on the one side and effectual control of Par
ment on the other. Such a Standing Committee will naturally be
dependent of all parties. Its decision will be no defeat of Governmen
It will be simply a final decision on the point of difference that ma
have arisen between the representatives of the people in India on th
one hand, and the Government on the other, on any particular question
India will thus have an effectual parliamentary control.

It is said we should propose something as a substitute for the present India Office Council. The resolution now before the Congress makes this unnecessary. The Council, when it was established, was considered to be protective of Indian interests. It has not proved so. When it suits the Secretary of State, he screens himself behind that Council. When it does not suit him, he flings the Council aside. We have no means of knowing what good at all is done by the Council. Its irresponsibility and its secrecy are fatal objections to its continuance. Such a thing in the government of an empire of 200 millions of people and under the British is an utter and an inexplicable anachronism. Moreover, the majority of the Council consists of Anglo-Indians. These, sitting in judgment on their own handiwork, naturally regard it as perfect. Having left India years ago, they fail to realise the rapid changes that are taking place here in our circumstances, lose touch with us and offer resistance to all progress. Times are now changed. The natives, I may say, have come of age. They can represent directly their wishes and views to the Government here, and to the Secretary of State. They do not require the aid of this Council at the India Office for their so-called representation or protection.

I may here remark, that the chief work of this the first National
Congress of India is to enunciate clearly and boldly our highest and
ltimate wishes. Whether we get them or not immediately, let our
lers know what our highest aspirations are. And if we are true to
rselves, the work of each delegate present here will be to make
rt of India where he happens to devote itself earnestly
out the objects resolved upon at this Congress with

tion. If, then, we lay down clearly that we desire to have the actual government of India transferred from England to India under the simple controlling power of the Secretary of State, and of Parliament, through its Standing Committee, and that we further desire that all taxation and legislation shall be imposed here by representative Councils, we say what we are aiming at. And that under such an arrangement on Council advise to the Secretary of State is necessary. Neither is a Council needed to attend to the appellate executive work. There is a permanent Under-Secretary of State who will be able to keep up continuity of knowledge and transact all current business. There are, besides, Secretaries at the head of the different departments as experts. I do not deny that at times the India Office Council has done good service. But this was owing to the personality and sympathy of individual men like Sir E. Perry. The constitution of the body as a body is objectionable and anomalous. When the whole power of imposing taxation and legislation is transferred here, the work of the Secretary of State will be largely diminished. It will only be confined to general supervision of important matters. Whatever comes before him for disposal will be set forth by the Government from here fully and fairly in all its bearings. No Council will be needed to aid him in forming his judgment. Thus no substitute is required for the India Office Council. It is enough for us to formulate the scheme, now submitted for your consideration, as one which India needs and desires, viz., representative Legislative Councils in India, with full financial control and interpellatory powers. And we shall not need to trouble much the authorities in England.

Third Day's Proceedings (30th December 1885).

The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji, in moving the fourth Resolution,* said :—The Resolution which I am proposing does not in any way involve the question whether the distinction between the covenanted and uncovenanted services should be abolished or not. That is a separate question

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* "That in the opinion of this Congress the competitive examinations now held in England, for first appointments in various Civil departments of the public service, should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, 'be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit,' and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years."

altogether, and in fact, if my resolution is adopted that question will become unnecessary or very subordinate. The resolution which I propose to you is of the utmost possible importance to India. It is the most important key to our material and moral advancement. All our other political reforms will benefit us but very little indeed if this reform of all reforms is not made. It is the question of poverty or prosperity. It is the question of life and death to India. It is the question of questions. Fortunately, it is not necessary for me on this occasion to go into all its merits, as I hope you are all already well aware of my views and their reasons, or it would have been very difficult for me to lay before you all I should have had to say without speaking for hours. There is an additional good fortune for me that what I want to propose was already proposed a quarter of a century ago by no less an authority than a Committee of the India Office itself. The report of this Committee gives the whole matter in a nutshell from the point of view of justice, right, expediency and honest fulfilment of promises. And the reasons given by it for the covenanted civil service apply equally to all the other services in the civil department. I do not refer to the military service in this resolution, as that is a matter requiring special consideration and treatment. To make my remarks as brief as possible, as we are much pressed for time, I shall first at once read to you the extract from the report of the Committee consisting of Sir J. P. Willoughby, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Macnaughten, and Sir Erskine Perry. The report, dated 20th January 1860, says :—

"2. We are, in the first place, unanimously of opinion that it is not only just but expedient that the Natives of India shall be employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible, consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy, and have considered whether any increased facilities can be given in this direction.

"3. It is true that, even at present, no positive disqualification exists. By Act 3 and 4, Wm. 4, C. 85, S. 87, it is enacted "that no Native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company." It is obvious therefore that when the competitive system was adopted it could not have been intended to exclude Natives of India from the Civil Service of India. . .

"4. Practically, however, they are excluded. The law ... res them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a Nati

residing in England for a time, are so great, that as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a Native successfully to compete at the periodical examination held in England. Were this inequality removed, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.

"5. Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by Natives and by other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty's residents in India. The second is, to hold simultaneously two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme, as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object."

Now according to strict right and justice the examination for services in India ought to take place in India alone. The people of Australia, Canada and the Cape do not go to England for their services. Why should Indians be compelled to go to England to compete for the services, unless it be England's despotic will. But I am content to propose the resolution according to the views of the Committee for simultaneous examinations, both in England and India, and the reasons that apply to the Civil Service apply equally well to the other services in the Civil Department, viz., Engineering, Medical, Telegraph, Forest, and so on.

I may here remind you that in addition to the Act of 1833 referred to by the Committee, we have the solemn promises contained in the Proclamation of our gracious Sovereign. The fact is told to us in unmistakable language:—"We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." And then they declared her gracious promise specifically on this very part of the services:—"And it is our further will that, so far as may be our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge." This gracious proclamation and the promises contained therein were made known in 1858. And the India Office Committee showed, in 1860, in what way these promises could be fulfilled, so as to relieve the English nation from "the

charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." the Act of Parliament of 1833, the solemn promises of 1858, of Sovereign before God and man, and the declaration by the India C of the mode of fulfilling those promises in 1860, it is hardly neces for me to say more. Our case for the resolution proposed by me complete. As a matter of justice, solemn promises and even expedien I would have ended my speech here, but my object in proposing t resolution rests upon a far higher and a most important consideratio The question of the extreme poverty of India is now no more a controve sial point. Viceroys and Finance Ministers have admitted it. The la official declaration by Sir E. Baring is complete and unequivocal. I his budget speech of 18th March 1882 he said :—"It has been calculat- ed that the average income per head of population in India is not more than Rs. 27 a year; and though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it is sufficiently accu- rate to justify the conclusion that the taxpaying community is exceedingly poor. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a popula- tion as this is obviously impossible, and, if it were possible, would be unjustifiable." Again, in the discussion on the budget, after repeating the above statement regarding the income of Rs. 27 per head per annum, he said :—"But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the extreme poverty of the mass of the people. In England the average income per head of population was £33 per head; in France it was £23, in Turkey, which was the poorest country in Europe, it was £4 per head. He would ask Honorable members to think what Rs. 27 per annum was to support a person, and then he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people." With this emphatic and clear opinion before you, I need not say more. The question is what is the cause of this poverty? I have shown in my papers on the poverty of India, and in my correspond... c with the Secretary of State for India, that th... poverty and wretched... ment of foreign a... material loss to ... not already seen ... ...s to read them, ...quest those who have for me to go through the whole argument here. It will be, therefore, now clear to you that the employment of Native agency is not merely matter of justice and expediency, according to the views of the India Office Committee, but a most absolute necessity for the poor, suffering, ...d-starving millions of India. It is a question of life and death to the ...untry. The present English rule is no doubt ... blessing

India has ever had, but this *one evil* of it nullifies completely all the good it has achieved. Remove but this one evil, and India will be blessed in every way and will be a blessing to England also in every way. The commerce between England and India will increase so that England will then be able to benefit herself ten times more by India's prosperity than what she does now. There will be none of the constant struggle that is at present to be witnessed between the rulers and the ruled—the one screwing out more and more taxes, like squeezing a squeezed orange—inflicting suffering and distress, and the other always crying itself hoarse about its inability to provide them owing to extreme poverty. By the removal of the evil—India will be able not merely to supply a revenue of £70,000,000, but £170,000,000, with ease and comfort. England takes over 50 shillings a head for her revenue, why may not India under the same rule be able to take even 20 a head? Indians would easily pay £200,000,000. I should stop now. I hope you will see that this resolution is of the greatest possible importance to India, and I implore every one of you present here to-day to strain every nerve and work perseveringly in your respective localities to attain this object. With regard to the second part of the resolution, the uncovenanted services, the same reasoning and necessity apply. A fair system of competition, testing all necessary qualifications—mental, moral and physical—will be the most suitable mode of supplying the services with the best and most eligible servants, and relieve Government of all the pressure of back door and private influences, and jobbery.

The subject of the age of candidates for the Civil Service examination needs no lengthened remarks from me. It has been only lately threshed out, and it has been established beyond all doubt that the higher age will give you a superior class of men, whether English or Native. I conclude, therefore, with the earnest exhortation that you will all apply yourselves vigorously to free poor India from the great evil of the drain on her resources.

If the British will once understand our true condition, their conscientious desire to rule India for India's and humanity's good, will never allow the evil to continue any longer. Lastly, I hope and trust that our rulers will receive our representations in their proper spirit. We sincerely believe that the good we propose for ourselves is also a good for them. Whatever good they will do to us cannot but in the very nature of things be good to them also. The better we are in material and moral prosperity, the more grateful, attached and loyal we shall be; the worse we are, the less our gratitude and loyalty shall naturally be. The

more prosperous we are, the larger shall be their custom; the worse we are, the condition will be the reverse. The question of our prosperity is as much the question of the prosperity of England and her working man. England's trade would be enriched by £250,000,000, if with our prosperity each unit of the Indian population is ever able to buy from England goods worth only £1 per annum. What is wanted is the fructification in our own pocket of our annual produce. I repeat that it is my hope and trust that our rulers may receive our prayers in their right spirit and do us all the good in their power, for it will redound to their good name, honour and everlasting glory. Let us have the Royal Proclamation fulfilled in its true spirit and integrity, and both England and India will be benefitted and blessed.

With these observations I beg to propose the Fourth Resolution.

The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji, in reply to the discussion, said:—I am glad I have not much to reply to. The appreciation of the importance of the resolution is clear. My remarks will be more as explanations of a few matters. I had much to do with the passing of the clause for granting to us the Statutory Civil Service. It is an important concession, and we have to be very grateful for it. I need not here go into its history. The statesmen in England who gave us this were sincere and explicit in the matter. Whatever complaint we have, it is with the authorities here. First of all, after the clause was passed, the Government of India entirely ignored it and did nothing to give it effect for 6 years! It was only when pressure was applied to it from England, into the details of which this is not the time or place for me to enter, that the necessary rules were at last prepared and published. These rules have been so drafted that they may be carried out in a way to bring discredit on the Service. And whether this is done intentionally or not, whether the subsequent objectionable action upon it was also intentional or not, I cannot say. But the most important element in the carrying out of this clause was partially or wholly ignored, and that has been the real cause of its so-called failure,—I mean educational competence, ascertained either by suitable competition, or proved ability, was an absolutely indispensable condition for admitting candidates to this Service. It is just this essential condition that has been several times ignored or forgotten. Let therefore your efforts be devoted strenuously, not against the clause itself, but against the objectionable mode in which the nominations are made. The Bengal Government has moved in a satisfactory direction, and its example should be followed by all the Governments. It will be the height of folly on our part [illegible] for t[illegible]ion of

this Statutory Civil Service—excepting only when simultaneous examinations are held in England and India giving a fair field to all, as proposed in the present resolution. In this fair competition, Eurasians, or domiciled Englishmen, in fact all subjects of Her Imperial Majesty, will have equal justice. I understand that the Eurasians and domiciled Anglo-Indians come under the definition of what is called "statutory Natives." It is only right that those whose country is India should be considered as Natives, and should enjoy all the rights and privileges of Natives. United action between the Natives and Eurasians and domiciled Anglo-Indians will be good for all. What is objectionable is, that Eurasians and domiciled Anglo-Indians blow hot and cold at the same time. At one moment they claim to be Natives, and at another they spurn the Natives and claim to be Englishmen! Common sense must tell them that this is an absurd position to take up and must ultimately do them more harm than good. I desired that there should be cordial union between all whose country is, or who make their country, India One of the speakers remarked that the employment of Natives will be economical. This is a point which I am afraid is not clearly understood. The fact is that the employment of a Native is not only economy, but *complete gain* to the whole extent of his salary. When a European is employed, he displaces a Native whom nature intended to fill the place. The Native coming in his place, is natural. Every pie he eats is therefore a gain to the country, and every pie he saves is so much saved to the country for the use of all its children. Every pie paid to a foreigner is a *complete material loss* to the country. Every pie paid to a Native is a *complete material saving* to the country. In fact, as I have already endeavoured to impress upon you as earnestly as possible, it is the whole question of the poverty or prosperity of the country. We should of course pay a reasonable price for English rule, so that we may have the highest power of control and supervision in English hands, but beyond that is simply ruin to India and not such a benefit to England as she would otherwise have, were India a prosperous country. Our friend there expressed some doubt about the necessity of going to England. I say without the least hesitation that the candidate himself as well as the service will be vastly benefitted by a visit to England The atmosphere of freedom and high civilization which he will breathe will make him an altered man—in character, in intelligence, in experience, in self-respect and in appreciation of due respect for others. In short, he will largely increase his fitness and command more respect in his responsible service. I mean, of course, in the resolution that the

expenses of such visits to England by the candidates who have successfully passed the different examinations for the different services in India, should be paid from the public revenue. It may be made clear in the resolution, by adding "at the public expense."

I conclude with my most anxious and earnest exhortation to this Congress, and to every individual member of it, that they should perseveringly strain every nerve to secure the all important object of this resolution as early as possible. Once this foreign drain, this "bleeding to death," is stopped, India will be capable, by reason of its land, labour and its vast resources to become as prosperous as England, with benefit to England also and to mankind, and with eternal glory to the English name and nation.

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SECOND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(Held on the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th December, in the Rooms of the British Indian Association and the Town Hall, Calcutta).

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE HON. DADABHAI NAOROJI, PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS.

(Before the Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta held in the Town Hall on the 27th December, to receive the Delegates from different parts of India. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E in the chair. At this Meeting Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was appointed the President of the Second Indian National Congress.)

I need not tell you how sincerely thankful I am to you for placing me in this position of honour. I at first thought that I was to be elevated to this proud position as a return for what might be considered as a compliment paid by us to Bengal when Mr. Bonnerjee was elected President of the first Congress last year at Bombay. I can assure you however that that election was no mere compliment to Bengal, but arose out of the simple fact that we regarded Mr. Bonnerjee as a gentleman eminently qualified to take the place of President, and we installed him in that position in all sincerity as the proper man in the proper place. I now see, however, that this election of my humble self is not intended as a return of compliment, but that as both proposer and seconder have said, you have been kind enough to select me because I am supposed to be really qualified to [illegible] the task. I hope it may prove so, and that I may be found really [illegible] of all the kind things said of me; but whether this be so [illegible]

such kind things are said by those who occupy such high positions amongst us, I must say I feel exceedingly proud and am very grateful to all for the honour thus done me. (Loud cheering.)

Your late Chairman has heartily welcomed all the delegates who come from different parts of India, and with the same heartiness I return to him, and all our Bengal friends on my own behalf and on that of all the delegates from other provinces, the most sincere thanks for the cordial manner in which we have been received. From what has been done already, and from what is in store for us during our short stay here, I have no doubt we shall carry away with us many and most pleasant reminiscences of our visit to Calcutta. (Cheers.)

You will pardon me, and I beg your indulgence when I say that when I was asked only two days ago to become your President and to give an inaugural address, it was with no small trepidation that I agreed to undertake the task; and I hope that you will extend to me all that indulgence which my shortcomings may need. (Loud cheers.)

The assemblage of such a Congress is an event of the utmost importance in Indian history. I ask whether in the most glorious days of Hindu rule, in the days of Rajahs like the great Vikram, you could imagine the possibility of a meeting of this kind, where even Hindus of all different provinces of the kingdom could have collected and spoken as one nation. Coming down to the later Empire of our friends, the Mahomedans, who probably ruled over a larger territory at one time than any Hindu monarch, would it have been, even in the days of the great Akbar himself, possible for a meeting like this to assemble composed of all classes and communities, all speaking one language, and all having uniform and high aspirations of their own?

Well, then, what is it for which we are now met on this occasion? We have assembled to consider questions upon which depend our future, whether glorious or inglorious. It is our good fortune that we are under a rule which makes it possible for us to meet in this manner. (Cheers.) It is under the civilizing rule of the Queen and people of England that we meet here together, hindered by none, and are freely allowed to speak our minds without the least fear and without the least hesitation. Such a thing is possible under British rule and British rule only. (Loud cheers.) Then I put the *question* plainly: Is this Congress a nursery for sedition and rebellion against the British Government (cries of no, no); or is it another stone in the foundation of the stability of that Government (cries of yes, yes)? There could be but one answer, and that you have already given, because we are thoroughly sensible of

the numberless blessings conferred upon us, of which the very existence of this Congress is a proof in a nutshell. (Cheers.) Were it not for these blessings of British rule I could not have come here, as I have done, without the least hesitation and without the least fear that my children might be robbed and killed in my absence ; nor could you have come from every corner of the land, having performed, within a few days, journeys which in former days would have occupied as many months. (Cheers.) These simple facts bring home to all of us at once some of those great and numberless blessings which British rule has conferred upon us. But there remain even greater blessings for which we have to be grateful. It is to British rule that we owe the education we possess ; the people of England were sincere in the declarations made more than half a century ago that India was a sacred charge entrusted to their care by Providence, and that they were bound to administer it for the good of India, to the glory of their own name, and the satisfaction of God. (*Prolonged cheering.*) When we have to acknowledge so many blessings as flowing from British rule—and I could descant on them for hours, because it would simply be recounting to you the history of the British Empire in India—is it possible that an assembly like this, every one of whose members is fully impressed with the knowledge of these blessings, could meet for any purpose inimical to that rule to which we owe so much ? (Cheers.)

The thing is absurd. Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone (cheers) ; that we understand the benefits English rule has conferred upon us ; that we thoroughly appreciate the education that has been given to us, the new light which has been poured upon us, turning us from darkness into light and teaching us the new lesson that kings are made for the people, not people for their kings ; and this new lesson we have learned amidst the darkness of Asiatic despotism only by the light of free English civilization. (Loud cheers.) But the question is, do the Government believe us ? Do they believe that we are really loyal to them ; that we do truly appreciate and rely on British rule ; that we veritably desire its permanent continuance ; that our reason is satisfied and our sentimental feelings gratified as well as our self interest ? It would be a great gratification to us if we could see in the inauguration of a great movement like this Congress, that what we do really mean and desire is thoroughly and truly so understood by our rulers. I have the good fortune to be able to place before you testimony which cannot be questioned, from ou that some at least of the most distinguished of our r at

Brahmos and what not—men indeed of each and all of those numerous classes which constitute in the aggregate the people of India. (Loud cheers.) How can this gathering of *all* classes discuss the social reforms needed in each individual class? What do any of us know of the internal home life, of the customs, traditions, feelings, prejudices of any class but our own? How could a gathering, a cosmopolitan gathering like this, discuss to any purpose the reforms needed in any one class? Only the members of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class Congresses. But it does not follow that, because this national, political body does not presume to discuss social reforms, the delegates here present are not just as deeply, nay, in many cases far more deeply, interested in these questions than in those political questions we do discuss, or that those several communities whom those delegates represent are not doing their utmost to solve those complicated problems on which hinge the practical introduction of those reforms. Any man who has eyes and ears open must know what struggles towards higher and better things are going on in every community: and it could not be otherwise with the noble education we are receiving. Once you begin to think about your own actions, your duties and responsibilities to yourself, your neighbours and your nation, you cannot avoid looking round and observing much that is wrong amongst you; and we know as a fact that each community is now doing its best according to its lights, and the progress that it has made in education. I need not I think particularise. The Mahomedans know what is being done by persons of their community to push on the education their brethren so much need; the Hindus are everywhere doing what they *can* to reform those social institutions which they think require improvement. There is not one single community here represented of which the best and ablest men do not feel that much has to be done to improve the social, moral, religious status of their brethren, and in which, as a fact, they are not striving to effect, gradually, those needful improvements; but these are essentially matters too delicate for a stranger's handling—matters which must be left to the guidance of those who alone fully understand them in all their bearings and which are wholly unsuited to discussion in an assemblage like this in which all classes are intermingled. (Loud cheers.)

I shall now refer briefly to the work of the former Congress. Since it met last year, about this time, some progress, I am glad to say, has been

made, and that is an encouragement and a proof that, if we do really ask what is right and reasonable, we may be sure that, sooner or later, the British Government will actually give what we ask for. We should therefore persevere, having confidence in the conscience of England, and resting assured that the English nation will grudge no sacrifice to prove the sincerity of their desire to do whatever is just and right. (Cheers.)

Our first request at the last Congress was for the constitution of a Royal Commission. Unfortunately the authorities in England have not seen their way to grant a Royal Commission. They say it will upset the authorities here; that it will interfere with the prestige and control of the Government here. I think that this is a very poor compliment to our rulers on this side. If I understand a man like Lord Dufferin, of such vast experience in administration, knowing, as he does, what it is to rule an empire, it would be impossible for him to be daunted and frightened by a commission making enquiries here. I think this argument a very poor one, and we must once more say that to the inhabitants of India a Parliamentary Committee taking evidence in England alone can never be satisfactory, for the simple reason that what the Committee will learn by the ear will never enable them to understand what they ought to see with their eyes if they are to realize what the evidence of the witnesses really means. Still, however, it is so far satisfactory that, notwithstanding the change of Government and the vicissitudes which this poor Parliamentary Committee has undergone, it is the intention of Parliament that under any and all circumstances a Committee shall be appointed. At the same time this Committee *in futuro* ties the hands of the authorities here to a large extent and prevents us from saying all we do really want.

Another resolution on which we must report some progress was to the effect that the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab ought also to have Legislative Councils of their own. We know that the Government has just given a Legislative Council to the N. W. Provinces, and we that this progress may extend further and satisfy our wishes as to provinces also.

The fourth resolution had regard to the Service question. In matter we really seem to have made some distinct progress. The Service Commission is now sitting, and if one thing more than can prove that the Government is sincere in its desire to do for us, this appointment of such a Commission is that thing. perhaps remember the words which our noble Viceroy used at P. He said; 'However, I will say that from first to last I have b.

strong advocate for the appointment of a Committee or Commission of this sort, and that when succeeding Governments in England changed, I have on each occasion warmly impressed upon the Secretary of State the necessity of persevering in the nomination of a Commission. I am happy to think that in response to my earnest representations on the subject, Her Majesty's present Ministers have determined to take action. I consequently do not really see what more during the short period I have been amongst you, the Government of India could have done for that most important and burning question which was perpetually agitating your mind, and was being put forward by the natives as an alleged injustice done to the educated native classes of this country in not allowing them adequate employment in the Public Service. I do not think you can point out to me any other question which so occupied public attention or was nearer to the hearts of your people. Now the door to inquiry has been opened, and it only remains for you, by the force of logic of your representations and of the evidence you may be able to submit, to make good your case; if you succeed in doing so, all I can say is, that nobody will be better pleased than myself. In regard to other matters, which have been equally prominent in your newspapers and your addresses, and which have been so constantly discussed by your associations, I have also done my best to secure for you an ample investigation.'

There we have his own words as to his intentions and the efforts he made to get this Commission. This should convince us of his good faith and sympathy with us. When I think of Lord Dufferin, not only as our present Viceroy, but bearing in mind all we know of him in his past career, I should hesitate to believe that he could be a man devoid of the deepest sympathy with any people struggling to advance and improve their political condition. Some of you may remember one or two extracts which I gave in my Holborn Town Hall speech from Lord Dufferin's letters to the *Times*, and I cannot conceive that a person of such warm sympathies could fail to sympathise with us. But I may say this much that, feeling as I naturally do some interest about the views and intentions of our Viceroys and Governors, I have had the opportunity of getting some information from friends on whom I can rely and who are in a position to know the truth; and I am able to say in the words of one of these friends that 'the Viceroy's instincts are eminently liberal, and he regards with neither jealousy nor alarm the desire of the educated classes to be allowed a larger share in the administration of their own affairs. Indeed he considers it very

creditable to them that they should do so.' As Viceroy he has to consider all sides of a question from the ruler's point of view, and to act as he thinks safe and proper. But we may be sure that we have his deep and very genuine sympathy, and we may fairly claim and expect much good at his hands.

But yet further I would enquire whether the intentions of the Secretary of State for India and of the other home authorities are equally favourable to our claims. The resolution on its very face tells us what the intention of the Secretary of State is. It says: 'In regard to its object the Commission would, broadly speaking, be required to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of natives of India to a higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service.'

There we have the highest authority making a declaration that he desires to do full justice to the claims of the natives of India. Now our only reply is that we are thankful for the enquiry, and we hope that we may be able to satisfy all, that what we ask is both reasonable and right.

As another proof of the intentions of our British rulers, as far back as 53 years ago, when the natives of India did not themselves fully understand their rights, the statesmen of England of their own free will decided what the policy of England ought to be towards India. Long and important was the debate; the question was discussed from all points of view; the danger of giving political power to the people, the insufficiency of their capacity and other considerations were all fully weighed, and the conclusion was come to in unmistakable and unambiguous terms, that the policy of British rule should be a policy of justice (cheers), the policy of the advancement of one-sixth of the human race. (Cheers.) India was to be regarded as a trust placed by God in their hands, and in the due discharge of that trust they resolved that they would follow the 'plain path of duty,' as Mr. Macaulay called it; on that occasion he said, virtually, that he would rather see the people of India free and able to govern themselves, than that they should remain the bondsmen of Great Britain and the obsequious toadies of British officials. (Cheers.) This was the essence of the policy of 1833, and in the Act of that year it was laid down: 'That no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of [illegible] descent, color or any of them be disabled from hol[illegible] or employment under the said Company.' (Pro[illegible]

We do not, we could not, ask for more than this; and all we have to press upon the Commission and Government is that they should now honestly grant us in practice here what *Great Britain freely conceded* to us 50 years ago, when we ourselves were too little enlightened even to ask for it. (Loud cheers.)

We next passed through a time of trouble, and the British arms were triumphant. When they had completely surmounted all their difficulties, and completely vanquished all their adversaries, the English nation came forward, animated by the same high and noble resolves as before, and gave us that glorious proclamation which we should for ever prize and reverence as our Magna Charta—greater even than the Charter of 1833. I need not repeat that glorious proclamation now, for it is engraven on all your hearts (loud cheers); but it constitutes such a grand and glorious charter of our liberties that I think every child as it begins to gather intelligence and to lisp its mother tongue, ought to be made to commit it to memory. (Cheers.) In that proclamation we have again a confirmation of the policy of 1833 and something more. In it are embodied the germs of all that we aim at now, of all that we can desire hereafter. (Cheers.) We have only to go before the Government and the Commission now sitting and repeat it, and say that all we want is only what has already been granted to us in set terms by that proclamation, and that all we now ask for is that the great and generous concessions therein made to us in words shall actually be made ours by deeds. (Loud cheers.) I will not, however, enter into further details, for it is a subject on which I should be led into speaking for hours, and even then I should fail to convey to you an adequate idea of all that is in my heart. I have said enough to show our rulers that our case is complete and has been made out by themselves. (Cheers.) It is enough for me therefore to stop at this point.

Another resolution is the improvement and enlargement of the Legislative Councils, and the introduction into them of an elective element, but that is one on which my predecessor in the chair has so ably descanted that I do not think I should take up more of your time with it. I need only say that in this matter we hope to make a further advance, and shall try to place before our rulers what we consider a possible scheme for the introduction of an elective element into the Legislative Councils. I need not say that if this representation is introduced, the greatest benefit will be conferred upon the Government itself, because at present whatever Acts they pass that do not quite please us, we, whether rightly or wrongly, grumble and grumble against

overnment, and the Government only. It is true that we have of our own people in the Councils. But we have no right to and any explanation even from them; they are not our representa-s, and the Government cannot relieve themselves from any dis-sfaction we may feel against any law we don't like. If our own presentatives make a mistake and get a law passed which we do not ant, the Government at any rate will escape the greater portion of the onsequent unpopularity. They will say—here are your own repre-entatives; we believed that they represented your wishes, and we passed the law. On the other hand with all the intelligence, all the superior knowledge of the English officials, let them come as angels from heaven, it is impossible for them to enter into the feelings of the people, and feel as they feel, and enter into their minds. (Cheers.) It is not any disparagement of them, but in the nature of things it cannot be otherwise. If you have therefore your representatives to represent your feelings, you will then have an opportunity of getting something which is congenial and satisfactory to yourselves, and what will be satisfactory to you must also be satisfactory to and good for the Government itself. (Cheers.)

This brings me also to the point of representation in Parliament. All the most fundamental questions on which hinge the entire form and character of the administration here are decided by Parliament. No matter what it is, Legislative Councils, the Services,—nothing can be reformed until Parliament moves and enacts modifications of the existing Acts. Not one single genuine Indian voice is there in Parliament to tell at least what the native view is on any question. This was most forcibly urged upon me by English gentlemen who are in Parliament themselves; they said they always felt it to be a great defec in Parliament, that it did not contain one single genuine representativ of the people of India.

One of the questions which will be placed before this Congress a will be discussed by them, is the deep sympathy which this Congr feels for the poverty of the people. It is often understood and thou that when we struggle for admission into the Services it is simpl gratify the aspirations of the few educated. But if you examine question thoroughly, you will find that this matter of the Public Ser will go far to settle the problem of the poverty of the Indian p One thing I congratulate myself upon. I don't trouble you any testimony about the poverty of India. You have the test of Sir Evelyn Baring given only a couple of years a h

us in plain terms that the people of India were extremely poor, and also of the present Finance Minister who repeats those words. But amongst the several causes which are at the bottom of our sufferings this one, and that the most important cause, is beginning to be realized by our rulers, and that is a step of the most hopeful and promising kind. In the discussion about the currency, the Secretary of State for India, in a letter to the Treasury of the 2[illegible] January 1886, makes certain remarks which show that our rulers now begin to understand and try to grapple with the problem: and are not, ostrich-like, shutting their eyes to it. I was laughed at when I first mooted the question of the poverty of India, and assigned as one of its causes the employment of an expensive foreign agency. But now the highest authority emphasizes this view. The Secretary of State, in the letter just referred to, said: 'The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of the public revenues is very peculiar, not merely from the habits of the people and their strong aversion to change which is more specially exhibited towards new forms of taxation, but likewise from the character of the Government, which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices, and form so large a part of the army. The impatience of new taxation which would have to be borne, wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on the country and virtually to meet additions to charges arising outside of the country, would constitute a political danger, the real magnitude of which, it is to be feared, is not at all appreciated by persons, who have no knowledge of, or concern in, the Government of India, but which those responsible for that Government have long regarded as of the most serious order.'

We may be sure that the public conscience of England will ask why the natives of India, after a hundred years of British rule, are so poor; and as John Bull, in a cartoon in *Punch* is represented as doing, will wonder that India is a beggar when he thought she had a mint of money.

Unfortunately this idea of India's wealth is utterly delusive, and if a proper system of representation in the Councils be conceded, our representatives will then be able to make clear to these Councils and to our rulers those causes which are operating to undermine our wealth and prosperity, and guide the Government to the proper remedies for the greatest of all evils—the poverty of the masses. All the benefits we [illegible] from British rule, all the noble projects of our British [illegible] the country is to continue [illegible]

d deeper into the abyss of destitution. At one time I w ed as a Pessimist, but now that we have it on the authority of rs themselves that we are *very* poor, it has become the right, as the duty, of this Congress to set forth its convictions, both as widespread destitution and the primary steps needful for its ation. Nothing is more dear to the heart of England—and I from actual knowledge—than India's welfare; and if we only k out loud enough, and persistently enough, to reach that busy rt we shall not speak in vain. (*Prolonged cheering.*) There will several other questions brought before the Congress at their Com- ittee meetings during the next three days, and I am sure from the ames of the delegates, as far as I am informed, that they will prosecute heir deliberations with all possible moderation. I am sure that they will fully appreciate the benefits of the rule under which they live, while the fact that our rulers are willing to do whatever we can show them to be necessary for our welfare, should be enough to encourage all in the work. I do not know that I need now detain you with any further remarks. You have now some idea of what progress has been made in respect of the matters which were discussed last year. I hope we may congratulate ourselves next year that we have made further progress in attaining the objects alike of the past year's resolutions and those we may this year pass. I for one am hopeful that, if we are only true to ourselves, if we only do justice to ourselves and the noble education which has been given to us by our rulers, and speak freely, with the freedom of speech which has been granted to us, we may fairly expect our Government to listen to us and to grant us our reasonable demands. (Loud cheers.)

I will conclude this short address by repeating my sincere than to all of you for having placed me in this honourable position, and again returning thanks to our Bengal brethren on behalf of all delegates whom they have so cordially welcomed here.

(The President resumed his seat amidst the most energetic and longed cheering; throughout, the speech was interrupted, at the of almost every period, by the most enthusiastic cheers, showi thoroughly the speaker's words were going home to the hea n of his brother delegates, but of the vast c educa thronged every portion of the great

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(The President resumed his seat amidst the most energetic and ... longed cheering; throughout, the speech was interrupted, at the ... of almost every period, by the most enthusiastic cheers, showing ... thoroughly the speaker's words were going home to the hearts not ... of his brother delegates, but of the vast crowd of educated listen... thronged every portion of the great hall.)

At the close of the second National Congress (30th Dec.) Mr. Dadabhai said:—In responding to the vote of thanks, which you have so kindly accorded to me, I hope the meeting will allow me to say that my expectations as to the admirable conduct of this large assembly have been thoroughly fulfilled and more than fulfilled. I am only speaking tamely I fear when I say that from first to last nothing could possibly have been more honourable to our country than the conduct of all concerned or than the spirit that has pervaded the entire assemblage. In the heat of argument, under that greatest of all stimuli, patriotic enthusiasm, not one word, I believe, has escaped a single speaker that he need wish unspoken. Kindness, courtesy and a spirit of cheerful mutual concession have pervaded our proceedings, which, but for this, could never have reached this happy and successful termination. (Loud cheers.) You are pleased to thank me, but it is for me rather to thank you, for had it not been for the noble spirit in which each and all of you have co-operated in the work and for the support which you have so heartily afforded me in respect of every proposition which has come before the Congress, I could never have succeeded in thus bringing to a successful close the important business that devolved upon us. (Cheers.) I heartily, therefore, thank you one and all for having enabled me to perform my duty and for having made it so easy for me to do it. (Loud cheers.)

There is, however, just one point to which I ought perhaps to refer more particularly, and that is, to the spirit of fairness and moderation and respect towards the Government which has characterized your proceedings from the beginning to the end. I need hardly say how gratified I have been to observe how thoroughly all have seemed to be imbued with that spirit. Not only is it to our interest that it should be so, but it is what the Government, after all they have done for us, have a just right to expect from us. (Cheers.) And I only hope that the example which this great assemblage has set in this respect will be followed not only at all future meetings of the Congress, not only by all and every Association throughout the country, but also by the entire Indian Press, some members of which, under the influence of the bad example too often set to them by a portion of the Anglo-Indian Press, have at times, it must be confessed, transgressed in this respect. (Hear, hear.) If we really desire to be respected, if we wish our request to be attended to, if we honestly expect that the English nation will do its duty towards us, we must prove ourselves worthy by showing that we are never unreasonable, never violent, never uncharitable. We must shew that we are earnest,

but temperate, cognizant of our own rights, but respectful of those of others; expecting the fairest constructions of our own acts and motives, and conceding these to those of others; that, in a word, whatever our status in life, high or low, rich or poor, we have become gentlemen in the highest sense of the word. Unless we are and can prove ourselves gentlemen in this highest, noblest sense, I do not know that we are worthy to receive the concessions for which we are pressing. (Loud cheers.) I do not think I need trouble the Congress with any further remarks. I will simply say once more: I thank you. I thank you for myself, for the honour you have done me in choosing me as President, and for the generous kindness with which you have upheld me in the performance of the responsible duties of that high position, and I thank you on behalf of all your countrymen—on behalf of posterity—for the noble manner in which, at this great Congress—which history will not readily forget—you have upheld the credit, the character, the dignity of our beloved India. (Long and enthusiastic cheering.)

III.

MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

(Before an evening Meeting of the East India Association, at London, Tuesday, August 13th, 1867. *Lord Lyveden in the chair.*)

1

In proposing for your adoption this memorial,* I am glad that I have a very easy task before me, unless I create some giants of my own imagination to knock them down, for on the principle of the memorial I see on all hands there is but one opinion. Beginning with our gracious Sovereign, she has emphatically declared with regard to the natives of India (in a proclamation dated the 1st of November, 1858), "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same

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* "We, the members of the East India Association, beg respectfully to submit that the time has come when it is desirable to admit the natives of India to a larger share in the administration of India than hitherto.

"To you, sir, it is quite unnecessary to point out the justice, necessity, and

obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." Then, referring to this particular point, the proclamation goes on, "It is our further will, that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." That being the gracious declaration of the will and pleasure of our Sovereign, let us pass next to the opinion of Parliament upon the subject. The opinion of Parliament has been all long decisive upon this matter. As far back as 1833, in the Act of that year, it was distinctly declared, "That no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of his Majesty, resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company;" and on every occasion when Parliament has had the matter before it, there has scarcely been any

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possible with the people of the country. He thought that they ought to take a lesson from such a circumstance, and if they were to do their duty towards India they could only discharge that duty by obtaining the assistance and counsel of all who were great and good in that country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was *not a large fund of statesmanship and ability in the Indian character.*' —(*Times*, 25th May, 1867.) With these friendly and just sentiments towards *the people of India* we fully concur, and therefore, instead of trespassing any more upon your time, we beg to lay before you our views as to the best mode of accomplishing the object.

"We think that the competitive examinations for a portion of the appointments to the Indian civil service should be held in India, under such rules and arrangements as you may think proper. What portion of the appointments should be thus competed for in India we cannot do better than leave to your own judgment. After the selection is made in India, by the first examination, we think it essential that the selected candidates be required to come to England to pass their further examinations with the selected candidates of this country.

"In the same spirit, and with kindred objects in view for the general good of India, we would ask you to extend your kind encouragement to native youths of promise and ability to come to England for the completion of their education. We believe that if scholarships, tenable for five years in this country, were to be annually awarded by competitive examination in India to native candidates between the ages of 15 and 17, some would compete successfully in England for the Indian civil service, while others would return in various professions to India, and where by degrees they would form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence on native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and their English rulers.

"In laying before you this memorial we feel assured, and we trust that you will also agree with us, that this measure, which has now become necessary by the advancement of education in India, will promote and strengthen the loyalty of the natives of India to the British rule, while it will also be a satisfaction to the British people to have thus by one more instance practically proved its desire to advance the condition of their Indian fellow-subjects, and to act justly by them.

"We need not point out to you, sir, how great an encouragement these examinations in India will be to education. The great prizes of the appointments will naturally increase vastly the desire for education among the people."

opposition to the principle enunciated by this *memorial*. Again, up to the latest day, during the past three or four debates in Parliament which have taken place this year, we have seen the same principle emphatically declared; even in last night's debate we find the same again brought forward in a prominent way by some who are friends to India, and who also wish well to England. While we have this testimony on the part of our Sovereign and Parliament, we find that the press upon this matter at least is unanimous. So far back as 1853, in commenting upon the petition presented by the Bombay Association, I find a large proportion of the press here admitted the justice and truth of the complaints made by the natives of India, as to the exclusiveness adopted in the civil service at the time, and urging that the natives should be to a suitable extent introduced into the enjoyment of the higher places of responsibility and trust. And recently, in commenting upon the debates that have taken place in Parliament, which I have just referred to, the press has been equally unanimous in reference to this subject. As far as Parliament and the press are any indication of the opinions of the people, we can say the people are at one on this subject. As far as my personal knowledge is concerned, during the twelve years I have been here, or while I was in India, I must confess that I have always found every Englishman that I have spoken to on the subject, admitting its justice, and assuring me that England will always do its duty towards India. I have been sometimes told that some civilians, perhaps, do not like it but I should not do the injustice to say that I recollect any instance in which such an opinion has been expressed to me. The testimony of all eminent men in the Indian service is in favour of giving all necessary facilities for the admission of natives of India to the civil service, as well as that of all those eminent statesmen here who have made India their study. The interest that the natives feel in this subject I need not at all enlarge upon; that can be at once conceived by their presence here; the interest they would feel in the Government of India by having the responsibilities of that administration on their own heads, speaks for itself; and at the same time the strength it would give to the British rule is also a matter of the greatest importance. Lastly, I find that the present Government itself has emphatically declared on this point. In the words I have quoted in the memorial, Sir Stafford Northcote has distinctly stated, "Nothing could be more wonderful than our empire in India; but we ought to consider on what conditions we held it, and how our predecessors held it. The greatness of the Mogul empire depended upon the liberal policy that was pursued by men like

Akbar availing themselves of Hindu talent and assistance, and identifying themselves as far as possible with the people of the country. He thought that they ought to take a lesson from such a circumstance, and if they were to do their duty towards India, they could only discharge that duty by obtaining the assistance and counsel of all who were great and good in that country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of statesmanship and ability in the Indian character." With such complete testimony on the principle of this memorial, I think I was quite justified in saying at the beginning that my task was a very easy one. This last extract, again, enables me to dispose of another point, namely, as to the capacity of the natives of India for administration and for high education. I may at once leave that alone, because at this time of day, after the education which has been received by the natives of India, after the results as shown by the university examinations, and with the actual facts of the efficiency of the services rendered by the natives of India, whenever they are employed in any office of responsibility and trust, it would be simply ridiculous on my part to try to prove to you their capacity for administration and for study, and their high character. The importance and justice of introducing natives of India into the administration to a proper extent, has been urged by various eminent men at different times before committees of the Houses of Parliament. If I had considered it necessary, I could have collected a volume of such extracts. I need only glance at this point, namely, the assistance which the Government of India would derive from the native element being introduced into it. With the best intentions, Englishmen cannot understand the natives of India as a body; their feelings, their ways of thought, and their original education, are so different, that with the best intentions on the part of Englishmen, they very often fail in pointing out the exact remedies for any complaints made by the natives; but if the natives of India were introduced to a proper extent into the administration of the country, naturally their own countrymen would have more sympathy with them. Those native administrators would know where the exact difficulties were, and many of the problems of the present day, to grapple with which all the energies of our English administrators are taxed in vain, would be solved most easily. We would then have the sympathy of the natives with the British rulers, and one of the results of such a concession to the natives would be gratitude on their part, which would form a strong foundation for the upholding of the British rule in India. And when I advocate that which would have a tendency to uphold the

British rule in India, it is not for the sake of the English, but for the sake of the natives themselves. They have every reason to congratulate themselves on being under the British rule, after the knowledge they have now derived, and are every day deriving, of the benefits of it. I come, then, to the practical part of the memorial itself. At present the arrangement is that the civil service examination is open to all British subjects; and under that arrangement, no doubt, the natives of India can come here, and they have come here, and undergone the competitive examination (one has passed, and is now serving in India). But if we refer back to the gracious words of our Sovereign, that the natives of India be admitted "freely and impartially," the question naturally arises whether under the present arrangement that declaration and that assurance is practically given effect to. The difficulty on the face of it is this, that the natives are put to the disadvantage of coming over here and remaining here for several years. The risk of losing a sum of money which perhaps they cannot afford, is in itself a disadvantage sufficient to require some change in the arrangement. But, supposing even some few were willing to come here and to compete in the examination, it is not desirable that only those few should be admitted into the civil service; the interests of the civil service require that those serving in it, whether native or English, should be of the highest talents. We do not want those having the longest purses only, but what we want is—in the words of Sir Stafford Northcote—the assistance and counsel of all who are great and good in the country; and we cannot attain that object unless we have a competitive examination which would enable *all* the best men of India to compete for appointments in the Indian civil service. Such are the men who ought to be introduced into that service. Therefore, putting aside all the disadvantages that the native is put to in coming over to this country, and which are in themselves sufficient to require that some alteration should be made in the present arrangement, the very best interests of the service require that some competition should take place in India whether at an earlier stage or at a later stage; and that a selection should be made, not only of those who can afford to spend a few thousands to come here, but of those who possess the *best* talent among the people. I have nothing more to say than to refer to the plan I have suggested in the memorial, and I have left it as general as possible, because, with the evidence before us of the interest which Sir Stafford Northcote has taken in the subject, and the emphatic manner in which he has expressed his views as to the necessity and justice of introducing the native element into the service, I can,

with the utmost confidence, leave any of the details that would be best suited for the purpose to himself. The natives of India are willing to submit to any standard; if they could not come up to the standard required by the service, it would be their own fault, and nobody would have any right to complain; but as long as they can assert that they would be able to stand any standard of examination which they may be reasonably subjected to, it is only just and proper that they should have the opportunity given them. Take, for instance, the case of the fair trial given to the natives for acquiring high education. There were no B.A.s or M.A.s before. The universities being established, we know the result, that the natives have fully vindicated their intellect. And they only ask a fair trial for the civil service. I am desirous, that instead of taking up more of your time, the members present should discuss this fully, and I therefore conclude as I began with the words of our Sovereign, " In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward;" and my only prayar is, that a reward nobler than that which has ever been attained by any nation, or any individual, may be earned by our British rulers.

In the proposal made by me, the examination takes place in India, just as it takes place here; the candidates that pass in India are exactly on the same footing as what are called selected candidates in England. After passing the competitive examination, there are what are called further examinations here, and it is for those further examinations here that I wish those natives to come here, which would be no hardship on them; the utmost sacrifice which they might be required to make, if the Government would not assist them, would be the voyage home; if the Government would pay that, then there would be no hardship, because, as soon as they come here they begin to prepare for their further examination; they get the first year 100*l.*, and the second year 200*l.*, and then, if they show the necessary proficiency in the subjects they are required to study, there is no competition and no rejection afterwards; they have only to show that they have spent two years in the necessary studies, having in view the special duties required of them in India; so that there is no risk of their being rejected. The competitive examination in India would be what it is here, and after they passed that they would be admitted as selected candidates. As I am on my legs, allow me to add to what I have already said, that there is no practical difficulty in what is proposed. The whole thing is embraced in the rules published by the Secretary of State for India every year; the Secretary of State for

India has only to decide as to what proportion of natives it would be advisable to introduce into the civil service, and then to send out instructions to the local government to institute examinations of the same character and under the same rules that are followed here, under which examinations the candidates would be selected; the number may be five or ten, or I should be satisfied if there were two for Bengal and one for each of the other presidencies. Those examinations would take place there under the same rules and the same arrangements under which they take place here. The best on the list would become the selected candidates, and when once they became selected candidates there would be no risk of failing in the competition. There are no practical details to propose; the arrangement of the whole thing is already practically carried out. The simple question for the Secretary of Stateto decide being, what proportion of the appointments should be competed for in India, it would be, I think, more proper on the part of this Association to leave that to Sir Stafford Northcote and the Council. They are best able to judge as to that, and I have every confidence that they would do that which is right. The manner in which justice has been done in the case of Mysore, makes me perfectly confident that we have a Government not only willing to make professions, but willing to *do* what they profess. As I did not contemplate that any details should be proposed, except simply that a certain proportion of appointments to be decided on by the Secretary of State should be competed for in India, the managing committee, to whom this proposal was referred, thought wisely that we might at once go to the whole Association itself, and we have done so. If the Association are inclined to adopt the proposal of the noble chairman, of referring the matter back to a committee, I *do* not say anything against it, but there is nothing to be considered; the whole thing is ready cut and dried. There are only two points to be decided by Sir Stafford Northcote: first, whether a certain number of appointments should be competed for in India or not, and next, what proportion of the appointments should be so competed for. With regard to the various remarks which have been made by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, I agree with the full force of them. When he, some years ago, was anxious to promote the plan of bringing over to England young men to be educated, I endeavoured to contribute my humble mite to that endeavour. All I say upon the remarks he has addressed to you is this, that he attaches a little too much importance to an independent body of natives in India who had received their education in England, and who would spread themselves in all the different depart-

ments of life, being the only means by which the tone of society, and the status of the whole population would be raised; for we must not forget that, attaching to the administration of the country itself, there are responsibilities that must be incurred; and when a native is introduced into the administration he comes under a responsibility which an outsider cannot appreciate. If we had only a body of independent educated natives we should have nothing but agitation; there would be no counterpoise to it, there would be no men trained under the yoke of responsibility, who would tell them that there were such and such difficulties in the way of the administration. I have considered this matter very carefully for a long time. I have taken the utmost possible trouble to induce my friends to come over here for their education, and most of the twenty-five who have been referred to are under my care. I have taken that responsibility, because I feel strongly upon the point. I have taken that guardianship for the past twelve years with no little anxiety to myself, but I am glad to say that those young men have behaved most admirably, never having given me cause to complain, and the character that has been given of them, whether by the gentlemen with whom they have been residing, or by the professors of their college, has been that they have been very steady and very good. But in this way we cannot get the *best* talent. Therefore, I hope that it will not be considered by the Association that I have brought forward this question inconsiderately and immaturely. I do not see the necessity of troubling a committee to go into it again. Here I have my proposal in some detail:—"First Examination for the Civil Service of India, to be held in India." (I would be satisfied even with a few to begin with; I suggest five.) "Five candidates shall be selected every year as follows:—2 from Bengal, 1 from Bombay, 1 from Madras, 1 from the North-west Provinces and the Punjaub. The examination shall be held in each of the above territories, under the instruction of the local government, in the subjects, and according to the rules adopted from time to time by the Civil Service Commissioners for the first competition examination in England. The highest in rank shall be deemed to be selected candidates for the civil service of India. The selected candidates shall, within three months of the announcement of the result of the examination, proceed to England, and the local government shall pay the passage money. After arrival in England these selected candidates shall be subject to the rules and terms for the subsequent 'further examination,' &c. like the selected candidates of England." If it is necessary for a plan to be attached to the memorial, here is one.

admit the force of the remark made by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, that mere education in colleges and universities is not enough, that there are other qualifications necessary. But though I do not agree with those who say that the education given in India does not raise the moral as well as the intellectual character of the pupil, still I purposely make it essential that those natives who are selected for the service should come over to England for those two years, in order that they may acquire all the benefits in England which Mr. Hodgson Pratt so ably described. As to the competitive system, it must be recollected that it has been established as being the best system that can be adopted for arriving at the qualities and capabilities of a man. If the Council think that there ought to be a standard of proficiency at the oar or at cricket, let them establish such a standard; I daresay the natives of India would be quite prepared to try a hand at bowling or at the oar with the natives of England; only, let every one be put on an equal footing. We no longer select men for the service in India according to the system of patronage; we know how that system worked in former times—how proprietors joined together to get their nephews in. I do not refer to past grievances; let the past be the past, we have enough to be thankful for; we select our best men in the best way in our power, by a competitive examination, and though, in a competition of 200 for 50 or 60 situations, there is some chance of an incompetent man getting in, by cramming or by some accident, still, where there is a competition of 100 or 1,000 for only one or two places, the chances are infinitesimally small that anybody who does not possess the highest order of intellect will be able to take those prizes. I beg to submit to our President, with very great deference, that the proposal I have made has been carefully considered. I have consulted several gentlemen who are deeply interested in the matter, and I hope our noble President will support me in approving of this memorial, with the addition which Sir Herbert Edwardes has made, to which I have no objection; it gives the memorial a wider scope, and meets the other difficulty which our noble President suggested as to the expense. It is desirable, instead of simply allowing a few young men to enter the Civil Service, that we should also carry out a comprehensive principle of giving some opportunity to natives of entering upon other independent departments. I fully agree that the assistance proposed by Sir Herbert Edwardes' amendment should be held out to the youths of India; we want the best talent of the country brought here, therefore, I propose that Sir Herbert Edwardes' addition should be embodied in the memorial. Our noble President

has said that this memorial does not properly come within the province of this Association. With every deference, I beg to differ from his Lordship. The very basis upon which this institution has been formed is, as expressed by the second rule, the promotion, by all legitimate means, of the interests and welfare of India generally. If the object and purpose of the Association is simply to supply information, I do not see that the Association can do any very great good; but if the Association takes up one subject after another, considerately and carefully, as our noble President suggests, and does actual practical good to the various interests of India, the Association then will have fulfilled its mission of bringing India and England together, doing justice to India, informing the people of this country of all that is necessary to be known by them in relation to Indian matters, and suggesting to them what they, in the situation in which Providence has placed them, as rulers of India, ought to do towards India. If the Association has not been formed to attain those objects, I do not see what good it can do. We may read papers here and have a pleasant discussion on them, and go away with the feeling that we have had a very successful meeting; but if we are to end there, what good shall we have done? What is the object of all our discussion? It is to take such practical steps as may influence the people of this country, and as may influence the Government to rectify existing evils, the rectifying of which would have the effect of consolidating the British rule in India, to the great benefit of both England and India.

2

EXTENSION OF LORD RIPON'S VICEROYALTY.

(Before a public meeting called by the Bombay Branch of the East India Association for the purpose of memorialising Her Majesty the Queen, praying for the extension of the Viceroy's (Lord Ripon) term of office, on the 17th February 1883, at the Framji Cowasji Institute.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was received with much applause, said that he had been asked to say a few words, and he would tell the meeting what Lord Ripon was as a man. This was clearly shown in his speech at Lahore, where he told his audience that he ruled this country, not as a ruler, but as a friend. (Cheers.) The Viceroy also said that he wanted India to be politically educated, and that he was prepared for all sorts of failures. He further said that they should not pull up the plant every time, in order to see how far the roots had gone, as that would be the best way of destroying the plant. He was determined that

his scheme of local self-government should not suffer from any negligence of officials, upon whose minds he had impressed that experience was the best school in which to learn political or moral wisdom. (Cheers.) The Viceroy had boldly and fully carried out what he said in practice. He considered that it was only by experience that public spirit could be aroused among the people of this country, and that they could become a nation of men, instead of being merely subservient slaves. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Dadabhai), who had been considered a pessimist, was glad to say that Lord Ripon was destined not only to be the saviour of the country, but to be the greatest patriot of England. (Cheers.) Because if England performed the great duty of raising this great nation of 250 millions of people to political elevation and civilization, assuredly she ought to be grateful to the man who had achieved such a noble object. (Cheers.) Here was a man, kind and beneficent, of a clear and comprehensive intellect, and firm in carrying out whatever he wanted to be done. When they had such a man, let them do their utmost to secure his services for as long a time as possible. What grasp must this man have who had taken the bull by the horns, who had understood the wants of India so thoroughly that every word he uttered showed that he understood the natives from their own standpoint, and tried to meet their wants in conformity with their habits and ways! (Cheers.) The Viceroy was justly of opinion that the people should grow naturally and gradually to strength and perfection. The speaker prayed that the Viceroy might long be spared to rule over them, and that Her Majesty might allow him to consummate the good he had done. (Loud cheers.)

3

RETIREMENT OF LORD RIPON.

(Before the public meeting of the native inhabitants of Bombay in honour of Lord Ripon, on his retirement from the Viceroyalty, convened by the Sheriff in the Town Hall, on Saturday, the 29th November 1884. The Hon'ble Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart, C.S.I., in the chair.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, in supporting the resolution,* said :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—All India from one end to the other proclaims the righteousness and good deeds of Lord Ripon. There are not many persons among the thousands that have assembled here, or among the hundreds of

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* That th[illegible] us native communities of Western [illegible] of gratitude entertained by them [illegible] the Marquis of Ripon [illegible]

thousands of this city or among the millions of this Presidency, who have not his great services by heart. (Cheers.) It will be useless for me to waste any time in a reiteration of them. I shall touch upon what strikes me as the brightest stars in the whole galaxy of his deeds. The greatest questions of the Indian problem to my mind at present are, our material and moral loss, and our political education for self-government. For the former, the first great achievement of the Ripon Government is a courageous and candid acknowledgment that the material and educational condition of India is that of extreme poverty. After this bold and righteous recognition, England will feel bound to remedy this great evil. (Cheers.) Lord Ripon's Government has, however, not remained satisfied with their acknowledgment, but has laid the foundation of the remedy by resolving that Indian energy, Indian resources, and Indian agency must be developed in every way and in all departments with broad and equal justice to all. For the second—our political education—nothing can be a more conclusive proof of the success of his measures in that direction than the sight of the great and national political upheaving in the ovation that is now being poured upon him throughout the length and breadth of India. And we ourselves are here to-day as the proof of the success of our political education. (Cheers.) We are to propose a memorial to Lord Ripon. But what will hundred such memorials be to the great monuments he has himself raised to himself? As self-government, and self-administration and education advanced, for which all he has raised great new land-marks, his memory shall exist at every moment of India's life, and they will be the everlasting monuments, before which all our memorials will sink into utter insignificance. It was asked in St. Paul where Wren's monument was. This, St. Paul itself, was his monument, was the reply. What is Ripon's monument? It will be answered India itself—a self-governing and prosperous nation and loyal to the British throne. Canning was Pandy Canning, he is now the Canning the Just, of the British historian. The native historian with admiration and gratitude, and the English historian, with pride and pleasure, will point to Ripon, as Ripon the Righteous, the maker and benefactor of a nation of hundreds of millions. (Loud cheers.) But by far the greatest service that Ripon has done, is to England and Englishmen. He has raised the name and glory of England and the Englishmen, and rivetted India's loyalty to the British rule. Deep and unshakeable as my faith is in the English character for fairness and desire to do good to India, I must confess during my humble efforts in Indian politics, I was sometimes driven

to despair, and to doubt my faith. But Ripon has completely restored to its full intensity, that England's conscience is right and England will do its duty and perform its great mission in India, when she has such sons so pure of heart and high in statesmanship. (Cheers.) I pray that our sovereign give us always Viceroys like Ripon. The good deeds of Ripon are sung all over the land by from the prince to the peasant. I am informed that addresses will flow from the poor agriculturists when Lord Ripon arrives here, and I have the pleasure of reading to you a letter to me from a prince. This is what H. H. the Thakore Saheb Bhagvatsingjee of Gondul says:—"I am happy to note that a movement is being set on foot in Bombay to perpetuate the memory of the retiring Viceroy, Lord Ripon. He has a strong hold on the loyalty and affection of our people, with whose vital interests he has identified himself. So the movement of which you are a promoter has my best sympathies. As a slight tribute of my admiration for the noble Lord Ripon, I beg to subscribe Rs. 3,000 to the Ripon Memorial Fund." (Cheers.) For the sentiments of his Highness the Jam Saheb Vibhajee of Jamnuggur, you can judge best when I tell you that he with his Kuvar Jasvatsingjee has subscribed Rs. 10,000 to the Ripon Memorial. The Thakore Sahebs of Rajkote and Katosan have also subscribed. My friend Mr. Hurkissondas has just this moment received a telegram from H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Limree, the Hon. Jesvatsinghjee, subscribing Rs. 5,000 to the Ripon Memorial. A deputation from the great meeting of Sholapore, which was presided over by Mr. Satyendranath Tajore, has attended here. Also another deputation from Khandeish. Well, gentlemen, these two months will be an epoch and a bright page in Indian history, and we shall be for ever proud that we had the good fortune to have had a share in honouring the great name of Ripon. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

4

THE FAWCETT MEMORIAL MEETING.

(Before the public meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay, held in the Town Hall, on the 2nd September 1885, convened by the Bombay Presidency Association for the purpose of taking steps to raise a memorial to the late Professor Fawcett: His Excellency Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, in the chair.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers, said:—Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg to propose that a committee be formed to take necessary steps for collecting funds for the memorial, and for deciding what form the memorial should

take, Mr. P. M. Mehta, the Hon. K. T. Telang, Messrs. D. E. Wacha, R. M. Sayani, and Vundrawandas Purshotumdas acting as honorary secretaries to the fund. I take this proposition in hand with more grief than delight. I knew Professor Fawcett personally, and I know what loss we have suffered. There is a great deal that is always made public and appreciated by the public as far as it is known, but there is a great deal that is done by good men which never sees the light of publication, and which consequently is never appreciated. I give my personal experience of the worth of this great man, which will show you that, whereas in a public way he has done a great deal of good, he has also privately and behind the scenes been proved as useful a friend of India as ever any man has been. To give my own personal reminiscences of one or two incidents, I can tell you that when I appeared before the Finance Committee in England in 1873, I had perhaps the rashness of writing a letter beforehand of what I wanted to give my evidence upon. What I said there, somehow or other, did not suit Mr. Ayrton, the chairman of the committee, and he hindered and hampered me in every way. Before I went to the committee I saw Mr. Fawcett, who was always sympathising with us, and I laid before him the notes which I wanted to submit to the committee. He considered them very carefully and told me that that was the very thing that ought to be brought to the committee. But, strange to say, that when I went before the committee Mr. Ayrton chose to decide that that was just the thing that was not to be brought before the committee. On the first day I was hardly able to give evidence of what I wanted to say. But the next day, when it came to Mr. Fawcett's turn to examine me, in a series of judicious and pointed questions, he brought out all that I had to say in a brief and clear manner. You will see from this that although such little incidents scarcely become public, they are in themselves not without their value. He did, in fact, an invaluable service in enabling a native of India to say all that he wanted to say, whether it was right or wrong. Here is an instance of the justice and fearlessness with which he wanted to treat this country. (Cheers.) Fancy a noble commanding figure standing on the floor of the House of Commons respectfully listened to by the whole House, pleading the cause of hundreds of millions of people whom he had not seen, pleading as effectively as any of India's own sons could ever do (cheers), holding like unto the blind deity of justice the scales in his hands even between friends and foes in small matters and in great. (Loud cheers.) That is the blind man we have assembled to-day to honour. You can easily perceive how many a

time, as I saw him pleading our cause, I felt a sort of awe and veneration as for a superior being. (Cheers.) In his speeches he never stooped to catch a momentary applause, but he always spoke in sober language words of wisdom—words that sprang from his inner conviction—that in their turn carried conviction to every one around him. (Cheers.) We are told that where good men stand the ground becomes holy. Here his influence and his words reach and permeate the whole atmosphere, and whoever breathes the atmosphere catches something of that goodness and that sincerity towards nature and God. He was one of those men who not only in the senate stood firm and bold and dealt out even justice to friend and foe alike, but on the stumping platform too he was the same considerate man, who never uttered a word to sink into the vulgar crowd, but always tried to raise them to a level higher and better than they were before he spoke. He himself, we know, had grappled the subject of Indian problems with perfect clearness and in all their details. He learned from Anglo-Indians, but he subsequently became the teacher of all Anglo-Indians. He told them that the time was coming when the policy of the British administration should be entirely changed, that the way in which British India was governed was not the way in which it was fit to be governed by a nation of Englishmen. He understood and always declared that he belonged to a nation to whom India was confided in the providence of God for their care and help. He felt himself to be one of that nation, and he felt the instinct of Englishmen to do that only which was just and right, and to receive the glory derived from the advancement of civilization and by the raising of mankind instead of trampling them down under foot. He felt that duty as an Englishman, and he earnestly and devotedly performed that duty as far as one man of ability and earnestness could ever do. (Cheers.) We are now threatened with a permanent addition to the expenditure of some two millions. Do those statesmen who make such a propos a at all think of what they are about? Fawcett's voice from the grave now rises once again, and we are reminded of his words in connection with the Licence Tax. He said that if such an odious and unjust tax had been imposed, it was because no better one could be substituted in its place, and he further stated that when the time came for them to impose another tax, the Government would be reduced to great straits, and they would have to impose a tax as must end in disaster and serious peril. (Cheers.) The statesmen who are now thinking of imposing the additional burden of expenditure must bear in mind the words of this great man, ponder over them, and carefully consider how fa they

can impose further burdens on the extremely poor people of India. (Cheers.) When I say the people are extremely poor, the words are not mine, but those of Mr. Fawcett and many other eminent statesmen. I do not want to detain the audience any longer, but I will only say the man is dead, but his words will remain; and I only hope that he will inspire others to follow in his footsteps and to earn the blessings of hundreds of millions of the people of this country. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

5

DINNER TO HON. MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI BY THE RIPON CLUB.

(Before the Members of the Ripon Club at a dinner given in honour of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on his departure to England. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., C. S. I., in the chair.)

The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was greeted with loud cheers, said:—Sir Jamsetjee and friends,—I cannot but feel the greatest gratification at the honour you have done me. I value this compliment as one of the highest I can receive. Age brings with it its gratification or the reverse for the past. The individual may be able to judge truly or imperfectly of his own conduct, the true test is the verdict of his fellow countrymen. (Cheers.) If such as the present is the verdict of my countrymen, however extra sweetened it may be with the feeling of kindness towards me, I cannot but feel gratified that I have in my humble way been of some use to my country, and such a feeling is the highest reward I can possibly wish for and enjoy. I remember distinctly what feelings had actuated our first small band of workers who devoted themselves earnestly to the task of social, political, and other reforms. It was his, that educated as we had been at the expense of our country, the deep debt we owed to the British rulers being the instrument and projectors of our intellectual elevation, and having been the few fortunate recipients of such a blessing in the midst of millions of our fellow-countrymen, it was a most serious duty devolved upon us to repay our rulers and our country with loyal and grateful service in every way it may be in our power to do so. This has been all along our animating spirit, and with such reward as I, one of them, have this day received, an emphatic approval is given through me to the workers in the service of their country. It is sometimes said by some, to suit their purpose, that the educated natives do not represent their countrymen. But what is the real state of the case? It is only the educated that can at all and do represent

the wants of the dumb millions. It is the educated only who on the one hand can understand the advanced civilization and ideas of our rulers, and on the other hand, the ideas and wants and wishes of their countrymen. It is the educated only that can become the true interpreters, and the connecting link between the rulers and the ruled. (Cheers.) And, moreover, it is the educated and intellectual only that can as in all countries, not England excepted, lead the van of all progress and civilization, and whom the rest of the people follow. The few earnest and talented have always, will always, be the leaders of mankind. My elevation to the membership of the Legislative Council naturally leads me to say that while sincerely thanking you for your good words, I cannot but feel that the situation is one of most onerous responsibility. To legislate for a people, whose weal or woe depends upon such legislation, is one of the highest as well as the most responsible of human duties and functions, and I shall consider myself very fortunate if I even partially succeed in this duty. As to all my past to which you have alluded in such exceedingly kind terms, I can only say I thank you most heartily. The work in which I have had my share with such persons as our much lamented friend Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, and many others, has, I trust, done something for our social and political advancement. (Cheers.) The progress has, no doubt, been yet small, but it is hopeful. If we are true to ourselves, and earnestly and single-mindedly work for the welfare of our country, all other circumstances are in our favour. Education is advancing though slowly, the mass of the people are beginning to be leavened with and awakened to civilizing influences. All India is beginning to work in concert like the National Congress held here [illegible] And above all we have rulers who above all others are [illegible] nation of progress, political advancement, freedom [illegible] The highest ambition to which every true [illegible] is to desire the continuance of the [illegible] come, and to strengthen it with [illegible] (Loud cheers.) This is the [illegible] lay ourselves freely [illegible] wants clearly, [illegible] may be [illegible] Oppose [illegible]

[illegible]

believed by any Englishmen to be genuine and from pure motives, I have received from such nothing but expressions and treatment of attention and respect, however much they may have differed from my views. In our present rulers we have this remarkable hopeful feature. The English nation is at bottom a nation of conscience and fairness, with an instinct to do what is right and necessary. That they may take longer than we should desire at times to meet our wishes, but in the end, we may be perfectly assured, will be done what is right and just. This, then, is a most important circumstance in our favour, in any exertions we may make for the welfare of our country in all its multifarious needs. Our work till now may have been like all beginnings slow, but if properly persevered in with continuous force, it must at last be crowned with success. Persevere should be our motto, no matter how often we may be disappointed. (Cheers.) And when the rising generation sees how even such humble efforts as mine, in conjunction with those of others, are appreciated and rewarded by such public recognition as the one you have given me, it cannot but be a great encouragement to the younger generation to move in the same path. Taking, therefore, the honor you have done me in this double aspect, I feel highly gratified not only for my own sake, but for the further good this demonstration will do to younger and fresh workers in the cause of the general welfare of our country. I repeat my most sincere thanks for the honour you have done me this evening. It is a compliment which I shall cherish all my life and with all my heart. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji then proposed the toast of the chairman. He said :—Our worthy chairman stands at the head of our community. (Cheers.) He belongs to a stock of which we as Parsees are proud all over the world. (Cheers.) Wherever the name of Sir Jamsetjee is known, the Parsees have a free and pleasant passport. (Cheers.) I have experienced that myself many a time in England. It was enough to say that I belonged to the community of Sir Jamsetjee. (Renewed cheers.) Apart from the worth and high position of the family, Sir Jamsetjee was one of those men who always cordially and heartily joined in all things which conduced to the welfare and well-being not only of our own community but to mankind at large. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

6

INDIA AND THE OPIUM QUESTION.

(Before a conference which took place at the offices of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, Broadway Chambers, Westminster on Monday afternoon, October 15th, 1886, to have a frank interchange of opinion with the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji, M. L. C., and other Indian gentlemen on the subject of the opium trade with special reference to its Indian aspects.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said—I have listened to the remarks of the gentlemen with very great interest, for the simple reason that I am almost of the same opinion. The best proof that I can give to you, not only of my own mere sentiments, but of my actual conduct in respect to opium, is that when I joined a mercantile firm in 1855, it was one of my conditions that I should have nothing whatever to do with opium. That is as far back as 1855. In 1880, in my correspondence with the Secretary of State on the condition of India, one of the paragraphs in my letter with regard to the opium trade is this; and I think that this will give you at once an idea of my opinion :—

"There is the opium trade. What a spectacle it is to the world! In England no statesman dares to propose that opium may be allowed to be sold in public-houses at the corners of every street, in the same way as beer or spirits. On the contrary, Parliament, as representing the whole nation, distinctly enacts that 'opium and all preparations of opium or of poppies,' as 'poison,' be sold by certified chemists only, and 'every box, bottle, vessel, wrapper, or cover in which such poison is contained, be distinctly labelled with the name of the article, and the word "poison," and with the name and address of the seller of the poison. And yet, at the other end of the world, this Christian, highly civilized, and humane England forces a 'heathen' and 'barbarous' Power to take this 'poison,' and tempts a vast human race to use it, and to degenerate and demoralize themselves with this 'posion!' And why? Because India cannot fill up the remorseless drain; so China must be dragged in to make it up, even though it be by being 'poisoned.' It is wonderful how England reconciles this to her conscience. This opium trade is a sin on England's head, and a curse on India for her share in being the instrument. This may sound strange as coming from any natives of India, as it is generally represented as if India it was that benefited by the opium trade. The fact simply is that, as Mr. Duff said, India is nearly ground down to dust, and the opium trade of China fills up England's drain. India derives not a particle of benefit. All India's profits of trade, and several millions from her very produce (scanty as it is, and becoming more and mor

so), and with these all the profit of opium go the same way of the drain—to England. Only India shares the curse of the Chinese race. Had this cursed opium trade not existed, India's miseries would have much sooner come to the surface, and relief and redress would have come to her long ago; *but this trade has prolonged the agonies of India.*"

In this I have only just explained to you what I feel on the matter personally. With regard to the whole of the important question, which must be looked at in a practical point of view, I must leave sentiment aside. I must, at the same time, say that this opinion of mine that the opium revenue must be abolished is a personal one. I do not put it before you as the opinion of all India. I state it on my own responsibility. There is a great fear that if the opium revenue were to cease, the people of India would be utterly unable to fill up the gap in the revenue. They feel aghast at the very suggestion of it, and they go so far as to say that the opium revenue cannot be dispensed with. I just tell you what is held there, so that you may understand both sides of the question thoroughly. Therefore you have not the complete sympathy of the natives of India in this matter, and you will find, perhaps, several members of the Indian press expressing their opinion that they could not dispense with the opium revenue. In fact, Mr. Grant Duff, in answer to some representation from your Society, or somebody interested in the abolition of the opium trade, has asked, in 1870, whether they wished to grind an already poor population to the dust. So that he showed that even with the help of the opium revenue India was just on the verge of being ground down to the dust. This, then, is the condition in which India is situated. The question is how to practically deal with it. Before you can deal with any such subject it is necessary for you to take into consideration the whole Indian problem—What has been the condition of India, and what is the condition of India, and why has it been so? Mr. Dadabhai then cited official authorities from the commencement of the present century up to the present day, including that of the late and present Finance Ministers, that British India had been all along "extremely poor." He pointed out the exceedingly low income of India, viz. only Rs. 20 per head per annum, as compared with that of any tolerably well self-governed country; that a progressive and civilizing government ought to have increasing revenue; but India was utterly unable to yield such increasing revenue. He explained how, comparatively with its income, the pressure of taxation upon the subjects

of British India was doubly heavier than that of England; that of England being about 8 per cent. of its income, and of British India about 15 per cent. of its income; that England paid from its plenty, and India from its exceedingly poor income, so that the effect on British Indian subjects was simply crushing. He pointed out that while the trade with British India was generally supposed to be very large, it was in reality very small and wretched indeed. He illustrated this by some statistics, showing that the exports of British produce to India was only about 30,000,000*l.*, of which a portion went to the Native States of India and to part of Asia, through the northern border, leaving hardly a rupee a head worth for the subjects of British India. This certainly could not be a satisfactory result of a hundred years of British rule, with everything under British control. A quarter of a century ago, he said, Mr. Bright had used these remarkable words. "I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil, and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that, notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the government of that country." Mr Dadabhai urged that the Society should find out this fundamental error, and unless they did that, and made India prosperous, they could not expect to gain their benevolent object of getting rid of the opium revenue except by causing India to be ground down to dust by increased taxation in other shapes. This of course the Society did not mean, thus they ought to go to the root of the evil. India was quite capable of giving 200 instead of 70 millions of revenue, if they were allowed to keep what they produced, and to develop freely in their material condition; and in such a condition India would be quite able to dispense with the curse of the opium revenue. Mr. Dadabhai then proceeded to point out what he regarded as the cause of the poverty of British India. He cited several authorities upon the subject, and showed it was simply that the employment of a foreign agency caused a large drain to the country, disabling it from saving any capital at all, and rendering it weaker and weaker every day, forcing it to resort to loans for its wants, and becoming worse and worse in its economic condition. He explained at some length the process and effect of this fundamental evil, and how even what was called the "development" of the resources of India was actually thereby turned into the result of the "deprivation" of the resources of India. In pointing out a practicable remedy for all the evils, he said he did not mean that a sudden revolution should be made; but

the remedy which had been pointed out by a Committee of the India Office in 1860 would be the best thing to do, to meet all the requirements of the case. After alluding to the Act of 1833 and the great Proclamation of 1858, a faithful fulfilment of which would be the fulfilment of all India's desires and wants, he said that the Committee of the India Office to which he had referred had recommended that simultaneous examinations should be held in India and England, and the list be made up according to merit; and he added to this scheme, that the successful candidates of the first examination should be made to come over to England and finish their studies for two years with the successful candidates of England. This was the resolution of the National Indian Congress which met last Christmas in Bombay. It was also necessary that some scope should be given to the military races to attach them to the British rule. If this fair play and justice were given to the natives in all the higher Civil Services, and if some fair competition system were adopted for all the uncovenanted and subordinate services, India would have fair play, and free development of herself—would become prosperous, would be able to give as much revenue as a progressive and a civilizing administration should want, and then only would the philanthropic object of the Society be fully achieved. Otherwise, if India continued as wretched as she was at present, there was no chance of the object being attained except by great distress to the Indian themselves and grave political dangers to the British rulers, or the whole may end in some great disaster. Mr. Dadabhai was glad that British statesmen were becoming alive to this state of affairs, and the highest Indian authority, the Secretary of State, fully shared his appreciation of the position, when he wrote to the Treasury on the 26th of January last; "The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of the public revenue, is very peculiar, not merely . . . but likewise from the character of the government, which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices, and form so large a part of the army. The imposition of new taxation, which would have to be borne wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on the country, and virtually to meet additions to charges arising outside of the country, would constitute a political danger, the real magnitude of which, it is to be feared, is not at all appreciated by persons who have no knowledge of, or concern in the government of India, but which those responsible for that government have long regarded as of the most serious order."

7

ENGLAND'S BEST WAY OF RETAINING INDIA.

(Before a Meeting at the Manchester Athenæum in November 1886. Mr. Samuel Ogden, President of the Institution, in the chair.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said that he, with many other native Indians, had been afraid that in the desire to make money, Manchester had altogether forgotten the duty of alleviating and humanising peoples all over the world. From all he had seen and heard, he believed so no longer, but that Manchester was true to its old traditions, and had still the old desire to be fair and just to everybody. He believed the appeal he had to make would not be unheard in this great city. (Applause.) After 100 years of British rule, he would ask the question, was India prosperous? That great empire was anything but prosperous, but was, on the other hand, one of the poorest countries in the world. Its annual production was not half even that of Turkey. The income of England was £38 per head per annum, France £25, United States £33, South America £6, India hardly £2. And this after one hundred years of British rule! The time had come, then, for Englishmen, as rulers of India, to try and understand the position of their empire, and remedy the evils of which he spoke. As to taxation, there was an utterly fallacious idea that India was lightly dealt with. But the fact was that India, on the £2 per head income, paid 18 per cent. in taxes for Government purposes, while in England the percentage was only 8. What were the reasons why India, which in his opinion was capable of paying the same rate of taxation as England, now felt so greatly the strain of that taxation? The reasons were various. One of the chief of them was the fact that India was as yet in effect under foreign rule, whereas our rule should assimilate as nearly as possible to native rule. So long as England went on draining the country of its material resources through this foreign agency, so long would the poverty of India continue. Every year from 20 to 30 millions was taken from the country in this way. Not only that, but English servants, after acquiring experience in administration, were withdrawn when they could be of most use, were pensioned and came home. This was a moral evil as great even as the material. And now with regard to taxation had come the last straw. India had to remit 17 millions of money every year to England for what were called "home charges." But the rate of exchange had fallen from 2*s.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*, and the result was the amount of produce which the Government

had to send would have to be increased to the extent of seven or eight millions in order to make up the sum. It meant an increase of taxation on the natives to that extent. But it was impossible to grind a farthing more out of them than at present. The Government themselves confessed that the state of affairs would be an evil in any country; in a country such as India it was pregnant with danger. He agreed that the condition of affairs was becoming dangerous to the rulers themselves. The fact was that unless there was a great change, the people must either die off or English rule must be overthrown. It must be one or the other. He was convinced, as the Indian people were convinced, that as soon as the state of affairs was properly understood, England would do fairly and justly. It had been the boast of England that she helped every struggling nationality to have self-government, to be free, to enjoy political rights which God has bestowed on Englishmen. Let England do the same for India; let her perform the promises contained in the solemn proclamation of 1858 made by the Queen. India wanted self-administration and self-legislation, and with this blessing conferred the Empire would be knitted to England with a gratitude and loyalty worth more to this country than 500,000 soldiers. (Applause.) How was it to be done? The question was answered by the proclamation he had referred to. Let the Indian Civil Service be open, as the Queen had promised it should be. It was practically banned and barred to all but a few Indians who were able to come over to England to pass the examinations. The solution he proposed was the carrying out of a recommendation given by an Indian Committee—that the Civil Service examinations should take place in India and England simultaneously, and the result be according to merit. (Applause.) Mr. Dadabhai proceeded to refer to the economic position of the country and to advocate various reforms. India did not take goods from England to the extent of 1*s*. 6*d*. per head. It ought at least to be £1 per head; with some of our colonies English trade was £20 or £30 or £40. The natives were naturally industrious and productive, and if allowed to become prosperous, England would be unable to supply all their wants. (Applause.) The economic condition of India was utterly unnatural, and at the bottom of it all was the simple fact that foreign rule was a curse and that our rule in India ought to approximate to native rule.

8
THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA.

(An address before the Members of the Reform Club, King's Street, October 1886. Mr. H. Lee in the chair.)

Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, who was received with applause, assured his hearers that in standing before any audience in England on an Indian platform the appeal he made was not simply to any particular party, or any particular class, but was the appeal of the whole people of India to the whole people of England. He appealed as much to the Conservatives as to the Liberals on all subjects connected with India. The Manchester people were interested in it not only as belonging to the English nation or as governing India, but at the same time they had a particular and intimate interest in India, commercially and economically. The two subjects, the political condition and the economic condition of India were so intimately interwoven with each other, that without giving some explanation of the one the other could not be clearly understood. He took up the subject of the political condition of India in order that when that was clearly understood its economic and commercial position could be properly appreciated. The best thing he could do was to place before them not only his own individual opinions, but the views and opinions expressed last Christmas at a National Indian Congress held at Bombay. That Congress was attended by delegates from all parts of India, representing all the principal associations of India. Those who attended formed a portion of the picked educated classes of India. Before entering on the subject of the opinions formulated by that Congress, he must at the outset acknowledge very emphatically and clearly that great and important blessings had been conferred on India by the British rule. (Applause.) There was no question that since the accession of the British rule India had been completely changed in its whole character, physically, morally, socially, and intellectually. (Applause.) There was no doubt that from one end to the other of India security of life and property was the British rule There was no doubt whatever that through the instrumentality of the British Government the Indian people had had education given to them, and the enlightenment of the West had been communicated to them, and for that they could never be too thankful. Sufficient information had, he believed, been given on the good England had done to India, and he would, therefore go on to consider what they required at England's hands in the future. He did not mean to speak in any spirit of cavil or complaint. He spoke with [illegible] fo[illegible] past

and hopefulness for the future. It was for the future, therefore, that he placed before them what the people of India, and the educated people of India particularly, desired at their hands. He proceeded to quote from the published statements of eminent Anglo-Indians in support of the view that the educated natives were the deservedly trusted guides of the people. Any idea of the subversion of British rule was said to be abhorrent to the educated natives, from the consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion. It was men who entertained such views as these that met in Congress to consider the condition of India and place boldly, and at the same time with the utmost loyalty, their wishes and needs before the British public. A subject which engaged the careful attention of the Congress was the difficulties placed in the way of natives holding civil appointments in India. In 1833 it was enacted that no native of India should by reason of his colour decent, or religion, be incapable of holding office. That promise had been renewed, but as yet very little had been done to make it an accomplished fact. In the opinion of the speaker this reform in the Civil Service was intimately connected with the economic condition of India, and he appealed to England, and to Lancashire in particular, to do their utmost to secure to the natives of India a fulfilment of the solemn promises made to them years ago, in the confident belief that thereby they would be not simply gratifying the aspirations of educated Indians, but conducing in a marked degree to the prosperity of our great dependency and to the augmentation of our trade with that country. As affairs now stand the people in the Native States were better off than those in British India, because in the former countries all that was raised in taxes was spent among themselves and went back to them, whereas in British India a sum of £17,000,000 was annually raised and remitted to this country. Of course the people of India did not want to upset the Civil Service arrangements all at once. They simply pleaded for air play and to have their educated youths allowed to compete on equal terms with Englishmen for the offices at the disposal of the Government of India. India was poor, it was impossible to tax her more, and so she would inevitably remain until her own people had a fair share in the task of government. If they would consider this question carefully, they would see in what direction they had to work in order that they might make India their best customer. The next resolution he wished to bring to their notice was with regard to the Legislative Councils. The constitution of those Councils was such that the natives had no voice in whatever was done for them, in the laws passed for them, in the

taxation imposed upon them, or in the manner in which that taxation was spent. India, after being for such a long time under British rule, and after being educated for nearly half a century, had a sufficient number of people who were prepared to understand that taxation must go with representation. England did its utmost to help, either morally or materially, every struggling community to acquire freedom and to acquire constitutional government. Unfortunately she had not been as liberal towards her own possession—what had been described as "the brightest jewel in her crown." If a proper representation was introduced into those Legislative Councils, Government itself would be relieved of a great deal of odium and a great deal of trouble, because whenever any law was passed by them with the representative voice of the people themselves, Government would necessarily be relieved of having done anything without consideration for the views and sentiments of the natives themselves. Another great change needed was that a system of interpellation should be introduced into those councils. This was a right which the natives of India expected at the hands of the British people, because if India could benefit at the hands of the British people it was by being elevated to the political level of the British people. Up to the present time the British had degraded themselves to the level of the Asiatic despotism, for their rule had been merely an absolute rule. The will of the Government was the law of the land, or rather the will of the English people as expressed in Acts of Parliament was the law of the land. Owing to the want of a few native members in Parliament, a great deal was done that was injurious to the people of India, and an urgent necessity existed for having a few native members to represent the native side of questions in Parliament. Whether the time would ever come when representatives would come from all parts of the world to sit in the British Parliament he did not know, but he thought they had good grounds on which to appeal to a few English constituencies to enable one or two natives of India to sit in the House of Commons and present to Parliament the native side of Indian questions. Another institution needing reform was the India Office Council. That was a Council which deliberated in secret, and which assigned no reasons for the conclusions to which it came. That Council ought to be either abolished or altered, because it was an anachronism, it was inherently defective, and it was naturally likely to do more harm than good. Another question which required to be dealt with was that of the customs duties, but that again was intimately bound up with the question of the prosperity of India. The most important

question after all that they had to consider was to find out why India was so poor, and if they only discovered the reason, and applied the true remedy, they would have as great a benefit as ever any nation had offered to another. (Applause.)

9

DINNER TO HON. MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI BY THE NORTHBROOK CLUB.

(At a dinner given to the Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji by the Northbrook Indian Club, London, on the 4th November 1886, to bid him farewell on his return to India. Lord Ripon in the chair.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji declared himself unable to find adequate terms in which to express the feelings by which he was overwhelmed on that occasion; but whether it was modesty on his part or not, he would tell the truth and declare the intense satisfaction and pride which the honour he was receiving that evening gave him. When a native of India was thus honoured by two of the greatest and best Viceroys India had ever had—(loud cheers)—he might fairly indulge in pride. Reference had been made to his connection with Baroda, and, in connection with that matter, he wished to acknowledge the deep debt of gratitude he owed to Lord Northbrook for justice done him irrespective of his being a native of India. But it was a characteristic of England and of the English race that whenever they thought a man had done good and useful work, they had their esteem and respect ready for him whoever he might be. The generosity of the spirit in which his services had been received was enhanced by the fact that if there was one man more distinguished than others for grumbling at some fault of British rule, that man was himself. But, knowing the good purpose he always had in view, they did him honour in spite of his grumbling. And to whom was due the glory of the fact that he was able to stand before them in this way as an honoured guest? That glory was their own : it belonged to the British rule. Had it not been for the education he had received at the blessed hands of the British rulers, he would not have been with them then speaking of his gratitude that night. And for this one circumstance alone—for the enlightenment it had bestowed upon them—England was entitled to the everlasting gratitude of the people of India. Nor was this all that England had done for India. She had raised up a descending nation and had endowed it with a new political life. For the past the natives of India had every reason to be grateful to the British rule; and while England sent out such Viceroys

as the good Mayo, the just Northbrook and righteous Ripon, British rule would assuredly command the loyal devotion of India. Of the good work which it had accomplished no better illustration could be found than the National Indian Congress, held last year at Bombay. India had never, in her whole historical career, seen such a phenomenon as that. It was only possible under free and enlightened British rule. The pick of the educated natives from all parts of India met together and spoke out with the freedom that they owed to the British rule. That was a unique phenomenon and it gave some idea of the good work which had been already done. For all the kind things his lordship had said he was very grateful, but, he would repeat the glory was their own. When he received the education he had passed through, when he imbibed the illustrious literature he had been introduced to, he could not but be so influenced that the guiding rule of his life became the debt he owed to his country and to his Sovereign. He was endeavouring to repay that debt in some measure by trying to make himself useful to both sides. He concluded with an earnest reiteration of the pride with which he received the honour done him.

10

OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN INDIA.

(Before the members of the North Islington Liberal Club, Holloway Road, London, November 1886. Mr. Newton Wilson in the chair.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, in commencing his address, said the question of the evening was not one he associated with *any particular political* party, but he appealed to the whole British *people*. The first aspect of the subject he would speak upon was with *regard to the* constitution of the Civil Service. On this matter the *whole political* and economic condition of India depended. As *far* back *as 1833* a solemn promise was made to every subject of the *throne in India, that* religion, *descent*, or colour, should be no bar to *office* or *employment* in the East India Company. Lord Macaulay *said he* was proud of having been one of those who framed the *Bill, which included* so noble and benevolent a clause. In 1858, *after the close of the* unhappy mutiny, the *promise* was repeated in the *most solemn* manner in a declaration of the *Sovereign*. Since *then some attempt had been* made to leave the service *open for competition, but it had been only* in a partial manner without *any really faithful interpretation of the* proclamation. [illegible] *Argyll, Mr. Bright, the late Mr. Fawcett, Lord Ripon,* [illegible] *and all at*

different times acknowledged this fact. Had the promises been fulfilled in the spirit in which they were made, the condition of India would have been better and brighter, and more especially in a commercial sense would the country have been 100 times better. What was commercially the connection between England and India? England sent goods to India worth from 13*d.* to 2*s.* per head per annum, after a connection of more than 100 years. After our having full economic and political control during all these years, had the relations between England and India been of different character? Was India prosperous? That great empire was anything but prosperous, was, on the other hand, one of the poorest countries in the world. Its annual production was not half even that of Turkey. The income of England was £38 per head per annum, France £25, United States £33, South America £6, India hardly £2. And this after one hundred years of British rule! The time had come, then, for Englishmen, as rulers of India, to try and understand the position of their Empire, and remedy the evils of which he spoke. As to taxation. there was an utterly fallacious idea that India was lightly dealt with. But the fact was that India, on the £2 per head income, paid 18 per cent. in taxes for Government purposes, while in England the percentage was only 8. What were the reasons why India, which, in his opinion, was capable of paying the same rate of taxation as England, now felt so greatly the strain of that taxation? The reasons were various. One of the chief of them was the fact that India was as yet in effect under foreign rule, whereas our rule should assimilate as nearly as possible to native rule. So long as England went on draining the country of its material resources through this foreign agency, so long would the poverty of India continue. Every year from 20 to 30 millions were taken from the country in this way. Not only that, but English servants, after acquiring experience in administration, were withdrawn when they could be of most use, were pensioned, and came home. This was a moral evil as great even as the material. And now with regard to taxation had come the last straw. India had to remit 17 millions of money every year to England for what were called "home charges." But the rate of exchange has fallen from 2*s.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*, and the result was the amount of produce which the Government had to send would have to be increased to the extent of seven or eight millions in order to make up the sum. I meant an increase of taxation on the natives to that extent. But it was impossible to grind a farthing more out of them than at present. The Government themselves confessed that the state of affairs would be an evil in any country; in a country

such as India it was pregnant with danger. He agreed that the condition of affairs was becoming dangerous to the rulers themselves. The fact was that unless there was a great change, the people must either die off, or English rule must be overthrown. It must be one or the other. He was convinced, as the Indian people were convinced, that as soon as the state of affairs was properly understood, England would do fairly and justly. It had been the boast of England that she helped every struggling nationality to have self-government, to be free, to enjoy political rights which God had bestowed on Englishmen. Let England do the same for India; let her perform the promises contained in the solemn proclamation of 1858 made by the Queen. India wanted self-administration and self-legislation, and with this blessing conferred, the Empire would be knitted to England with a gratitude and loyalty worth more to this country than 50,000 soldiers. (Applause.) How was it to be done? The question was answered by the proclamation he had referred to. Let the Indian Civil Service be open, as the Queen had promised it should be. It was practically banned and barred to all but a few Indians who were able to come over to England to pass the examinations. The solution he proposed was the carrying out of a recommendation given by an Indian Committee—that the Civil Service examinations should take place in India and England simultaneously, and the result be according to merit. (Applause.) He proceeded to refer to the economic position of the country, and to advocate various reforms India did not take goods from England to the extent of 1*s.* 6*d* per head. It ought at least to be £1 per head; with some of our colonies English trade was £20 or £30 or £40. The natives were naturally industrious and productive, and would become so if allowed to, because prosperous England would be unable to supply all their wants. (Applause.) The economic condition of India was utterly unnatural, and at the bottom of all it was the simple fact that foreign rule was a curse, and that our rule in India ought to approximate to native rule. (Applause.)

11

ON POLITICAL REFORM.

(At the third Annual Dinner of the Elphinstonians at the Elphinstone Institution, December 18, 1886. The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in the chair.)

The chairman returned thanks for the exceedingly kind manner in which they always received the toast of his health. Referring to the letter on the subject of the Public Service Commission which had appeared that morning in the English dailies, Mr. Dadabhai said they need not concern themselves much about such creakings for this reason, that the Government themselves were perfectly satisfied about the goodness of the motives by which the people of India were actuated in their action. The Government of India in one of their despatches to the Secretary of State had distinctly stated that as far as the educated portion of the people of India was concerned, and their number was rapidly increasing, the idea of the subversion of British rule was utterly abhorrent to them. (Cheers.) Such being the testimony given to them from the highest quarters, they need not feel much concern at any misrepresentations, or misconstruction or misapprehension of their motives. Mr. Pherozeshaw had very well pointed out that their progress, political, economical, social and educational, depended entirely upon the continuance of the British rule. If they were now urging what they considered to be their claims, it was the best proof possible of the liberal policy of Government which had enabled them to understand those claims and ask for them; and since the Government had put them in this position, it was not possible for them to misunderstand their motives, and to think that the people of this country could ever be so ungrateful, or so devoid of all appreciation of their own self-interests as to wish for the subversion of British rule. (Cheers.) Nay, when they asked for any claims, or desired any reforms, the Government would see in it the people's desire for their own good, as well as their sincere desire for the greater stability of the British rule. (Hear, hear.) In his resolution on the Public Service Commission, the Secretary of State had stated that he wanted the Commission to devise a scheme which should have some reasonable elements of finality in it, and should do full justice to the claims of the natives of India. With such a clear and straightforward avowal of the motives of Government in this matter, there could be no room for any misapprehension, and it would be the people's own fault, if they did not now come forward and say firmly, loyally, and respectfully that such and such were their claims which in their opinion would do full justice to their desires

and requirements. The Charter of 1833 was given to them of their own free will by the Government, without any agitation on the part of the people. At that time, it was felt by statesmen, as rulers of hundreds of millions, to be their duty to decide on what basis the British rule should rest in India. A debate took place in Parliament, in which Macaulay, Lansdowne, Ellenborough and other eminent men took part, the question with all its *pros* and *cons* was fully discussed, and the result was that it was deliberately laid down that the admission of natives into the public service should be entirely irrespective of considerations of caste, creed or colour, but should solely depend upon the fitness of the individual The Charter of 1833 was ultimately confirmed by our gracious sovereign in most emphatic and solemn terms, stating that all Her Majesty's subjects would be treated alike and would be held equally dear to the sovereign. (Hear, hear.) With these assurances before them, it was not for them to be whining and complaining that the Government was going to deprive them of what they had already got. All they had got to do now was to come forward and ask the Government plainly and distinctly to fulfil the solemn promises repeatedly made to the people. The question would then naturally arise—which would be the most effective way of carrying out those promises? It fortunately happened that soon after the Proclamation of 1858 was made known, a committee of the India Office sat upon this very subject, and after a careful consideration, they decided that the best method of carrying out the spirit as well as the letter of the Act of 1858 would be to hold examinations for the public service simultaneously in England and in India. That was the fairest solution of the difficulty. Now that the whole thing lay clearly cut out before them, all that they had to do was to place it before the Commission, asking that the decision arrived at by the Committee of the India Office should be acted upon. He would not go on that occasion into the question of the reform of the Legislative Councils, because at present the most important and burning question, as Lord Dufferin had properly called it, which had agitated them for a long time, was that of the admission of natives into the service of their country. (Cheers.) Rather than blame Lord Dufferin, they should be thankful to him for the share he has taken in this matter, and it was now for the educated portion of the community to say what they wanted the Government to do for the benefit of the country. (Cheers.)

12

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

(Before a meeting of the East India Association, at which Mr. A. K. Connell read a paper on "The Indian Civil Service," July 1887. Mr. John Bright in the chair.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first impulse was not to send up my card at all, but after attending this meeting and hearing the paper that has been put before us, it is necessary that I should not put myself in a false position, and as I disagree with a portion of this paper, it became necessary that I should make that disagreement known. The third part of the paper is the part that is objectionable; and it seems to me it is a lame and impotent conclusion of an able and well-considered beginning. For me to undertake to reply to all the many fallacies that that third part contains, will be utterly out of the question in the ten minutes allotted to me; but I have one consolation in that respect—that my views are generally known, that they are embodied to a great extent in the journals of this Association; that I also direct the attention of Mr. Connell and others to two papers that I submitted to the Public Service Commission, and that I hope there are two other papers that are likely to appear in the *Contemporary Review** in the months of August and September. These have anticipated, and will, I trust, directly and indirectly answer most of the fallacies of Mr. Connell's paper. I would, therefore, not attempt the impossible task of replying to the whole of this paper, but I wil make a few remarks of a different character altogether bearing upon the vital question before us. This question of the services is not simply a question of the aspirations of a few educated men; it is the question of life and death to the whole of British India. It is our good fortune that we have in the chair to-day the gentleman who put a very pertinent question, going to the root of the whole evil, as far back as a third of a century ago. Mr. Bright put the question in the year 1853. He said: "I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithstanding the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the Government of that country." Gentlemen, as long as you do not give a full and fair answer to that question of the great statesman—that

* These papers will be found at the end of this book.

statement made a third of a century ago—you will never be able to grasp this great and important question of the services. It is not, as I have already said, a question of the mere aspiration of a few educated men. Talking about this destitution, it is a circumstance which has been dwelt upon in the beginning of the century by Sir John Shaw. Lord Lawrence in his time said that the mass of the people were living on scanty subsistence. To the latest day the last Finance Minister, Sir Evelyn Baring, testified to the extreme poverty of the people, and so does the present Finance Minister. The fact is that after you have hundred years of the most highly-paid and the most highly-praised administration in that country, it is the poorest country in the world. How can you account for that? Grasp that question fully, and then only will you be able to see what vast interest this question of the services means. Then I come to the pledges that have been given. Here are open honorable pledges The statesmen of 1833 laid down distinctly, in the face of the important consideration—whether India should be allowed ever to be lost to Britain. They weighed every circumstance, and they came to the deliberate conclusion which was embodied in the Act that they passed. But then you had not the experience of that fear of the risk of losing India. Twenty-five years afterwards you actually experienced that very risk; you actually had a mutiny against you, and what was your conduct then? Even after that experience, you rose above yourself; you kept up your justice and generosity and magnanimity, and in the name of the Queen, and by the mouth of the Queen, you issued a Proclamation, which if you "conscientiously" fulfil will be your highest glory, and your truest fame and reward. Gentlemen, take the bull by the horns. Do not try to shirk this question. If you are afraid of losing India, and if you are to be actuated by the inglorious fear of that risk, let that be stated at once. Tell us at once, "We will keep you under our heels, we will not allow you to rise or to prosper at any time." Then we shall know our fate. But with your English manliness—and if there is anything more characteristic of you than anything else, it is your manliness—speak out honestly and not hypocritically, what you intend to do. Do you really mean to fulfil the pledges given before the world, and in the name of God, with the sanction of God and asking God to aid you, in the execution of that pledge—do you mean to stick to that pledge or to get out of it? Whatever it be, like honest Englishmen, speak out openly and plainly. "We will do this" or "We will not do this." But do not expose yourselves to the charges—which I am not [illegible] members

of the India Council have made—of "keeping the promise to the ear, and breaking to the hope." Looking at the time I cannot now enter into all the different and important considerations that this paper raises, but I simply ask you again this question, whether like honest Englishmen such as you are, in a manly way, you say the thing and do it. If you mean to fulfil these pledges honestly, do so; if you do not mean to fulfil them honestly, say so, and at least preserve your character for honesty and manliness. Mr. Connell had in the first part of his paper laid down as emphatically as he could the principles upon which the English nation is bound to act, and the third part of the paper he has done his utmost to discredit the whole thing, and to say how not to do it. But he forgets one thing: that the pledge you have given, you have never given a fair trial to: if you only give a fair trial to that pledge, you will find that it will not only redound to your glory for ever, but also result in great benefits to yourself; but if India is to be for a long time under your rule with blessing, and not with a curse, it is the fulfilment of that pledge which will secure that result. Ah! gentlemen, no eternal or permanent results can ever follow from dodging and palavering. Eternal results can follow only *from eternal principles. Your rule of India is based* not on sixty thousand bayonets or a hundred thousand bayonets. But it is based upon the confidence, the intense faith like the one that I hold, in the justice, the conscience and the honor of the British nation. As long as I have that faith in me, I shall continue to urge and plead before statesmen like Mr. Bright, and before the English nation. Fulfil your pledge honestly before God, because it is upon those eternal principles only that you can expect to continue your rule with benefit to yourself and benefit to us. The reply to your (President's) question, Sir, about the fundamental error is then this. A foreign rule can never be but a curse to any nation on the face of the earth, except so far as it approaches a native rule, be the foreigners angels themselves. If this principle is not fairly borne in mind, and if honest efforts are not made to fulfil your pledges, it is utterly useless for us to plead, or to expect any good result, or to expect that India will ever rise in material and moral prosperity. I do not mean to say a word against the general *personnèl* of these services, as they are at the present time they are doing what they can in the false groove in which they are placed; to them there is every honor due for the ability and integrity with which most of them have carried on their work; but what I say is this. This system must be changed. The administration must become native under the supreme control of the English nation. Then you have one element in India, which is pecu-

liarly favorable to the permanence of your rule, if the people are satisfied that you give them the justice that you promise. It is upon the rock of justice alone that your rule stands. If they are satisfied, the result will be this. It is a case peculiar to India: there are Mahomedans and Hindus; if both are satisfied, both will take care that your supremacy must remain over them; but if they are both dissatisfied, and any paltering with justice and sincerity must produce that result. They will join together against you. Under these circumstances you have everything in your favor; in fact, the divine law is that if you only follow the divine law, then only can you produce divine results. Do good, no matter what the result is. If you trifle with those eternal and divine laws, the result must be disastrous. I must stop as the time is up.

WRITINGS.

CHAPTER V.

I.

THE BARODA ADMINISTRATION IN 1874.

(A Statement in reply to Remarks in the *Baroda Blue Book* of 1875, concerning Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and his Colleagues, submitted to the Secretary of State for India, to be published as a Blue Book, Bombay, November 25, 1875.)

BLUE BOOK* No. 1.

On reading all the Numbers of the Baroda Blue Book of this year, I find the amount of misunderstanding, misrepresentation and falsehood regarding me and my colleagues as something awful. To attempt to explain or refute them all in detail would be like trying to cut down a swarm of mosquitos with a sword. Moreover it will be now an utterly unprofitable thing to enter into a minute examination of the details of every day work of administration, and for which, besides, I should have the Baroda Records before me. It will be sufficient for me to say, as it will be apparent hereafter, that from the very beginning, Colonel Phayre has taken a jaundiced view of my and my colleagues' motives and actions. I confine myself to an exposure of only the most glaring misrepresentations and falsehoods, leaving as to who is guilty of them, to be settled between Colonel Phayre and his "highly respectable" and "honorable" informers on whom he relied. It will also be for Colonel Phayre to say whether the various messages from and reports about him which I have given hereafter require any correction.

Colonel Phayre in his letter of 1st January, 1874, (page 59) says, with reference to the Gaekwar's khareeta of 31st December, 1873, "The difference of tone of this khareeta not only contrasts strongly with His Highness' last one of 25th October last, but with the strong determination expressed by Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee as to the reforms he was about to initiate at once." I shall now first give the history of the khareeta of 25th October 1873, as reported to me by Mr. Bapoobhoy and other old Durbarees. This Bapoobhoy is one, as will be seen hereafter, who has been pronounced "respectable" by Sir R. Meade's Commission, and considered very highly of by the Colonel himself.

When Colonel Phayre found that the Viceroy took the appointment of the Commission into his own hands and left him (the Colonel) to play a

* [C—1203. 1875.]

subordinate part, he was very much displeased, told the Durbarees that the "Calcuttawalas bachá lòk haé, kuch nahi samajtè," (the Calcuttawalas are mere children, don't understand anything) and suddenly turned very sympathetic towards the Gaekwar, encouraging him in his desire to remonstrate against the appointment of the Commission. He then so far showed his cordiality that the draft of the khareeta received a perusal and some fostering and suggestive care at his hands; and the khareeta contains the following high praise for the Colonel from the Gaekwar, with whom his relations had hitherto been anything but of a friendly or sympathetic character.

(Page 50) "I am deeply obliged to Colonel Phayre, whom I consider as my best friend and well-wisher of the State, * * * and further being backed in my endeavours at reform by a zealous and energetic officer and Resident like Colonel Phayre, who is only (I am happy to say) too glad to assist me with his advice, and to the best of his power, in carrying out these views, as well as those affecting the grandeur, honor, and stability of my State, and whose appointment at such a time as *Resident at my Court, I have therefore reason to congratulate myself upon,* what need then is there for the appointment of a Commission, when I am sincerely willing, and have resolved to carry out thoroughly this work of 'State reform,' by the advice and co-operation of Colonel Phayre?"

How significant is all this when read by the light of its little history, and it is no wonder that Colonel Phayre should look fondly back to the khareeta of 25th October.

Now with regard to the Gaekwar's khareeta of 31st December 1873, any body who reads it will see that there is nothing improper in it, but only a respectful representation of the then position of the Gaekwar, nor is there anything to contrast with my determination to initiate reforms at once. For I do not see why I may not be able to represent the just rights of the Gaekwar to Government and at the same time introduce any reforms in the State. This representation against me has gone to Government, within three weeks of the Colonel's assurance to me, when I had first seen him on the day of my arrival at Baroda, of his cordiality and support, and of his taking credit to himself that my going to Baroda was the successful result of his exertions for reform!

Colonel Phayre further says, "I was privately and *confidentially* informed by a highly respectable person who was present in Durbar when this khareeta was signed, that His Highness hesitated to attach his signature, saying that it required consideration He was, however, overruled by Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee, the acting Dewan." This information is simply false, neither had His Highness shown the least unwillingness to send such a khareeta, nor had I overruled him. His Highness was particularly desirous to make such a representation.

Colonel Phayre says in his letter (page 21) to the Bombay Government of 18th August 1873, "I am always kept well informed of Durbar proceedings." Judging from this case and from what I shall show hereafter, it appears that the Colonel's "highly respectable" informers generally fed him upon misrepresentations and falsehoods. In spite of the above misleading and false statements in the Colonel's letter, (page 61) His Excellency the Viceroy gives the khareeta of 31st December a courteous reply and calls it "Your Highness' friendly letter." The letter of the Bombay Government to the Indian Government, of 5th March 1874, referring to my interview with His Excellency the Governor, says:—

(Page 64) "He fairly admitted that he had not had the slightest practical experience in public affairs, though he had made them the subject of much study. He likewise stated that the present Dewan would remain about the person of the Gaekwar under the title of Pritinidhe, and that the four Parsee* gentlemen from Bombay, to whom he proposed to entrust the four Chief departments of the Government, would have associated with them the Ministers who are at this moment in charge. It would be difficult to imagine a worse arrangement."

His Excellency the Governor (who I think hardly knew much about me) had, no doubt, every right to object to my want of practical experience. I might say here, on the other hand, what some persons in high position as well as some princes, who knew me well, and whose opinions would be, I think, generally respected, had thought of my selection at the time. But it is enough that the Bombay Government itself admit in the previous paragraph of the same despatch, "This gentleman stands high in the estimation of many persons both here and in England, and would no doubt make every effort in his power to introduce a better system of Government;" and Mr. Tucker, the first Councillor in the Bombay Government, says in his minute (page 71), "Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee is without administrative experience, but he is a man of some culture and intelligence, and with a constitutional form of Government, I see no reason why he should not be tried," and "I am not able to suggest anyone at the moment who would seem likely to have a better chance of success in such a difficult position."

Now about his Excellency's objection to Nanasaheb remaining near the Gaekwar, and the old Ministers remaining with the new, being urged as reasons against me, I have, I submit, just grounds to complain. The Bombay Government were well aware of what had already passed between them and the Indian Government. The Bombay Government in-

* Not all Parsees,—One Parsee, one Hindu and one Mahomedan.

their letter of 29th August 1873 to the Indian Government (page 18) say: "But his Excellency feels precluded from entertaining any such expectations, and fears that the Gaekwar will be unable, even if desirous of so doing, to introduce and maintain a proper system, or to check and punish the evil practices of his Ministers and confidential retainers, some of whom are known to have been his evil advisers during the reign of his late brother. And I am, therefore, directed to apply for the authority of the Government of India to instruct the Resident to demand from the Gaekwar the immediate suspension of the Dewan, and the Revenue Sir Soobah with his deputy, Narayen Bhai; the last, a man of bad character, dismissed from the service of this Government in the Rewakanta. The suspension for the present of these officers is the more essential, as I am further instructed to solicit from the Government of India, authority to appoint a British Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the system of revenue administration, and the alleged practice of the abduction of females from their families for the purpose of converting them into loundis. This Government attaches the greatest importance to the appointment of this Commission; and as the Gaekwar will be expected to render it every assistance in the prosecution of its inquiry, it is obviously desirable that his efforts to that end should not be thwarted during its progress by the Ministers whom I have mentioned."

This pressing application of the Bombay Government to suspend three of the old Ministers was replied to by the Government of India as follows (letter 19th September 1873).

(Page 31) "The Government of Bombay have suggested that the Gaekwar should be advised to suspend or remove the Dewan, the Revenue Sir Soobah and his deputy, but the Governor General in Council is of opinion that it would be better to await the result of the enquiry before demanding their suspension or removal."

Now in the face of this, the Government of Bombay expect from me, what they themselves could not do, because the Viceroy, under a sense of justice, would not allow it to be done. I may further complain that while talking upon this subject, His Excellency the Governor did not express to me his decidedly adverse opinion of the arrangements, or I would have pointed out the above reply of the Viceroy and explained to him its temporary necessity, and also that the real power, however, was left in the hands of my colleagues. On the contrary, while talking of the various difficulties in my way, Mr. Lee Warner encouraged me with the remark, that the British Government had taken 60 years to do what they had done in this Presidency, and that much yet remained to be done, and His

Excellency himself, at my parting, in a most kindly way told me "go on quietly." Had I dismissed or suspended any of the old Ministers, as matters are now disclosed by the Blue Book, Colonel Phayre would have turned round upon me, to denounce me on my back, as having insulted the Viceroy by doing what the Viceroy had expressly desired was not to be done. Again while the Bombay Government object to Nanasaheb having been allowed to remain as Pritinidhi near the person of the Gaekwar, they forget that they themselves not only allowed him to remain so, but even *as the Dewan*, by not recognising my appointment and thereby not only retaining but aggravating the very evil they complain of. The Bombay Government having thus made up their mind to object to my appointment, without expressing it to me or to the Gaekwar, not only gave me no moral support, but refused to me the aid of Government officials which I solicited and very much needed, and by also refusing to recognise me as Dewan, largely impaired my position and usefulness, in the eyes of the public. This gave the "highly respectable" persons of Colonel Phayre, opportunities of misrepresenting and maligning me and my colleagues to him for their own private ends, and he, as now appears from the Blue Book, was only too willing to hear them, and to turn their information to account against us without any inquiry into their truthfulness. It was a curious vicious circle in which the affairs then moved. The Bombay Government would not recognise me, or give me any aid. My position being thus weakened and rendered uncertain as to the intentions of Government in the eyes of the public, I myself would not like to ask good hands to come to serve under me, nor would they like to come, though very willing. Thus though weakened by the action of the Bombay Government itself, and being compelled to go on with the old hands as best I could, they turned round upon me, for keeping on these old hands, besides forgetting that the Viceroy would not allow them to be dismissed or suspended.

Mr. Tucker says, (page 71)—"I disapprove altogether of the existing arrangement by which there are virtually two Ministers, and neither has, I imagine, any real power." To this objection I have already replied above. Further,—"I was present at Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee's examination before the Indian Finance Committee of the late House of Commons last year, and was not then impressed with the accuracy of his knowledge of the subjects upon which he was examined, or of his readiness in applying what he did know."

I cannot blame Mr. Tucker for his impression. My examination has a little history of its own, which this is not the proper occasion to

discuss. I need only say that Mr. Ayrton, the chairman, did his best to prevent me from giving my evidence upon the subjects for which I was prepared and which I had proposed in a letter to be examined upon; and he dragged me, against my remonstrances, into questions with which I had nothing to do. I had, previous to appearing before the Committee, shown my notes to an influential and active member of it, and he had told me that the subjects I had selected were just some of those most important to be brought forward before the Committee. But Mr. Ayrton evidently thought otherwise, and at the end of my first day's examination, to which Mr. Tucker's remark applies, another member of the Committee told me that my that day's troubles were owing to my being a little too ambitious in the subjects I proposed. I then understood the cause of my unusual treatment. The next day, when Mr. Ayrton was not in the chair, I had some fair treatment given me. Be this as it may; I am not the less thankful to Mr. Tucker for his opinion which I have already quoted before.

It is true, as Mr. Gibbs remarks in his minute of 28th May 1874 (page 350) after doing justice to the honesty and good intentions of myself and my colleagues, that the old Durbarees were then making efforts to thwart us, though they had been only *nominally* associated with my colleagues. But these Durbarees began to take heart, and lead back the Maharaja to his old bad ways, because the Bombay Government refused to aid or recognise me, and thereby were generally understood to be against me, because Colonel Phayre kept up open opposition to me and my colleagues, and gave his ear and encouragement to men like Bapoobhoy who knew well how to turn such power and opportunities to account, and because somehow or other Damodar entirely escaped any remark from Sir R. Meade's Commission, though Colonel Phayre was always talking loudly against him as the Maharaj's worst evil genius.

The long delay in the decision on the Report of Sir R. Meade's Commission also unfortunately contributed largely towards encouraging the old Durbarees and giving time for the development of their intrigues. They took much advantage of the delay by getting up "gups" from time to time, at first that the Report of the Commission was favourable to the Gaekwar, and latterly that the decision on the report was to be all right for the Gaekwar; and with the aid of such gups they tried to lead the Gaekwar into their own ways again. In short, for what Mr. Gibbs complains, the Government and Colonel Phayre [illegible] th[illegible] been the principal cause.

BARODA BLUE BOOK No. 2.*

Colonel Phayre, in his letter to the Bombay Government (page 15) of 9th May with a P.S. of 11th May, with reference to the Gaekwar's khareeta of 9th May, makes some remarks about me. Before noticing the most glaringly false statements in it, I may here state a circumstance, which if true, throws a clear light upon Colonel Phayre's whole future conduct towards me. Messrs. "the respectable" Bapoobhoy and Govindrao Mama reported, that on the receipt of the khareeta, the Resident became exceedingly angry, and that at a subsequent interview two or three days after, he said that the khareeta had been written by me and that ("suiting the action to the word" with a strong emphasis and gesture of hands) he would "girengá or giráengá" (fall or throw down) me. When this was reported to me by Nanasaheb, I took it only as a bit of the Colonel's big talk, and thought no more about it. But the Blue Book now discloses that he seems to have exerted all his might and main to make good his vow of "giraoing" me, and I can only account by such vow for the strangely virulent attacks against me, and the persistent dinning into the ears of the Government several misrepresentations about me, even though in some matter he had both public and personal explanations from me as to the true state of the cases.

Colonel Phayre, referring back to my having written the precedence khareeta of 5th December 1872, alludes in an insinuating way to my obtaining Rs. 50,000 for the writing of it and for the agitation of the question, though he knew the true state of the case from myself personally as well as from the public explanation I had already given. I shall have to say more about this matter further on.

Colonel Phayre calls me a "thoroughly disappointed man," "unanimously pronounced to be a failure here as an aspirant to the office of Minister not having been able up to the present time to effect any reform, &c."

I do not know how the Colonel found out my disappointment, whatever that means, unless it be that the wish was father to the thought, and it is no matter of surprise that his "highly respectable" informers, or perhaps the "respectable" Mr. Bapoobhoy, (who, we now find, was himself an aspirant to the office of Dewan, and was considered fit by the Colonel,) should have opined that I was a failure and made no reforms; and that Colonel Phayre with his desire to "girao" me or at least with his bias

*[C.—1249.]

against me, should welcome such opinion and make a special note of it to Government.

The fact simply being that some of the Durbarees were then endeavouring to thwart us under the circumstances I have already mentioned in connection with Mr. Gibbs' minute, and they took advantage of the Colonel's inclinations against me.

Colonel Phayre says that Nanasaheb repudiated the obvious direct meaning of the words "much as *I* already suffered *in dignity and* authority from the Resident's open hostility to my administration," &c. First of all the obvious meaning of this is simply a fact, there was *nothing to repudiate*. And next, if Nanasaheb made any show of repudiating a single word of the khareeta, or as the Colonel further on says, "he also expressed his disapproval of the general tone of the khareeta by saying that such a production would never have emanated from any of the old Durbaree servants, and appeared to express anxiety as to whether it would be despatched to-day or to-morrow," he *told a* false hood. For the Gaekwar, Nanasaheb and all the old Durbarees, approved of the khareeta, and none more so than Nanasaheb himself. In fact *it was at the desire of the Gaekwar and Nanasaheb that a khareeta of* the kind should be sent, that I wrote it out, as I and Mr. Wadia agreed that this desire was reasonable. Colonel Phayre says that he had "heard from independent sources that the withdrawal of the khareeta was actually mooted in the Durbar." This is either false information, or I know *nothing of such mooting*.

Of the Colonel's poor tactics of making capital out of representing me as a "mischievous political agitator" I need take no notice. When I am conscious of being actuated in all my public acts only by a simple sense of duty, I can afford to treat this and other such miserable claptrap and devices with contempt.

Colonel Phayre says "*facts* like these prove the utter unfitness of Mr. Dadabhoy for the work of reform." As are the premises, so is the conclusion. The so called "facts" being all fiction, there is no need to say what the worth of the conclusion is. And a question naturally arises, what is the Colonel's own fitness to judge of the fitness of others? The present Blue Book and the Sind-resolution of 1872, answer this question. Moreover, some *criterion may be formed of* the Colonel's *own* judgment, by ascertaining who are *his* fit men. This I shall have to speak about further on. It is quite enough for me to say here that his ideal being "the respectable" Bapoobhoy, there is no

opinion about my unfitness. I may, before finishing with the Colonel's letter under comment, make a remark here once for all, that the Colonel's power of speaking Hindustani is indifferent, and I had several times to interpret his Hindustani to the Maharaja. Heaven knows how much mischief may have arisen from the Colonel's misunderstanding and being misunderstood by others.

All the above clap-trap and abuse of me seem to have gone for nothing, for His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, instead of foolishly rushing into motives, &c. looked to the khareeta itself, and in a becoming reply, endeavoured, according to His Excellency's views, to explain the Resident's conduct, and ended his explanation with the courteous conclusion, "I feel sure that your Highness, with this explanation before you, and being thus made acquainted with what had passed between the Resident and your Ministers, will perceive that the former acted in obedience to his instructions and will acquit him of any intention to offer you a public insult."

Some time after this answer was received from His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, Colonel Phayre sent me a message with Mr. Bapoobhoy, in *Hindustani*, "give Dadabhai my compliments and tell him to secure his passage in the steamer as Government has decided to turn him out." What to say or think of this, what now appears to be simple impudence and a false use of the name of Government, I do not know; or is it an invention of the "respectable" Bapoobhoy.

I find from this Blue Book (page 23) some expression of disapprobation against His Highness on the part of the Viceroy, with reference to the correspondence upon the subject of the insult and especially about His Highness's yad of 7th May 1874, to the Resident. I do not at present undertake to controvert His Excellency's views. I need simply say that as far as I remember, this disapprobation has not been communicated to the Gaekwar, and there was, *therefore no opportunity* of giving any explanation, and that with regard to the yad of 7th May, it so happens that though I do not say we objected to it, it was suggested and dictated in Marathi by one of the old Durbarees, approved of by all the others, and simply translated by us. Did the Colonel's "respectable" informers tell him this

BLUE BOOK No. 4.*

This number contains a great deal of correspondence upon the question of redressing a variety of complaints. Instead of wading through each case it will be sufficient to give a general explanation for the whole. The "honorable" gentlemen who had the Colonel's ear, had organized a regular system by which the people were kept up in a continued state of agitation. The mode of operation was this;—with regard to the cultivators, a number of vakeels went about the districts telling people they were going to manage through the Saheb to get the assessment reduced half or more, that the ryots should resist payment and complain loudly at the least real or imaginary coercion by the authorities. Then either the vakeels or ryots would first complain at once to the Resident, then come to me, Mr. Kazi or to both of us, make insolent demands from us, and the moment we commenced any question or inquiry, they would refuse to answer, threaten us they would go back to the Saheb and complain that their complaints had not been heard or redressed, and away they would walk off to the Saheb. I explained this to the Resident several times but to no effect. He would take it for granted that we paid no attention to the complaints, hurl vexatious yads to us and write letters to Government inclosing petitions, or statements taken by himself, containing all sorts of falsehoods and exaggerations. In short either we should give all that everybody chose to demand with the Saheb at their back, or we were at once pronounced as deaf to the complaints of the people and having no intention to carry out the recommendations of the Commission, &c. &c. In this way was the farce of coming to us and getting no redress, and a continued agitation was kept up among all classes of complaints. It was simply impossible for us to come to any reasonable settlement with any complainants. They always showed clearly and openly that they were conscious of their strength that the Saheb would get them all they wanted. With regard to the Sirdars especially, it was a common report that they had advice from the Colonel himself to remain thoroughly combined and not to come to any terms directly with the Gaekwar, and a case has come to my knowledge lately that, after a certain individual obtained redress directly from the Durbar, he found the doors of the Residency shut against him for any visits. In the case of two or three settlements made by me, the parties in a day or two withdrew from the arrangements and were again among the crowd of complainants meeting at the

* [C.—1251.]

Residency. It is useless now to go into all the details of the long correspondence in the 4th Number of the Blue Book. I would only glance at some important matters.

With reference to the long and fussy correspondence about the Sirdars, the whole pith of it is contained in one sentence of Colonel Phayre's yad, (page 17) No. 1965 of 19th October 1874, *viz.* "also whether, referring to my yad No. 1502 C. 7, dated 12th August 1874, any, and if so, what steps have been taken by your Highness towards settling the grievances of this class."

Now in connection with this subject of the Sirdars while he is writing to Government about my inexperience and my inability to grasp general principles, &c., the following will explain his own actual conduct in the matter. To the above question put by him, a reply was sent, but somehow that reply does not make its appearance in the Blue Book; or that reply would have shown the character of the Colonel's proceedings and tactics. As I have not got the Baroda records at command, I write from memory. The facts are these. Soon after I commenced working with Colonel Phayre, I proposed to him as the most practicable and shortest way of settling all the claims brought before the Commission, and chiefly those of the Sirdars, that he would kindly give me his own views after a fair consideration of each case, as to how it should be settled; that I would endeavour to carry out at once such views as I could agree to, and that for all those cases in which we differed, I would draw up a statement of my views to be submitted with his remarks upon them for the consideration and final advice of Government. To this proposal he agreed, and gave me a statement of his views on some cases. Then he stopped, and whenever I pressed for more, he told me he was very busy and with one reason or other further progress stopped. And while it was thus with him that the cause of delay rested and in the face of the arrangement between us he suddenly turned round and asked the question quoted above. The Gaekwar's reply then naturally was a reminder of our arrangement, and the Colonel was red-hot angry with me when I visited him the next day after the reply was received by him; for telling him in the reply that the cause of delay was himself. After he cooled down he said he would take up the cases, and would give any assistance he could, and if I remember right, he wrote so in his reply also. But little or nothing further, I think, was done, and when one day he blurted out, "I am not going to shew you my hand," I gave up hopes of any further assistance from him, and my colleagues

and myself set to work to prepare our own proposals to be submitted to Government. To come to any reasonable settlement direct with the complainants themselves was out of the question, as long as they entertained the hope that the Saheb, who had fought so hard for them before the Commission, was sure to get them all they asked. Our proposals were subsequently forwarded to Government in a khareeta. The above explanation and the khareeta will shew first that there was no want of desire on our part to settle the claims on some reasonable basis, and secondly, that the matter required a much wider and juster consideration than the Colonel would allow with his great statesmanlike grasp. Thus it will be seen that the Colonel himself was *the chief cause of the delay in the settlement of the Sirdars' cases*, and yet he makes so much artful fuss about my inexperience, inability, &c. &c. to Government.

In his letter of 11th August, (page 23) Colonel Phayre says, "His Highness has long wanted to part from Mr. Dadabhai himself, but he fears, as I before reported to Government, his home influence, and that he will give him a bad name." Whether the Colonel has known this from his "highly respectable" informers, or from the Gaekwar is not mentioned. The Gaekwar knew very well and I had often told him, that if he desired a change at any time I would never be in his way for a moment, and I never held out to him any of my supposed "home influence," or even of any exertion on my part to do him harm if I left him. I had always told him openly to consult his own best interests only, and that I would go out at his desire just as I had gone in at his urgent request. Was the Colonel ever told this?

The Colonel says "Mr. Dadabhai, I am reliably informed, went so far a day or two ago as to draw up an agreement of 25 articles to the effect that the Maharaja was to make over the Raj to him and his party, in order to effect the reforms specified in His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General's khareeta of 25th ultimo." As I have to notice this misrepresentation further on when it is again repeated, I pass on to the next statement with the simple remark, that it betrays a [illegible] credulity to suppose that I could ask the Maharaja to "make over the Raj" to me and my party. But he had "reliable" information of course from his "highly respectable" informers!

The Colonel says, "when consulted I gave my decided opinion that Mr. Dadabhai and his party had not the knowledge, ability, experience or weight of character sufficient to carry out the [illegible]

department of the State." Certainly, the Colonel is quite right. We were not his men. His ideal was the "respectable" Mr. Bapoobhoy, and the report was that men like Mr. Narayan Wasudew Kharkar were considered by him a hundred thousand times better than us; and Nanasaheb said he was in favour again and could manage to get the Dewanship for himself, offering to one of my colleagues the Naeb Dewanship, which was declined. Men like "the honourable and perfectly reliable" the Bhaoo Poonekar, to whom I am told the Colonel has given a flaming certificate, and whose transcendent merit he has also recorded in the Residency, and the "highly respectable" informers of the proceedings of the Durbar, who, traitors to their master, also managed to sell the Colonel for their private ends, were men to the Colonel's heart. By-the-bye what should be thought of an English gentleman fraternising with and encouraging men in the confidence of their master to become his informers? What wonder then that we, not possessing the knowledge, ability, experience and weight of character, and other extraordinary merits of the "respectable" Bapoobhoy and "the hundred thousand times better than us" Mr. Kharkar, were discarded by the Colonel as worthless?

Had we only shown the extraordinary merit of the policy of "please the Saheb," we would have turned out the greatest administrators and reformers in all India. But unfortunately our schools taught us one or two naughty lessons, such as to look to both sides of every question, to do our duty, &c., and so of course we must suffer the consequence of such pernicious teaching, and be denounced unfit and unequal to the superior men of the Colonel's heart! The Colonel has, several times, dinned into the ears of Government about our inability, &c. &c. I shall not repeat the above remarks, but simply note the statement hereafter.

The Colonel says "that none of the people from the Sirdar downwards had the least confidence in them." I suppose this is also the information from his "highly respectable" informers. I am speaking in no spirit of boastfulness, but I may say, that the mark we have left and the confidence we have inspired among all classes of the people, (except the harpies, the intriguers and their dupes), by showing the difference between pure and impure justice in general administration, and between honesty of purpose and shams and intrigues, and by the progress we actually made in a short time, and against tremendous difficulties, will take a long time to be forgotten. This statement is not intended to be a history

our work, but only a notice of the matters mentioned in the Blue ok with reference to us. I may therefore only give a few broad facts. e have to clean an eugean stable besides introducing new systems. he Nazrana system in judicial cases, which in plain English means elling justice to the highest bidder, was put down by us against great opposition. This was the very question which first brought us into collision with the Gaekwar and the old Durbarees, and the "respectable" Mr. Bapoobhoy was most active in promoting the very first case of Nazrana-justice that cropped up before me.

From the day Mr. Bal Mangesh took charge of the Court, the proceedings of the Court underwent, what to the people was, an extraordinary change. Instead of the hole and corner arrangements between the Vakeels and the Judges for the amount of the Nazrana to the Gaekwar and bribes for the Judges and other Durbarees, a thorough investigation of each case in open Court and decisions based entirely upon merits, without any *private interviews* with the Judge, may well inspire the confidence which should take long to be forgotten.

In Mr. Wadia's Court a similar change was simply astonishing to the people, to see Vahivatdars and Fozdars and other officials (supposed to possess influence at high quarters) accused of corruption or oppression, tried in open Court or thoroughly cross-examined as witnesses, and made to feel the weight of law and justice when found guilty.

Sir L. Pelly testifies (No. 6, page 42) that "Until purged by the administration of Mr. Dadabhoy, the criminal and civil administration of justice was notoriously venal and corrupt."

Messrs. Mangesh and Wadia had under my direction nearly prepar the Penal Code and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes, on basis of the English Codes with such modifications as were adapted the wants and circumstances of the State. Mr. Kazi Shahabudin, d his best to meet all pressing evils that wanted immediate redres attention, was recasting the revenue system. Re-organisation of C of Justice, Police, the Revenue system, the Municipality and I Works, &c. was all being prepared, and the financial condition was placed by me before Sir L. Pelly. I had also then pointed out L. Pelly, that Baroda was a most promising state. That it w credit even to ordinary management, provided that the man was honest, and that its chief want, and that most indispensable good men and a thorough though gradual cha pe departments. Its revenue was capable of b

with diminished incidence of taxation, and that even as the condition of the revenue then was, ordinary, careful and honest administration and check of extravagance should leave a large surplus, with a liberal administrative expenditure. But the great want was the men to carry out all the plans of reform settled upon by us. Only four of us had to slave the whole routine work till nearly the time we left. At first, the Bombay Government refused us the aid of the officials we asked, till the Viceroy's decision on the report of Sir R. Meade's Commission should be known, and latterly we lost nearly another three months before we at last got some men.

Thus therefore the obstacles to rapid progress was the Resident's open opposition, the passive opposition of the Government, and the encouragement thereby given to the old Durbarees to lead the Gaekwar back to their own ways. A fair moral and direct support from the Resident and the Bombay Government would *have* produced far more satisfactory results. I think, I may say that it was surprising, we were able to do what we did against such great odds. Enthusiasm and faith in the right cause alone enabled us to stand the high-pressure and harassing work we had to do and we did, and had I had the necessary time to carry out our plans of reform, I had fair hopes of showing that my appointment was not a mistake.

Again, notwithstanding that Colonel Phayre was fully aware of the nature of the obstacles I have mentioned above, and especially that I had not yet obtained the aid of men I wanted to carry out the reforms, and that I could not have had any fair trial, he endeavours to mislead Government (page 24), "that judging from the fair trial which Mr. Dadabhai has had for the last nine months, and Mr. Kazi Shahabudin for five, together with the results of that trial, I saw no hope of the requisite work being done by them." Of course not! It would not suit him to see anything of the kind in us, because his men (persons like Bapoobhoy) and he did not want us. But even the Bombay Government, with all their desire to support him, could not swallow this, and admitting partly the true causes, I find them telling him it could not with certainty be stated that we had a fair trial.

The Colonel says "that I doubted if men of ability and character from British districts would serve under Mr. Dadabhai." Certainly the Colonel may well doubt that *his* men of character and ability like Mr. Bapoobhoy would like to apply to serve under me lest they may not be accepted. As to men like Messrs. Mahadev Govind Ranade, Nana

Morojee, Dosabhoy Framji, Gopalrao Hurri Desh Mook, The Honorable V. N Mandik, Mr Pestonji Jehangir, Mr. Shambhooprasad and others, they of course do not, I suppose, possess any character and ability in the Colonel's eyes. If I said that Sir T. Madava Row might not have objected to serve under me, would be of no avail. None of these can reach the high standard of the "respectable" Bapoobhoy whom he proposed in this very letter as one of the Provisional Government in our place, and who was somehow discovered by the Colonel to be already then "really doing the Dewan's work," *i.e.*, my work, even when I was still the Dewan! After this what absurdities would not the Colonel believe and say!

The Colonel says "as might naturally be supposed Mr. Dadabhai and his friends are indignant at my having expressed such an opinion regarding them." The Colonel, I suppose, either took this as a matter of course, or his respectable informers told him this. The fact is that when we heard that the Colonel was against us, we plainly told His Highness that we did not care a straw, if he thought it would be to his interest that we should leave. I reminded him especially that he knew well that it was not love of power, position or pelf that had taken me there, but only his urgent request for his and his State's good; and that he had therefore to make up his mind as he thought best and only express his wish, and we would be out of his way at once. All this the Durbarees knew, but the Colonel did not get this information, I suppose!

In his letter (page 28) to the Bombay Government of 13th August 1874, the Colonel, while objecting to the Gaekwar's proposal to make Nanasaheb Pratinidhi, drags me in as follows :—" That if this was the kind of reform His Highness was going to carry out under Mr. Dadabhai's administration, it could only end in one result, and that very shortly.', Now as a mere matter of opinion I should have taken no notice of this especially as the Bombay Government have told him how wrong he was in the way in which he objected to the Pratinidhiship. But this short sentence pours a flood of light for which I was not prepared, and I see the Bombay Government have been struck with it, and in their mildest manner notice it as "injudicious." But they could have hardly realised the full import of this blurting, as I cannot help reading it in conjunction with the reports and events of the time.

turn contrary to his wishes and as his clients (the complainants before the Commission) began teasing him that, after all, the Gaekwar was going to have his own way in the appointment of his Minister and a trial for 17 months, Colonel Phayre was then reported to have said that he would bring down my administration within 2 or 3 months by raising all Baroda territory up against it. I had laughed out this report at the time. I had taken it to be a bit of the constant braggardism of Bhaoo Poonekar and others, and whatever I may have thought of Colonel Phayre's weaknesses, and of the charm his "honorable" friends were exercising upon him, I never believed that an English gentleman of Colonel Phayre's position and education would degrade himself to such a plot to gain a triumph over me. But reading the "injudicious," out of place and illogical sentence as it is; looking back to the devices with which the Sirdars were made to rise, and the ryots kept up in a state of agitation and passive rebellion (which with the spark of a single hasty step on my part might have burst out into a conflagration); also calling to mind that only 2 days before he wrote his letter under comment, he had sent among other messages to the Gaekwar, with his "respectable" Bapoobhoy and Govindrao Mama, that my appointment would be war and not peace and that it would bring about His Highness' ruin in 3 months; and remembering the way in which the Colonel had once blurted out to me that the Gaekwar had narrowly escaped a general rising, and as if I might have still to look out for it; I think I cannot be blamed to be inclined to believe the report. The Colonel can say whether it was true or not, but one thing seems certain, that the rascals, I beg their pardon, the "respectable" and "honorable" men around him took every advantage and made splendid capital and mischief out of his blind side and weakness of great self-esteem. This same remarkable letter, containing the prophecy of my administration coming to an end "shortly," also discloses another remarkable fact; a touching wail of the "respectable" Bapoobhoy, and the Colonel's sympathy therewith. The Colonel communicates to Government, "and at last Bapoobhoy himself remarked that everything appeared to have been turned upside down, that he who was recommended by the Commission has been rejected, and that Nanasaheb who has been rejected was to have promotion." Goodness knows how Sir R. Meade's Commission made out Bapoobhoy, *the* respectable man out of the whole lot of the Durbarees, and I wonder what the Gaekwar and Nanasaheb would have to say to this, remembering how Bapoobhoy was telling them every day of the valiant fights he was fighting for them with the Resident. Verily Bapoobhoy is a

remarkable man, devoted to and in the confidence of his master, and yet "respectable" and beloved among his master's opponents and enemies! Discovered by the Commission mainly under the guidance of Colonel Phayre's opinion, to be the *only* respectable man, amidst all the scamps of Durbarees, was it not unkind of that Commission not to have recommended that such a "respectable" person should at once be rescued from such bad company and sent out of Baroda, a consideration he so well deserved!

About the great offence (page 29) I am supposed to have committed in calling the Colonel "toom," and which in fact was an oversight on the part of the Furnis, I have already made penance, by immediately withdrawing and altering the yad when the Colonel mentioned his objection. This somehow does not appear in the Blue Book. I had no more idea of insulting him in this or any other way than of taking his place, though the Colonel gave me the credit of calling this a manœuvre on my part for some sinister object. About the second "manœuvre" with which I am credited as having said that when advice is wanted it will be asked for, and which the Colonel supposes to be "put forward in order as far as possible to prevent my (Colonel's) seeing real reforms carried out and the orders of Government respected," I need not take any notice, as the Bombay Government has discharmed him of his delusion by telling him that his objection was "most unreasonable" and "it is difficult to see what other answer the Gaekwar could have been expected to give."

Now comes the Colonel's highest effort to dislodge me and my party; his letter of 15th August 1874 (page 31) which requires some detailed notice. I pass over his third or fourth dinning into the ears of Government about my and my party's incapability to effect reforms. Repetition seems to be in the eyes of the Colonel a grand argument. The statement in the second para. that it was under my advice the Gaekwar had refused to go to Bombay during the Viceroy's visit, is untrue. The statement that I persuaded the weak minded Malharrao to appoint me his agent in England, is untrue. And the Colonel can have no excuse of being misinformed on this subject. Not only had I publicly* denied

* *Annual Meeting of the East India Association, August* 6, 1873.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said that, before the vote of thanks to the Chairman
to the members, and
;ard to the donations
›me misapprehension,
that these donations
the general good of

this some twelve months before, but I had personally told him at my first visit to him that I had never asked to be, nor had been, appointed an Agent of the Gaekwar in England. That the Residency Parsee head

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the country, he would now emphatically repeat this in order that there might be no misunderstanding or misapprehension on that point. There was absolutely no condition, no promise, no hope, held out that the donors should have any personal interest or benefit from the efforts made by the Association in England. He wished it to be distinctly understood that there were no more conditions attached to the donations than to the ordinary yearly subscriptions or donations of any of the members present, except that the gifts were *princely*, as became the gifts of princes. Any contrary opinion would seriously endanger the position of the Association, and therefore he wished to set the matter at rest at once and, he hoped, for ever. In further explanation, he might add that in his journey through Western India, he visited the Court of Baroda in March last year, to solicit support, but his Highness was not inclined to do anything. Some months afterwards, however, he received a letter inviting him to return, and when he went, his Highness asked his advice and assistance on certain private affairs. He accordingly undertook the performance of certain work for His Highness, without having any idea of expecting anything like pecuniary remuneration. But His Highness urged that the service performed was of great value to him, and—finding that a personal recompense would not be acceptable—he insisted upon making a provision for his (the speaker's) children to the extent of Rs. 50,000. (Hear, hear.) He (the speaker) felt the great delicacy of the position he held as regards the East India Association, and hence his first resolve to accept no pecuniary recompense even in the form so considerately urged by His Highr [illegible] however, he consulted with some of his best friends in India— [illegible] he knew, care more for his honour than his pocket—that they told him that, in their opinion, he need not have the slightest hesitation in accepting the provision for his children,—(hear, hear)—especially as he had earned it by honest and valued labour. (Hear, hear). Still, he was undecided in the matter, and he had since consulted some of his English friends in England, who, after hearing all the circumstances of the case, one and all said as strongly as possible that he should not have the slightest hesitation in the matter, and that he was bound to allow his children the benefit of his work. (Hear, hear). He would not have troubled the meeting with this explanation about a private affair, but a public character had been given to the circumstance, and it was also supposed that he had undertaken some agency of his Highness, and had come over to England to fight his cause or to excite the East India Association to do so, and to advance his personal interests. This was altogether wrong. (Hear, hear). He had heard in Bombay that certain high officials had entertained misapprehensions of the kind to which he referred: and only the other day, when in the Committee-room of the House of Commons, a gentleman high in authority, and for whom he had respect, said "If you are going to give any evidence about Native Princes, I should look out for you." [This gentleman afterwards explained to me that he meant no reference to the report about my accepting agencies, but simply to my views about Native States.] This confirmed his suspicion that some misapprehension existed. It was to dispel this misapprehension that he held an agency, that he had ventured to trespass on the time of the Association in making this explanation, and he would distinctly repeat that he had always felt his position in regard to the Association to be so peculiarly delicate, that, although it was probable that he might have experienced little difficulty in making two or three lacs if he had chosen to undertake agencies, he had throughout maintained strictly his resolve that his character and conduct should be entirely above suspicion, and therefore to all such offers he had always replied that he had a broader work to do, and that he could not serve God and Mammon at the same time. He hoped that as long as he was the Honorary Secretary of this Association, he should ever do anything which would in the slightest degree, compromise the Association, or which would be calculated to produce any prejudice against its work. (Journal of the East India Association, Vol. VII., No. 2, page 622).

clerk had given me aid or information is untrue. This "manœuvre" comes with very ill grace indeed from the Colonel who himself tells Government "I am always kept well informed of Durbar proceedings" and who had "highly respectable" persons of the Durbar to keep him "well informed." Others may be wrong for doing such things, but in a Resident perhaps it may be all right!

About the matter of the Rs. 50,000 which the Colonel misrepresents in the 4th para. for the second or third time, I have the same complaint. As I have already said before, not only had I given a public* explanation of this matter, but I had personally explained to him my whole previous connection with the Gaekwar; and yet the Colonel has thought proper to take every opportunity of misrepresenting this matter. To the public explanation I may add here, that had I followed my own impulse, and had I not been pressed by the Gaekwar, and strongly persuaded by friends, I would have simply declined the offer as I at first did, and the matter would have ended. That this is not an after-thought may be judged from the facts that I had declined similar offers before of 25,000 and 30,000 Rupees from two other princes, that if I had chosen, I could have entered into an arrangement with a third prince to become his Agent with 30 or 40,000 Rupees cash down, and a lac or so in prospect. Moreover, not in any of these cases was there any promise of exerting influence in high quarters. It was all the service of personal brain-work. During the last thirty years I have given such brain-work to many persons without remuneration.

I again pass over the Colonel's remarks in the 5th para. about my unfitness &c. As to the long list of counts in his indictment against me in this para., viz. the "deliberate neglect of the recommendations of the Commission for eight months, the increasing injustice done to British subjects, the continued oppression of the ryots, the systematic resistance to all reasonable demands of the British Government as represented in the large number of cases still pending; there is the neglect to take notice of Government references of the most urgent kind; there is the injury done to our trade, and the direct act of disrespect shown to the Resident in the opium case" and others; I have only to say that all these are creations of his imagination. I really wonder how Colonel Phayre could think of writing such nonsense. He might just as well have proceeded to say

* See Note on pages 399 and 400.

that I was going to set fire to the ocean, or still better, to drink it all up. What strange impulse or desire must have made him write all such things!

In the 6th para. (page 32) comes again that ridiculous story of my party turning the advice of the Governor-General in his khareeta of 25th July 1874, to our own account by endeavouring to induce the Gaekwar to sign "an agreement" to the general effect that the administration should be placed in our hands for a certain period; or as he says in another place "an agreement of 25 articles," "to make over the Raj" to me and my party; and that my proposal for His Highness signing an agreement "to make over Riasat to any one whatever except the British Government" was "an offence against the sovereignty of the paramount power." Where on earth had the Colonel's common sense fled when he seriously wrote all this stuff of my "taking over the Raj" and "offending against the sovereignty of the Paramount Power!"

My colleagues did not then require any binding for a fix period. They had been originally engaged for three years; with the provision that if the Gaekwar dispensed with their services before that period, they were to receive half of the salary for the balance of the period. At this time, instead of asking for a fixed period, they were actually giving up their places of their own accord. As to myself, I had never asked a binding for any fixed period. My only condition with the Gaekwar from the very beginning was, and of which the Colonel was well informed by me, that as long as I had the Gaekwar's confidence and I felt myself useful, I serve; and when the confidence and usefulness cease, I make my salam and go. I never attached the slightest importance to any bond or signature of the Gaekwar on this matter. I went only on a call of duty, and I cared not to remain longer than I could perform that duty. I may give here a brief sketch of the facts about the extraordinary "agreement" by which I and my party were deposing the Gaekwar, and making the Raj our own; our threats to leave Baroda, and what is most ridiculous and racy, my taking Damodar into my counsels and aid.

Under the causes I have already mentioned the old Durbarees began their pranks to lead back the Gaekwar to his old way, by first reviving the practice of deciding judicial cases by Nazránás. After remonstrating and opposing this step for some time, about the beginning of July (the Viceroy's khareeta of 25th July being received by us on 3rd August) we let His Highness know, that if he was bent on reviving the Nazráná

and relapse into some other old practices, he might please himself and we should go. This message, communicated both in writing and verbally by Mr. Wadia, led to a discussion between us and His Highness, which went on for more than a fortnight. During this time Damodar had once seen me on some business, when he also communicated to me a message from the Gaekwar upon the subject of the remonstrance I had made. I then told him that His Highness had to consider carefully the course he was taking. He said he would communicate the message to His Highness, but I saw no more of him afterwads, and this is magnified into taking him into my counsels and aid, and to make my connection with him effective with Government and to shew my company, the Colonel has taken particular care to describe him as "the notorious Damoderpunth, the present favourite of the Gaekwar, the panderer to his grossest vices, the oppressor of women, &c.," though somehow Sir R. Meade's Commission did not get any information to say a word about this man, when all other evil-advisers were denounced.

Our discussion with the Gaekwar was for a few days interrupted on account of Mr. Wadia's absence to Bombay. When he returned, and we found that neither His Highness nor his Durbarees appeared to understand our remonstrances, I sent word with Mr. Wadia that we must go and that he was simply wasting time and words, and was much mistaken if he thought we would care a straw for our places, and allow him and his *mandal* to go back to their old ways.

He was now fairly roused and earnestly requested Mr. Wadia to ask me to make a memo. of what I wanted. This was on the 29th July. This request of the Gaekwar led to what Colonel Phayre calls an "agreement of 25 articles" to "make over the Raj to us," and which proved such a nightmare to him, in his anxiety for the sovereignty of the paramount power, but which in reality was simply a letter *from myself to the* Gaekwar to let him see clearly what we considered necessary for preventing the old abuses from creeping in again, and for making proper reform, if we were to serve him in our respective positions. As I have already said, I never cared for any [illegible] d bond or agreement, as it would both be no [illegible] erve

it, nor would I care to serve under such circumstances I give below * translation of the monstrous "agreement" of 25

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* *To His Highness Shrimant Sirkar.*

Ajam Hormusjee has communicated to me all that Sircar said to him in Shrimant Nanasaheb's house; after that Sircar sent to me Nanasaheb and Rajeshree Damodarpunt. I told them to communicate to Sircar that if the substance of what Sircar told Ajam Hormusjee be as stated below, I cannot carry on the work.

1. Nobody can ever alter Sircar's orders
2. Sircar will give orders as he likes.
3. Sircar will spend as much as he likes altogether.
4. To take Sircar's sanction in every matter.
5. Orders are to be from Sircar and power for Dadabhai.†

Of the above matters, Damodarpunt took a note to communicate to the Sircar, and promised to get a reply from him, but no reply has been received.

After that I sent word to Sircar, that I could not carry on the administration of the Raj. We should therefore be allowed leave to go with willingness. Thereupon Sircar told Ajam Hormusjee to bring a memo. of what Dadabhai Sett wanted.

Now if Sircar determine to continue in the same views which he expressed to Ajam Hormusjee, I cannot carry on the administration. Had I known such views at the commencement, I would not have undertaken the work; and if the Sircar's present views remain the same, I have then no hope that my views would be accepted. But as Sircar has desired to let him know my views, I cannot but accede. My simple object is the Sircar's, and Sircar's State's welfare, otherwise I have no business here. The chief foundation of the State must be laid upon justice and fairness.

And Sircar giving me his confidence, should assist in and sanction my work with a sincere heart. Bearing this object in mind, I state below what I ask.

1. Written orders should be sent to all departments, that orders written in the name of the Sircar or Hazoor and countersigned by Dadabhai are only to be obeyed. No other orders should be obeyed.

First Explanation. The necessity for my counter-signature is only this, that the order to be made coming to my knowledge, I may be able to give my opinion or advice, or make any inquiry that may be necessary, and should there be any mistake or misunderstanding, I may be able to explain it. So that proper orders alone may be given.

Second Explanation. Sircar says that if on some occasion, under a pressure from the Raneesaheb, the Sircar gave direct orders without my knowledge, I should not object to that. About this I have to submit with every respect, that if on even a single occasion Sircar would give a direct order, people will bring recommendation to Sircar and Raneesaheb and constantly interfere with the regular course of business. "Bandobust" is such a thing that if one link is broken the whole chain is rendered useless. With one irregular instance Sircar will lose all his praise. ‡

2. All "chities" or orders for payment on the State Banks must be *initialled* by me. Without that no payments should be made from the "Dookans"—such order must be made to the "Dookans." §

3. A certain amount should be fixed for Sircar's private expenditure, including that of his "Kangi Mandal" or private friends and attendants. ‖

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† This, I had explained, was unintelligible to me. It was meant, I suppose, that I was only to execute orders given by the Gaekwar.

‡ One additional important reason was that the Durbarees and even *Jasoods* would now and then take advantage of giving orders in the Gaekwar's name. Without this arrangement irregular expenditure could *not* be checked.

§ Without this arrangement irregular expenditure could not be checked.

‖ Without this it was impossible to bring Finances into order.

articles which scared the gallant Colonel so much, and in which I had adopted the same principles which I had recommended to His Highness the Holkar, during his negociations with Sir T. Madava Row, *viz.*, that in all matters to end in permanent results, the voice of the sovereign should prevail, the Dewan giving his best advice; that in all ordinary every-day administration, the Dewan should be left free and, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a large latitude should be left to the Dewan to introduce the necessary reforms, as the responsibility of the extent and result of the reforms would be chiefly on the head of the Dewan, and as in this case it was an especial feature that it was mainly for the purpose of reforms that I had been invited.

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4. It is necessary to engage the services of several new fit men, and to increase the salaries of fit men already in the service, and to make several reforms and alterations. For this purpose I should have permission to spend five lakhs per annum more for three years, than the present (administration) expenditure; (of course) expenditure will be incurred as necessary only*.

Like the above His Highness the Holkar has arranged with Sir T. Madava Row.

5. What I am *not* to do without the sanction of the Sircar.

   1. To give land or village to anybody.
   2. To incur any new charitable or religious expenditure, or to make a present of more than Rs 500 to anybody.
   3. To bestow a charitable, or other annuity on anybody.
   4. To make new laws.
   5. To entertain or dismiss servants of salary exceeding Rs. 500 per month.
   6. To alter the rates of assessment.
   7. To do any public work costing above Rs. 1,000.

Explanation. Sircar should give these sanctions personally; it is hoped that [illegible] Delay or incon- [illegible] check to hearty [illegible] to enable me [illegible]

6 Nothing should be done contrary to the existing Revenue, Civil and Criminal laws, till altered by new laws

7. All correspondence with the British Government to be carried on according to the satisfaction and sanction of the Sircar.

8. No Nazrana whatever should be taken in matters of justice, or of appointments or dismissal of officials.

Explanation. In no case, old or new, should any Nazrana be taken by anybody. The cases of *Vaso* and *Rajmoodar* must be inquired into and decided according to justice.

9. Several high officials ought to be made to resign their Durbaree posts.

10 Should Sircar have to make any appointment in state service, I should be consulted.

Explanation. Moteram Dulpatram had once applied to me for service I had refused. Sircar knew this, and yet without asking me, Sircar has engaged him to

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* Under the circumstances of the time, when the old Durbarees always endeavoured "to thwart" reforms, this latitude as well as *that of the sub-clause* 5 of clause 5 became an absolute necessity.

The Memorandum, asked by the Gaekwar, was at once prepared in the shape of the letter from me given at foot of pages 404 to 406, and the Gaekwar entered into a fair discussion of the conditions proposed; but while this discussion was going on, we received the Viceroy's khareeta on 3rd August. Colonel Phayre, however, makes out the "agreement" as being proposed by us a day or two before his letter of 11th August, and as being "one of our first efforts" to turn the advice contained in the khareeta to our own account, by snatching away the Raj; and the old Durbarees, for the nonce, suddenly become good men in the eyes of Colonel Phayre, as being solicitous to save their master from the clutches of the monsters who were going to devour the Riasat! When the Viceroy's khareeta of 25th July arrived on 3rd August, its consideration engrossed the attention of the Gaekwar, and the "agreement" fell into the background altogether. New intrigues started on their feet under pressure of Colonel Phayre's, what the Bombay Government call "determined personal opposition to me," and his encouragement to Bapoobhoy and to Nanasaheb as I had then heard.

When this came to our knowledge, we at once actually gave in our resignations on the 9th of August, so that the Gaekwar was left completely free to act as he liked without any difficulty or discussion from our part, and get rid of us by simply accepting our resignations. But he would do nothing of the kind, and on that very same day he brought such a pressure of entreaty upon us not to leave him, that we felt ourselves forced to withdraw our resignations. When Colonel Phayre must have heard that His Highness would not allow us to go, Bapoobhoy and Govindrao-mama brought a message from the Colonel to the Gaekwar on the 11th of August, that His Highness should not appoint me, should turn all four of us out, that he (the Colonel) was ready to say this to our face ten times over, that Manibhoy, Boevey, and Kharkar were a hundred thousand times better than I, that he would shut up the bangalow if I was appointed Dewan, that my appointment would be war and not peace, and that it would bring about His Highness' ruin in three months, &c. &c. Further in the evening we heard that

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do some secret Political work. This is against my views. He should not be retained in the service.

I now most earnestly request that if Sircar would order to conduct the administration according to the above clauses, it is most essentially necessary for the Sircar to make a thorough determination, not to disturb it afterwards. It is my duty to preserve intact the rights and increase the fame of Sircar, and I shall not fail to do all I can in that way. *Dated 31st July 1874.*

(Signed) DADABHAI NAOROJI

Bapoobhoy was also one of the Colonel's contemplated Cabinet. We again told His Highness that the Colonel was really strongly against us, and that though we thought that if he (the Gaekwar) was sincere and loyal in his promises of reform, and showed that sincerity unmistakably by his actions, no harm would come to him from the British Government, and especially the present Viceroy, who had so clearly shown his consideration and justice towards him, we still desired that he should consider carefully before he decided upon my continuing in my Dewanship. The Gaekwar, however, made up his mind and sent the yad for military honors to be accorded to me as Dewan, on the 14th of August. This yad brought forth this letter of 15th August, which I am commenting upon, and which is a tissue from beginning to end of misrepresentations and false statements. Of the rest of the letter from para. 7 and of another string of hallucinations and abuses, and of further dinnings about my unfitness, &c., I need not take any notice. They are of a piece with the rest of the letter; all false and imaginary.

Almost all the above misrepresentations, &c., and further repeated dinnings about my unfitness, want of grasp &c. are repeated in Colonel Phayre's Report of 2nd November 1874. But it is sickening and useless to go through them again. I shall notice just a few things that are new and important. I may give an instance of what is either his extraordinary gullibility and carelessness, or his desire to misrepresent me.

(Page 60) "The salary," says he, "of the new Dewan, Mr Dadabhai Nowrojee, has been fixed at a lakh of Rupees per annum." Certainly a matter like this should be expected to be known to and described by a Resident more accurately. He could have easily ascertained this as well as many other truths by asking me, instead of writing all sorts of untruths behind my back. Now my salary proper was only 63,000 Baroda Rupees, then equal to about 53,000 Bombay Rupees. Out of the rest of the "lakh," Rupees 31,000 was simply the pay for a Paga, serving in the contingent, which was proposed to be transferred to my name, (but which I had not allowed so to be transferred, as the then holder of it had represented to me a grievance upon the subject); and 6,000 Rupees were for the maintenance of an elephant and for other state ceremonial requirements for the Dewan, 1,000 of them being "palkhi" allowance.

The report of 2nd November is in itself the best proof of the undue and vexatious interference of the Colonel which most seriously interfered with my regular work, and of either his utter [illegible] of [illegible]t, or [illegible]

tional ignoring, that reforms and redresses could not be made without men and time to inquire and to act, and that to very nearly the time of this very report we had not received the aid of British officials we had asked for. Even the Bombay Government recognised this necessity and recommended that 3 months *more* should be allowed in the probation on account of the delay; *viz.* "to extend this term from the 31st of December 1875 till the 31st March 1876" (page 75).

In para. 145 of this report (page 60), the Colonel writes as a matter of complaint against me, that "Again in a khareeta written by Mr. Dadabhai to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 19th April 1874, acknowledging the receipt of the report of the Commission, he stated that he was preparing a full reply to the Report." Even if I had said so, there would have been nothing wrong, had I been of the opinion that a reply should be made. But what should we think of this statement, after reading its following short history. The Gujaratee saying "*últo Chór Kotwál ne dandé*" (The thief fining the magistrate instead) is well verified in this instance. The Report of the Commission was received at Nowsaree. I and Mr. Wadia went there on 13th April. After reading and explaining the report, a short khareeta was prepared the next day,* as the Gaekwar desired and we approved. This was copied fair, signed and sealed on the 15th April. The next morning Nanasaheb took it to Colonel Phayre. On reading his own copy of it, the Colonel flung the paper away, and said this was no reply. It was only a trick of mine to seat myself firmly, and to leave the old Durbarees out in the cold. A full reply should at once be made to the Report. The khareeta was brought back, the Resident himself so suddenly turning over a new leaf and sympathisingly recommending a full and immediate defence. I need not say that I had not the remotest idea of the motive imputed to me in the above message which Nanasheb brought and which was repeated by Bapoobhoy. Now with the Resident's recommendation, the old Durbarees became strong in their advice to defend at once. We two gave a decided "no." We explained, that though the Report of the Commission was open to some exception and attack, it would be simply suicidal on

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* "I have received with pleasure your Excellency's friendly khareeta of 31st March 1874, with a copy of the Report of the Commission.

In my khareeta of 31st December 1873, I had requested to be furnished with a copy of this Report in order that I might be able to express my views upon it before your Excellency determined upon any friendly advice to be given to me. As your Excellency, however, is to communicate to me shortly your friendly advice, I shall take the opportunity of expressing my views upon the Report, when I shall reply to your Excellency's friendly Khareeta containing that advice. I beg to express, &c. &c.

the part of His Highness to make any such attempt, and that we should not be surprised if Colonel Phayre took hold of it to shew to the Viceroy that the Gaekwar had learned nothing and forgotten nothing, and that he was still incorrigibly bent on his old ways which the Commission had so unmistakably condemned. To me, I said it was quite puzzling, that Colonel Phayre should suddenly become so solicitous about the character of those very people whom he was himself most instrumental in getting denounced. However, be the Colonel's motive what it may, we said we were decidedly against making any defence at all, especially then, till something more was known of the Viceroy's mind, and that we should not mar the friendly spirit that was shown in the Viceroy's khareeta.

His Highness took time to consider and agreed with us. Another khareeta, with certain additions to meet his wishes to some extent, was prepared, adopted, copied fair on the usual gold paper and ready for signature. But during this time the old Durbarees were at it again. Had not *even the Resident* recommended that a *defence should be made, and that at once*, so at last the *Gaekwar turned round and refused to* sign the khareeta and determined to defend at once. We repeated our advice distinctly. We would not have any defence at all, at least not any then, and left him to please himself. The stakes, large as they were, were his, and we had discharged our duty to give him our best advice. The *Resident's* recommendation and sympathy carried the day. A telegram was prepared to be sent at once to the Viceroy and a corresponding alteration was made in the khareeta, as follows. In the rejected khareeta, the paragraph was :—

"As your Excellency, however, is to communicate to me shortly your friendly advice, I reserve, for the present, the question of the opinion of the Commission about my general administration, and more particularly even about my personal conduct and that of my Dewan from which I should naturally desire to clear ourselves at an early opportunity. I need only say at present that I have an earnest desire, &c."

For this was substituted (page 343, No. 1)—"As your Excellency, however, is to communicate to me shortly your friendly advice, I have telegraphed to your Excellency that should the opinions and recommendations of the Report of the Commission be likely to [illegible] your Excellency adversely to my rights, I request your Excellency [illegible] determining upon the friendly advice to be given [illegible] to the Report is received by your Excellency. [illegible] reply to the Report. In the meantime, &c." [illegible]

khareeta was sent on 19th April 1874, and to which the Colonel refers in a way, as if I had done something very wrong and encouraged the Gaekwar to give a full reply. Now, be my advice sound or mistaken, it is strange that Colonel Phayre who is himself the cause of the complaint he makes, fathers it upon me and in a way to insinuate a prejudice against me in the mind of the Viceroy. Or did his "respectable" Bapoobhoy, Nanasaheb and others invent the message from him that he strongly advised a full immediate reply. And I may also ask whether his "highly respectable" informers who "kept him well-informed of the proceedings of the Durbar," had told him or not that we were all along openly against making any defence, or at least then, against the Report of the Commission, and that it was entirely owing to *his* advice being thrown in the scale that an immediate defence was determined upon. If the Colonel really recommended the reply, and then made the offer to reply, as a matter of complaint, it was, to say the least, most disingenuous on his part. I can hardly even now persuade myself that Colonel Phayre could have stooped to such conduct. If not, it is a pity that his and others' eyes should be opened when too late to his blind faith in his "respectables" and "honorables" and the injustice and mischief that must have been caused thereby.

I may here ask the Colonel whether his friend ever informed him or not that from the very first day I came in contact with the Gaekwar, I always, on every necessary occasion, used to impress upon His Highness that however strong his treaty-rights might be, and that though I would represent them from his side to Government to the best of my ability, he should never expect to preserve his rights safe, unless he performed his duties of a good ruler. These were not hole and corner conversations; they were almost always open and in the presence of the Durbarees. While I have, on the one hand, done my best to serve the Gaekwar faithfully and to take care of his legitimate rights and interests, I have never, on the other hand, failed in or shirked my duty to advise him, and to have done my best to lead him to the performance of his duties towards his subjects. But such things the Colonel never learnt.

(Page 63) Colonel Phayre's insinuation that by the terms of our appointment we were entirely subject to the will of the Gaekwar, implying as if we were bound to allow the Gaekwar to perpetrate any injustice or enormity he liked, is ridiculous and absurd. Now nothing was more well known and noised abroad than the fact that we would

ot allow the Gaekwar to do as he willed, but at once protested against and revented any irregular or undue interference with the administration. Why, that monstrous "agreement" which frightened the Colonel so uch was the result of this very position that we would not submit to low the Gaekwar or his Durbarees in his name, to do anything wrong. hat was our chief and continued struggle with the Durbar. Colonel hayre and all the Durbarees knew this well, and yet this attempt to isrepresent us! It is simply a libel to say that the gentlemen who ere with me would agree or that I would agree or ask them to serve on uch conditions.

After thus briefly noticing some of the most glaring misrepresentations nd falsehoods in Colonel Phayre's writings, I pass over without notice is remarks upon the Gaekwar's khareeta of 2nd November 1874, as, rst, they are mostly a repetition of what had been stated by him efore, and upon the glaring portion of which I have already commented; nd secondly, the Indian Government have done sufficient justice to the hareeta in their despatch to the Secretary of State, of 27th November 874.

The despatch (page 104) says "the Gaekwar has addressed the Viceroy a khareeta in which His Highness has in temperate language begged for the removal of Colonel Phayre." * * "We are constrained o admit (apart from certain objections raised by Colonel Phayre to he accuracy of the Gaekwar's statement of two particular instances of interference) the general correctness of His Highness' complaints of Colonel Phayre's proceedings."

Again the Indian Government in their despatch to the Secretary of State, (No. 5, page 4) of 15th April 1875, say, "In his communications with the Gaekwar and with Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee, the Minister whom the Gaekwar had selected, Colonel Phayre was wanting in consideration."

. Lord Salisbury in his despatch of 15th April 1875 (No. 4, page 106) says, "His (Colonel Phayre's) character was little fitted for the delicate duties with which he had been recently charged, and his departure from the orders he had received was too serious to be overlooked."

Again in their despatch of 29th April 1875, (No. 5, page 43) to the Secretary of State, the Indian Government do me the justice (for which I feel thankful) to say "shortly after Sir Lewis Pelly's arrival, Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee, the Minister in whom Mulhar Rao professed to

place confidence, and who, *so far as we could judge, had been honestly desirous of reforming the administration,** resigned office, and no explanation has been afforded to us of the reason for his resignation."

With regard to our resignation the Secretary of State also in his despatch of 3rd June 1875, (page 52) to the Indian Government, says, "Almost the last incident in the history of his reign, before it was closed by his arrest on the charge of poisoning, was the mysterious resignation, without reason given, of the reforming Minister who had been appointed under the pressure of Sir R. Meade's report."

Our resignations were communicated to the Gaekwar on 21st December 1874, when nothing was known to us of His Highness being implicated in the poison-case. This was first mentioned to me on 23rd December by Sir Lewis Pelly, after I had communicated to him our reasons for our resignation. On 25th December, I repeated those reasons at an interview, at the Residency between His Highness, Sir Lewis Pelly and myself. 1st, I reminded His Highness that I had undertaken the duties of the Dewan at his pressing request, that I had plainly given him my condition in acceding to his request that as long I had his confidence and I was useful, I serve, and that when that confidence was withdrawn and my usefulness impaired, I make my salam and go; that we had on two former occasions withdrawn our resignations at his pressing and earnest solicitations, and that notwithstanding all this, he had, during the past week or so allowed himself to play in the hands of his old Durbarees, and forgotten that he had requested me to become his *Dewan* and not a karkoon merely to obey his biddings. 2nd, that after showing long and sufficient forbearance and giving a long trial to the old Durbarees to mend their ways, we had found it absolutely necessary that they should be sent out of Baroda, and I gave a list of Damodar, Bapoobhoy, Govindrao Mama, Kharhar, Hurybadada (Nana Saheb having himself offered to leave Baroda for some time), and several other names. His Highness in reply expressed his regret at my first complaint and promised me every confidence, but my second demand he pressed me to waive. I then expressed our determination not to withdraw our resignations. When I decided to resign, all the 8 or 9 officials from the Bombay Government, besides my 3 colleagues, who had wilfully and readily agreed and come to serve under me, also decided to resign with me, though they had been hardly

* The italics are mine.

a month or two in their new posts. This is a strange comment upon Colonel Phayre's views that no officials of weight and charac from the British districts would like to serve under me, and that selections would agree to serve under the old Baroda ways.

I pass over Colonel Phayre's last shot, (No. 6, page 9) fired day after he received the private intimation to resign;—"a day o two after this, Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji made his false and maliciou attack upon me in the khareeta of the 9th May." This was as much imaginary as many other things I have already noticed, if not the effect of the irritation of the previous day's intimation. In connection with No. 7 of the Blue Book, it is enough for me to extract the letter I addressed, at the close of the last Commission, to the *Times of India.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES OF INDIA.

SIR,—As I have not been put into the witness-box either by the prosecution or the defence, I hope you will allow me to say a few words about some matters concerning me personally which were referred to at the enquiry.

It is true that I received the resolution of May 1872 The history of the affair is simply this. Mr Hurrychund Chintamon, who is at present in England as His Highness's agent, obtained a copy, and I believe honestly, from an English friend in England. It was when he sent it to me about last June that His Highness, myself and my colleagues came to know of it. Mr Hurrychund brought the existence of this resolution to the notice of Lord Salisbury on the 24th June last. The document was given to the defence by me, as I had received it. In the course of a conversation I mentioned the resolution to Sir Lewis Pelly. He asked for a copy of it and I gave it.

Colonel Phayre says I made no complaints to him about his course of proceedings Colonel Phayre may have forgotten, but as a matter of fact I did complain to him several times. Colonel Phayre says he gave me all the assistance in his power. Had I been so fortunate as to have received that assistance, no necessity would have arisen to write the khareeta of 2nd November Colonel Phayre says I more than once acknowledged the assistance he had given me in the matter of the Sirdar cases and others. True; but I am only sorry that the occasions were few and far between. I had more occasions to thank Sir Lewis Pelly in one week than I had for thanking Colonel Phayre in three months, and I was able to do more work both towards introducing new reforms and redressing old complaints in one week with Sir Lewis Pelly, than I was able to do in three months with Colonel Phayre.

Colonel Phayre says the facts of the two instances given in the khareeta of 2nd November are not correctly stated. I have not yet learned what was incorrect in them. For my part I can say that every fact is correctly stated.

Yours faithfully, DADABHAI NAOROJI.

I close this painful task with the hope that it may open the eyes of Government to the mischief and iniquity of the present system of the political department, of receiving secret reports and acting thereon.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

II.

CONDITION OF INDIA.

(Correspondence with the Secretary of State for India, 1880.)

I.

32, Great St. Helens,
London, 24th May 1880

To

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON,
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,
INDIA OFFICE.

MY LORD,

I beg to submit a series of tables, working out in detail the total production of the Punjab, for the year 1876-7.

My objects in troubling your Lordship are as follows:—

In 1876 I read some papers on the Poverty of India before the Bombay Branch of the East India Association of London. These papers are published in the Journals of the Association, and I send herewith a copy. At pages 237 to 239* I have explained how the mode of taking the averages adopted in the various Administration Reports of India, was quite wrong. When preparing my Papers on the Poverty of India, I had not sufficient time to work out all the averages for all the Provinces in detail. I have now worked out in detail the averages of all the production Tables of the Administration Report of the Punjab for 1876-7. I request now that the different Governments in India may be directed to supply their tables of production, as fully as are prescribed by the Statistical Committee of Calcutta, that the averages may be correctly taken, as I have done in the enclosed tables, and that in addition to the tables prescribed, may also be given a summary of the total agricultural production like the one given at page 21 of my tables, a summary of the whole production (agricultural, manufactures and mines) like that at page 23, and a table of the absolute necessaries of life for an agricultural labourer, like that at pages 26 to 28.

It is only when such complete information is furnished by the Indian authorities, that any true conception can be formed of the actual material condition of India from year to year, and our British rulers can only then clearly see, and grapple with effectually, the important problem of the material condition of India, and the best means of improving it.

I have also to solicit your Lordship to submit my tables to the Statistical Department of the India Office, and to direct to oblige me by pointing out any mistakes of facts or figures there may be in them.

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* Pages 161 to 163 of this book.

In troubling your Lordship with these requests, I have no other object than to help, as far as my humble opportunities go, to arrive at the real truth of the actual material condition of India. For it is only natural that without the knowledge of the whole truth on this most important subject, all efforts, however well and benevolently intentioned, must generally result in disappointment and failures.

I also earnestly desire and solicit that your Lordship will kindly take into your consideration the representations I have urged in my papers on the Poverty of India.

I remanin,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF PUNJAB 1876-7.

Page 77, "Upon the whole the character of the weather during the year 1876-7 was favourable for agriculture."

I have taken 1 seer equal 2 057 lbs. from the Compilation entitled "Prices of food grains throughout India—1861-76, compiled in the Financial Department of the Government of India—Calcutta, 1878."

The prices I have adopted are the average of the prices given in the Report for 1st January 1876, 1st June 1876, and 1st January 1877—the last being the latest price that is given in the Report.

For all such particulars or figures as are *not* given in the Report, I have consulted a Punjab farmer, and adopted such information as he has given me.

There are some figures in the report which are evidently some mistakes and are much in excess of probability. But I have not altered them, though by retaining them as given in the report, the quantity and value of some of the articles become much higher than what they must most probably really be.

Excepting such mistakes, the farmer thinks the tables of the Report give a fair representation of the produce of Punjab—the averages being worked out in the right way they should be, and not as they are given in the Report, worked on a wrong principle:

RICE.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price per 1 Re.	Total
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1 Delhi	27,000	920	25,668,000	13·71	18,72,2
2 Gurgaon	1,591	720	1,145,520	19·2	59,6
3 Karnal	53,113	1,152	61,186,176	21·94	27,88,7
4 Hissar	10,505	745	7,826,970	23·31	3,35,77
5 Rohtak	5,326	670	3,568,420	25·37	1,40,65
6 Sirsa	8,285	869	7,199,665	21·94	3,28,15
7 Umballa	117,941	889	103,788,080	19·88	52,20,728
8 Ludhiana	3,963	1,096	4,343,448	16·45	2,64,039
9 Simla	1,875	620	1,162,500	18·51	62,804
10 Jullundar	9,192	1,085	9,973,320	16·45	6,06,281
11 Hoshiarpur	28,835	752	21,683,920	17·82	12,16,830
12 Kangra	147,766	415	61,322,890	29·48	20,80,152
13 Amritsar	20,128	974	19,604,672	18·51	10,59,139
14 Gurdaspur	81,583	755	61,595,165	15·77	39,05,844
15 Sialkot	74,100	1,029	76,248,900	30·85	24,71,601
16 Lahore	22,415	861	19,299,315	30·17	6,39,685
17 Gujranwala	9,925	759	7,533,075	19·88	3,78,927
18 Firozpur	6,543	795	5,201,685	20·91	2,48,765
19 Rawalpindi	1,093	970	1,060,210	12·34	85,916
20 Jhelum	233	943	219,719	11·65	18,860
21 Gujrat	6,969	586	4,083,834	17·82	2,29,171
22 Shahpur	990	790	782,100	22·63	34,560
23 Mooltan	9,800	750	7,350,000	13·71	5,36,105
24 Jhang	127	281	35,687	13·71	2,603
25 Montgomery... ...	7,870	1,145	9,011,150	13·71	6,57,268
26 Muzaffargarh ...	10,178	852	8,671,656	16·45	5,27,152
27 D. I. Khan	1,366	196	267,736	12·85	20,835
28 D. G. Khan	14,001	513	7,182,513	18	3,99,028
29 Bannu	125	880	110,000	12·85	8,560
30 Peshawar	10,325	894	9,230,550	13·45	6,86,286
31 Hazara	12,274	1,152	14,139,648	28·8	4,90,960
32 Kohat	2,361	1,507	3,558,027	14·83	2,39,920
Total...	708,699	Average. 796	564,054,551	Average. 20·42	2,76,17,270

ake produce of rice as 25 fold, and deduct 4 per cent. for seed. The
ity will then become lbs. 541,492,369 and value Rs. 2,65,12,580.
the price of rice given in the Report is for "1st sort" only. The
n or 2nd sort forms the bulk and there is lower sort still. 2nd
generally about 75 per cent. of the 1st sort. I take upon
ole 85 per cent. The value then for the whole bulk will be
5,35,693.

WHEAT.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price per Re. 1	Total value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	159,900	913	145,988,700	53 82	27,12,536
2	132,425	856	113,355,800	49·37	22,96,046
3	113,110	1,319	149,192,090	48·68	30,64,751
4	39,048	548	21,398,304	48·34	4,42,662
5	99,428	732	72,781,296	49·37	14,74,200
6	56,310	255	14,359,050	49 02	2,92,922
7	296,322	1,000	296,322,000	51·25	57,81,892
8	137,012	1,013	138,793,156	51 08	27,17,172
9	3,610	550	1,985,500	38 39	51,719
10	269,010	1,339	360,204,390	49 37	72,96,017
11	349,863	692	242,105,196	48 68	49,73,401
12	144,170	460	66,318,200	37·02	17,91,415
13	263,265	1,038	273,269,070	52 11	52,44,081
14	325,529	856	278,652,824	50 74	54,91,778
15	197,000	910	179,270,000	49 02	36,57,078
16	368,000	557	204,976,000	50·39	40,67,791
17	203,745	793	161,569,785	50 74	31,84,268
18	241,180	736	177,508,480	58 97	30,10,148
19	424,135	776	329,128,760	68 9	47,76,905
20	480,273	933	448,094,709	64·45	69,52,594
21	268,316	736	197,360,576	57·42	34,37,139
22	199,325	790	157,466,750	58·62	26,86,229
23	186,040	655	121,856,200	41 83	29,13,129
24	161,169	674	108,627,906	49·37	22,00,281
25	263,494	1,252	329,894,488	53 48	61,68,558
26	201,363	1,248	251,301,024	43·88	57,27,006
27	176 055	777	136,794,735	69·42	19,70,537
28	156,594	765	119,794,410	44·57	26,87,781
29	262,728	523	137,406,744	88·28	15,56 487
30	232,975	600	139,785,000	57·47	24,32,312
31	100,570	993	99,866,010	58 97	16,93,505
32	97,533	816	79,586,928	70·89	11,22,682
Total ..	6,609,497	Average. 840·4	5,555,014,081	Average 53·48	10,38,75 022

I take produce of wheat 25 fold, and deduct 4 per cent. for seed. The quantity will be lbs. 5,332,813,517, and value will be Rupees 9,97,20,021. The price given in the report is for 1st sort only. The 2nd sort forms the bulk, and is generally about 12 per cent. lower in price. I take only 8 per cent. lower for the whole bulk.

The value of the whole will then be Rs. 9,17,42,419.

Makai (Indian Corn).

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price per Re. 1.	Total Value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	13,900	1,500	20,850,000	72	2,89,583
2	1,344	„	2,016,000	75·42	26,730
3	6,215	„	9,322,500	67·19	1,38,748
4	89	„	133,500	51·42	2,596
5	73	„	109,500†		
6	466	„	699,000†		
7	100,736	„	151,104,000	62·4	24,21,538
8	62,802	„	94,203,000	66·51	14,16,373
9	1,282	„	1,923,000	45·94	41,859
*10	86,392	1,544*	133,389,248	63·08	21,14,604
11	105,651	1,500	158,476,500	55·54	28,53,375
12	65,093	„	97,639,500	39·77	24,55,104
*13	44,426	1,412*	62,729,512	65·14	9,62,995
14	49,977	1,500	74,965,500	53·48	14,01,748
15	33,000	„	49,500,000	58·28	8,49,450
16	34,150	„	51,225,000	65·82	7,78,258
17	16,535	„	24,802,500	61·02	4,06,465
18	42,428	„	63,642,000	81·59	7,80,022
19	66,392	„	99,588,000	94·62	10,52,504
20	2,423	„	3,634,500	64·45	56,392
21	16,507	„	24,760,500	68·57	3,61,098
22	884	„	1,326,000	63·08	21,020
23	142	„	213,000	50·05	4,255
24	2,317	„	3,475,500	65·82	52,803
25	2,512	„	3,768,000	49·37	76,321
26					
27	17	„	25,500	90·85	280
28	30	„	45,000†		
29	37,069	„	55,603,500	124·27	4,47,441
30	80,542	„	120,813,000	84·42	14,31,094
31	198,025	„	297,037,500	95·09	31,23,751
32	12,920	„	19,380,000	97·92	1,97,916
		Average.		Average.	
	* 130,818	1,499·17	196,118,760	68·4	2,37,64,323
	953,521	1,500	1,430,281,500	† add for 853,500 lbs.	12,478
Total...	1,084,339		1,626,400,260		2,37,76,801

For makai I take 50 fold and therefore deduct 2 per cent. for seed. The total quantity will then be lbs. 1,593,872,255, and value will be Rs. 2,33,01,265.

* In the report crop per acre is given for 2 districts only marked *. The average for these two, viz. 1499·17—say 1,500 lbs. is applied to all other districts by me.

† No price is given in the report for the 3 districts marked †. The average of the others, viz .68·4 lbs., is applied to these.

Jow (Barley).

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price per 1 Re.	Total value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	61,290	503	30,828,870	73 02	4,22,197
2	197,145	"	99,163,935	69 94	14,17,842
3	29,856	"	15,017,568	72·68	2,06,625
4	30,312	"	15,246,936	83·65	1,82,270
5	42,353	"	21,303,559	75·42	2,82,465
6	101,408	"	51,008,224	108 33	4,70,859
7	35,787	"	18,000,861	72	2,50,011
8	106,202	"	53 419,606	86·39	6,18,354
9	3,134	"	1,576,402	50 74	31,068
10	25,211	*856	21,580,616	75 42	2,86,139
11	21,602	503	10,865,806	76 79	1,41,500
12	56,831	*250	14,207,750	52·11	2 72.649
13	36,509	503	18,364,027	84·34	2,17,738
14	123,635	"	62,188,405	63 08	9 85,865
15	122,000	"	61,366,000	83 65	7,33,604
16	57.181	"	28,762,043	82 96	3,46,697
17	64,082	"	32,233,246	88·45	3,64,423
18	195,298	"	98,234,894	100 1	9 81,367
19	43,383	"	21,821,649	77·48	2,81,642
20	17,879	"	8,993,137	76 11	1,18,159
21	67,094	"	33,748,282	82 28	4,10,163
22	15,657	"	7,875,471	78·16	1,00,760
23	11,832	*800	9,465,600	59 65	1,58,685
24	6,083	503	3,059,749	74 74	40,938
25	21,802	"	10,966,406	69 94	1,56,797
26	10,987	*679	7,460,173	60 34	1,23,635
27	19,203	503	9,659,109	94 28	1,02,451
28	5,925	"	2,980,275	60 42	49,325
29	26,282	"	13,219,846	133·7	98,876
30	238,161	"	119,794,983	104·30	11,48,561
31	70,079	"	35,249,737	102 98	3,42,296
32	10,014	"	5,037,042	109·28	46,092
Total...	1,874,217		942,700,207	Average. 82 76	1,13,90 053

For barley I take 16 fold. Deducting for seed 1/16th, the total quantity will be lbs. 883,781,444—and the value will be Rs. 1,06,78,175.

* Crop per acre is given for only these 4 districts, the average of which for 104,861 acres is 503 lbs, and this average is applied to all the other districts for 1,769,356 acres.

GRAM.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price per Re. 1.	Total value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	57,500	645	37,087,500	72	515,104
2	101,184	* 620	62,734,080	71·65	875,562
3	119,935	* 680	81,555,800	72·34	11,27,395
4	76,534	645	49,364,430	80·22	615,363
5	119,240	* 790	94,199,600	78·16	12,05,214
6	37,762	645	24,356,490	102·85	236,815
7	175,094	"	112,935,630	76·11	14,83,847
8	171,984	"	110,929,680	77·82	14,25,464
9	5	"	3,225	51·08	63
10	65,158	* 1,233	80,339,814	73·37	10,94,995
11	46,324	645	29,878,980	61·02	4,89,658
12	370,802	* 290	107,532,580	51·08	21,05,179
13	103,350	* 1,394	144,069,900	84	17,15,117
14	31,347	645	20,218,815	73·37	2,75,573
15	21,500	"	13,867,500	74·05	1,87,272
16	171,216	"	110,434,320	89·82	12,29,507
17	31,682	"	20,434,890	83 65	2,44,290
18	255,898	"	165,054,210	96·68	17,07,221
19	38,263	"	24,679,635	76·79	3,21,391
20	34,115	"	22,004,175	65·14	3,37,798
21	34,728	"	22,399,560	68	3,08,194
22	23,817	"	15,361,965	74·05	2,07,453
23	8,404	"	5,420,580	57·25	94,682
24	12,026	"	7,756,770	73·37	1,05,721
25	81,616	"	52,642,320	77·48	6,79,431
26	12,679	* 1,942	24,622,618	55·54	4,43,331
27	11,922	645	7,689,690	95·13	80,833
28	1,961	"	1,264,845	47·74	26,494
29	53,037	* 286	15,168,582	106·28	1,42,722
30	947	645	610,815	44·05	13,866
31	222	"	143,190	61·71	2,320
32	1,984	"	1,279,680	70·36	18,187
		Average.		Average.	
Total......	2,272,236	645	1,466,041,869	75·89	1,93,16,062

I take gram 30 fold. Deducting for seed accordingly, the total quantity will be lbs. 1,417,173,807, and the value will be Rs. 1,86,72,194.

* Crop per acre is given for these districts only. The average from them is applied to others, viz. 645 lbs.

INFERIOR GRAINS (as noted below.)†

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price per 1 Re.	Total value.	
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.	
1	114,677	522	59,861,394	66·85	8,95,458	
2	404,175	447	180,666,225	,66	27,37,367	
3	196,787	521	102,526,027	4·79	15,82,436	
4	1,256,158	393	493,670,094	76 79	64,28,833	
5	441,437	412	181,872,044	64·79	28,07,100	
6	680,225	118	80,266,550	104·39	7,68,910	
7	195,893	680	133,207 240	66 16	20,13,410	
8	214,111	1,355	290,120,405	68 91	42,10,135	
9	3,406	520	1,771,120	40·11	44,156	
10	165,767	395	65,477,965	62·05	10,55,245	
11	111,933	685	76,674,105	58 41	13,12,687	
12	30,366	362	10,992,492*			
13	71,937	590	42,442,830	67·88	6,25,262	
14	154,306	648	99,990,288	48	20,83,131	
15	94,070	745	70 082,150	65 14	10,75,869	
16	141,579	374	52,950,546	69 94	7,57,085	
17	123,515	449	55,458,235	64·45	8,60,484	
18	477,728	608	290,458,624	82 11	35,37 433	
19	287,941	554	159,519,314	92·91	17,16,923	
20	209,379	722	151,171,638	70·28	21,50 990	
21	239 640	632	151,452,480	80 91	18,71,863	
22	68,819	1100	75,700 900	66·16	11,44,209	
23	98,847	468	46,260,396	51·08	9,05,646	
24	55,474	218	12,093,332	60 17	2,00 986	
25	63,883	686	43,823 738	55·54	7,89,048	
26	76,969	693	53 339,517	49 37	10,80,403	
27	43,618	485	21,154,730	89 13	2,37,346	
28	178,113	640	113,992,320	54·17	21,04,344	
29	105 488	536	56,541,568	111·42	5,07,463	
30	107,183	550	58,950,650	59 48	9,91,100	
31	52,074	960	49,991,040	74·25	6,75,098	
32	69,465	770	53,488,050	112 28	4,76,380	
		Average.		Average.		
Total...	6,534,963	510·5	3,335 968,007	69 78	4,76,46,800	for * for which price is not given.
				Add	1,57,530	
					4,78,04,330	

Seed required per acre.				for acres.
† Joar per acre	40	lbs.	×	2,221,535
Bájri ...	16	,,	×	2,339 796
Kangni ...	8	,,	×	58,434
China... ...	16	,,	×	74,842
Moth	24	,,	×	982,208
Matter ...	20	,,	×	106,865
Mash	16	,,	×	213 465
Mung ...	16	,,	×	263,324
Masur ...	32	,,	×	187,544
Arhar ...	16	,,	×	86,950
				6,534,963

The total of the products of these =168,694,604, divided by the total 6,534,963 of acres, will give an average of 26 lbs. per acre of seed for a crop of average 510 lbs.—say 20 fold. Deducting then 5 per cent. for seed, the total quantity will be lbs. 3,169,169,607 and total value will be Rs. 4,54,14.114.

It should be noted that the prices of Jowár, Bájrá, Másh, Mung and Arhar are nearly the same generally, but of the remaining 5 kinds of grain, via. Moth, Kangni, China, Matter and Masur, the prices are generally nearly 25 per cent. lower. The prices I have used in the table are as given in the Report for Jáwar and Bájrá only—though the acreage of the lower priced grains is 1,409,893 acres out of 6,534,963 acres, or above 20 per cent. If the allowance for the lower price of the 5 kinds of grains mentioned above were made, the value will evidently be much lower than I have given above. It requires also to be noted that out of the inferior grains a portion goes for the feed of animals in about the following proportions:—

Grain	Proportion for human use.	Proportion for animal's use.
Bájrá	½	½
Jowár	⅓	⅔
Moth	¼	¾
Másh	⅔	⅓
also Jow	¼	¾
Gram	½	½

So that out of the total acreage of grains of all the above kinds, viz.

Gram	2,272,236	× ½	=6,000,512 acres are for animal use, or nearly three-fifths of the total acres 9,903,457.
Bájrá	2,339,796	× ½	
Jowár	2,221,535	× ⅔	
Jow	1,874,217	× ¾	
Moth	982,208	× ¾	
Mash	213,465	× ⅓	
	9,903,457		

And out of the whole acreage of *all* kinds of grains, *i.e.* 19,083,971 acres, about 30 per cent. is used for producing food for animals.

POPPY (Opium).

Districts	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.
		lbs.	lbs.
7	3,620	18	65,160
8	69		
9	244	3	732
10	578		
11	163		—
12	1,539	3	4,617
13	877	19	16,663
14	278		
15	140		
16	770	5	3,850
17	147	10	1,470
18	263		
19	53	15	795
20	81	14	1,134
21	336	15	5,040
22	2,182	10	21,820
23	25	6	150
24	27	10	270
25	94	9	846
26	40	11	440
27	23	8	184
28	535	20	10,700
29	15		
30	67	3	201
31	182	9	1,638
		Average.	
Total...	12,348	12·51	135,710 for 10,842 acres.
			add 18,840 ,, 1,506 ,, (for which no crop per acre is given, at 12·51 average.)
			154,550 ,, 12,348

Government pay Rs. 5 per seer or Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ per lb. to the producer. The total value will therefore be Rs. 3,86,375.

The additional value at which Government sells opium is a part of the national income as it is chiefly paid by a Foreign Country as profit of trade, and therefore (as I have done in my "Poverty of India") the net opium Revenue will have to be added to the total production of the country. The particular provinces only from which this revenue is derived, viz. Bengal, Bombay and other opium producing places, cannot be credited with this income. It belongs to the whole nation, as every place is not quite free to cultivate opium.

Tobacco.

Districts.	Acres.	Per acre.	Total quantity.	Price per Re. 1	Total value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	7,472	888	6,635,136	5·14	12,90,882
2	2,424	600	1,454,400	14·4	1,01,000
3	917	525	481,425	16·45	29,266
4	2,812	582	1,636,584	16·45	99,488
5	1,851	514	951,414	16·45	57,836
6	381	850	323,850	14·4	23,489
7	4,661	560	2,610,160	12·34	2,11,520
8	1,550	925	1,433,750	27·25	52,614
9*	5	846	4,230	9·6	440
10	2,793	1,561	4,359,873	24·68	1,76,656
11	3,782	1,733	6,554,206	19·88	3,29,688
12	776	532	412,832	12·34	33,454
13	2,169	984	2,134,296	18·51	1,15,305
14	3,973	1,040	4,131,920	16·45	2,51,180
15	5,785	917	5,304,845	16·45	3,22,483
16	3,460	461	1,595,060	16·45	96,964
17	3,259	669	2,180,271	17·14	1,27,203
18	5,879	651	3,827,229	13·03	2,93,724
19	1,380	1,080	1,490,400	16·45	90,601
20	622	792	492,624	17·83	27,628
21	2,389	593	1,416,677	12·34	1,14,803
22	838	1,700	1,424,600	12·34	1,15,445
23	1,839	656	1,206,384	6·51	1,85,312
24	1,173	820	961,860	12·34	77,946
25	851	1,042	886,742	16·46	53,872
26	978	780	762,840	15·09	50,552
27	2,029	615	1,247,835	12·68	98,409
28	783	740	579,420	7·28	79,590
29	452	870	393,240	20·6	19,089
30	1,250	880	1,100,000	21·85	50,343
31	27	480	12,960	17·83	726
32*	3,307	846	2,797,722	10·97	2,55,033
Total...	71,867	Average. 846	60,804,785	Average. 12·58	48,32,541

No deduction is made for nursery or seed. The average of 12·58 lbs. per rupee is rather a high price. It is considered, 12 seers or 24 lbs. per Rupee would be nearer the average. I have, as above, kept the Report's price, though it is considered so high.

* The produce per acre for these is not given in the report. I have applied the average of the other districts, viz. 846 lbs. to these.

TURMERIC.

Neither produce per acre, nor price is given in the Report. I take 10 maunds for green, which gives 2 maunds dry or 164 lbs. dry per acre. The price is taken say 10 lbs. per 1 Rupee.

4130 acres × 164 lbs. = 677,320 lbs.—at lbs. 10 per rupee = Rs. 67,732.

CORIANDER SEED.

As above neither produce per acre nor price is given in the Report. I take as follows:—

Acres 6934 × 330 lbs. dry per acre = 2,288,220 lbs. at 16 lbs. per Rupee = Rs. 1,43,014.

GINGER.

As above.

286 acres × 205 lbs. per acre (dry) = 58,630 lbs. at 7 lbs. per Rupee = Rs. 8376.

CHILLIES

Produce per acre given for 4 districts only, viz :—

				lbs.
No. 2	acres	774 × 600 lbs.	=	464,400
13		611 × 410 ,,	=	250,510
18		3,604 × 924 ,,	=	3,330,096
30		77 × 640 ,,	=	49,280
		Average.		
Total...	5,066	808		4,094,286
Add for	18,452@ ,,			14,909,216
	23,518			19,003,502

The average of 808 lbs. is applied to the rest. The total quantity then is 19,003,502 lbs. of green crop. Dry quantity will be one-fifth or 3,800,700 lbs. and at 8 lbs. per Rupee, the value will be Rs. 4,75,100.

OTHER KINDS OF DRUGS AND SPICES.

These are chiefly Ajmá, Bádián, Jeree, and Sowá. Neither produce per acre nor price is given in the Report. I take as follows:—

Acres 35,074 at 330 lbs. per acre = 11,574,420 lbs. at average of 14 lbs. per Rupee, Rs. 8,26,744.

Oil Seeds.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre	Total quantity.
		lbs.	lbs.
1	10,260	293	3,006,180
2	11,506	237	2,726,922
3	13,018	500	6,509,000
4	21,582	242	5,222,844
5	12,304	297	3,654,288
6	79,160	* 80	6,332,800
7	27,229	560	15,248,240
8	11,172	668	7,462,896
9			
10	11,392	715	8,145,280
11	25,911	310	8,032,410
12	18,442	352	6,491,584
13	35,996	582	20,949,672
14	24,923	408	10,168,584
15	23,806	777	18,497,262
16	81,894	260	21,292,440
17	17,952	307	5,511,264
18	70,315	601	42,259,315
19	69,294	311	21,550,434
20	60,169	481	28,941,289
21	50,375	291	14,659,125
22	4,712	750	3,534,000
23	9,541	462	4,407,942
24	3,473	252	875,196
25	29,076	477	13,869,252
26	24,453	288	7,042,464
27	17,660	464	8,194,240
28	20,473	492	10,072,716
29	4,004	136	544,544
30	30,244	460	13,912,240
31	21,005	533	11,195,665
32	5,348	251	1,342,348
Total	846,689	Average. 392	331,652,436

The price of these seeds is not given in the Report.

I take as follows :—

Linseed and Sarso } Rs. 3 per maund or 27 lbs. per Re. 1.

Til seed, Rs. 4 per maund or 20 lbs. per Re. 1.

Taramira, Rs. 2½ per maund or 32 lbs. per Re. 1.

The quantity of these seeds is about in proportion of 55 per cent. of Linseed & Sarso.
15 " " Til.
30 " " Taramira.

The price then will be

	lbs.	
55 per cent. by 27=	1,485	Average 27·45 lbs. per Re. 1.
15 per cent. by 20=	300	
30 per cent. by 32=	960	

Taking 27 lbs. per Re. 1, the total value will be Rs. 1,22,83,423.

For seed, per acre.		
Linseed...6 lbs	by 55 per cent..	Average 7·15 lbs. per acre.
Sarso ...8 ,,		
Till ......6 ,,	by 15 "	
Taramira 8 ,,	by 30 ,,	

Taking 7 lbs. of seed required per acre—for produce of 392 lbs. gives 56 fold. Deducting 56th part, the total quantity will become lbs. 325,730,071, and total value will become Rs. 1,20,64,076.

* This evidently is some mistake. It may be 280.

Cotton.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price per Re. 1	Total value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	24,565	186	4,569 090	6·51	7,01,857
2	47,855	164	7,848,220	6·51	12,05,563
3	21,510	140	3 011,400	6·43	4,68,336
4	20,323	87	1,768,101	6·17	2,86,564
5	49,073	70	3 435,110	7·2	4,77,098
6	77	64	4,928	6·17	798
7	27,332	72	1,967,904	6·34	3,10,395
8	11,488	85	976,480	6 34	1,54,019
9					
10	26,093	122	3,183,346	5 14	6,19,328
11	24,420	136	3,321,120	5·49	6,04,940
12	6,733	22	148,126	5 14	28,818
13	23,597	64	1,510,208	5·65	2,67,293
14	37,474	50	1,873,700	5·14	3,64,533
15	11,425	65	742,625	5·65	1,31,438
16	25,305	138	3 492,090	5·49	6,36,082
17	33,376	129	4,305,504	5·49	7,84,244
18	9,680	158	1,529,440	6·17	2,47,883
19	33,745	128	4,319,360	4·46	9,68,466
20	25,557	122	3,117,954	5·27	5,91,642
21	24,716	43	1,062,788	4 63	2,29,543
22	26,029	50	1,301,450	5 49	2,37,058
23	16,550	82	1,357,100	5·65	2,40,194
24	16,881	87	1,468,647	5 27	2,78,680
25	15,838	149	2,359,862	5·31	4,44,418
26	29,632	124	3,674,368	6	6,12,394
27	11,175	115	1,285,125	6	2,14,187
28	29,739	84	2,498,076	5 7	4,38,259
29	7,544	73	550,712	5·36	1,02,744
30	16,468	* 105	1,729,140	5 23	3,30,619
31	8,280	100	828 000	4·11	2,01,460
32	6,396	121	773,916	4·41	1,75,491
Total..	668,876	Average 105	70,013,890	Average 5·66	1,23,54,344

The average of 105 lbs. per acre is evidently too high. 80 lbs. will be nearer the mark. If so, the above quantity and value are nearly 36¼ per cent. above the right quantity and value.

Very probably some of the figures of produce per acre are for uncleaned or seed cotton. The report uses the word "cotton" only in the column of produce per acre, while in the column for prices it uses the words "Cotton (cleaned)."

* The produce per acre for this is not given in the Report. The ave[illegible] the others (652,408 acres) is applied to this.

Hemp.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price lbs. per Re. 1.	Total value Rs.
		lbs.	lbs.		
1	2,100	* 1,158	2,431,800	The prices are not given in the Report. I take ordinarily prepared fibre as 20 lbs. per Rupee. The value of 18,770,866 lbs. at 20 lbs. per Rupee will be Rs. 9,38,543.	
2	516	116	59,856		
3	1,085	450	488,250		
4	2,788	153	426,564		
5	16,146	465	7,507,890		
7	1,619	220	356,180		
8	1,637	305	499,285		
10	3,655	398	1,454,690		
11	6,424	192	1,233,408		
12	5,263	312	1,642,056		
13	1,002	444	444,888		
14	1,622	352	570,944		
15	3,205	177	567,285		
16	537	306	164,322		
17	355	406	144,130		
18	1,649	218	359,482		
19	417	120	50,040		
20	203	360	73,080		
21	971	286	277,706		
22	2	250	500		
25	† 25	366	9,150		
30	39	240	9,360		
Total...	51,260	Average 366	18,770,866		

In the Report the figures of crop per acre are given under the heading "Fibres." In the columns per 'acres cultivated'—Cotton and Hemp are given under the heading of "Fibres;" and as produce per acre of cotton is given separately, the produce per acre under the heading "Fibres" applies to Hemp.

* This is apparently a mistake. The figure is too high.

† The crop per acre for this district being not given in the Report, I have given it the average 366.

Kassamba (Safflower).

Neither produce per acre nor price is given in the Report. I take 40 lbs. per acre of dry prepared stuff—and price 2½ lbs. per Re. 1.

Acres 24,708 by 40 lbs. = 988,320 at 2½ lbs. per Re. 1, gives Rs. 3,95,328.

Indigo.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	Price lbs. per Re. 1.	Total value Rs.
		lbs.	lbs.		
1	100	30	3,000		
2	56	100	5,600	The price is not given in the Report. I take annas 12 per lb. which will give the total value to be Rs. 30,53,205.	
3	588	30	17,640		
4	* 785				
5	* 1,526				
7	1,798	62	111,476		
8	2,467	33	87,351		
10	754	41	30,914		
11	1,162	44	51,128		
18	26	24	624		
21	47	101	4.747		
23	75,364	26	1,959,464		
24	2	29	58		
25	8	20	160		
26	20,603	50	1,030,150		
28	23,999	29	695 971		
Total...	129,465	Average. - 31 44	3 998,283		
		* add	72,658		
			4070 941		

* For these (2,311 acres) produce per acre is taken of the average for the others, viz. 31·44.

VEGETABLES.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre	Total quantity.	Price per Re. 1	Total value.	
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.	
1	11,700	4,753	55,610,100	43·88	12,67,322	
2	* 9,387	* 6,000	56,322,000	28·8	19,55,625	
3	846	4,753	4,021,030	39·77	1,01,107	
4	3,485	,,	16,564,205	28·8	5,75,146	
5	920	,,	4,372,760	35·65	1,22,658	
6	677	,,	3,217,781	27·43	1,17,308	
7	3,495	,,	16,611,735	35·65	4,65,967	
8	7,560	,,	35,932,680	30·17	11,91,006	
9	7	,,	33,271	60·34	551	
10	7,731	,,	36,745,443	27·43	13,39,607	
11	3,586	,,	17,044,258	32·91	5,17,905	
12	6,551	,,	31,136,903	49·37	6,30,684	
13	15,175	,,	72,126,775	36·34	19,84,776	
14	6,790	,,	32,272,870	27·43	11,76,553	
15	3,000	,,	14,259,000	32·91	4,33,272	
16	5,746	,,	27,310,738	24·68	11,06,593	
17	56,988	,,	270,863,964	39·77	68,10,761	
18	* 4,274	* 2,015	8,612,110	32·91	2,61,686	
19	4,660	4,753	22,148,980	40·45	5,47,564	
20	3,709	,,	17,628,877	31·54	5,58,937	
21	21,904	,,	104,109,712	28·8	36,14,920	
22	11,072	,,	52,625,216			
23	29,239	,,	138,972,967	26·74	51,97,194	
24	23,203	,,	110,283,859	20·57	53,61,393	
25	1,423	,,	6,763,519	27·43	2,46,574	
26	3,095	,,	14,710,535	21·25	6,92,260	
27	803	,,	3,816,659	33·42	1,14,202	
28	794	,,	3,773,882	20·57	1,83,465	
29	4,152	,,	19,734,456	45·25	4,36,120	
30	3,631	,,	17,258,143	32·05	5,38,475	
31	598	,,	2,842,294	45·25	62,813	
32	599	,,	2,847,047	31·45	90,526	
		Average		Average		lbs.
Total.	256,800	4,753	1,220,573,777	30·98	3,77,02,970 for	1,167,948,561

The prices I have taken above are given in the Report for potato only—and the average comes to say 31 lbs. per Re. 1. This is a high average price. The average price of potato will be nearer 60 than 31 lbs. I take however the average of 31 lbs.

* Produce per acre is given for vegetables for these two districts only, and the average of these viz., 4,753, is applied to all others.

Now out of the vegetables grown, about one-eighth only will be potato and seven-eighths other kind of general vegetables.

This will give, out of lbs. 1,220,573,777—seven-eighths of general vegetables=lbs. 1,068,002,055.

The price of vegetables is not given in the Report. It may be taken as $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per Re. 1 or 124 lbs., say 100 lbs. per Re. 1—which will give the total value of vegetables to be about Rs. 1,06,80,020.

Again the average of 4,753 lbs. is of vegetables, but potato will be only about 30 maunds or lbs. 2,460 per acre, and as potato will be about $\frac{1}{8}$th of the acreage planted with vegetables, or about 32,100 acres, the total quantity of potato will be 32,100 × 2,460=78,966,000 lbs. This at the price of 31 lbs. per Re. 1 will give Rs. 25,47,290.

I make no deduction for seed potato, or seed for vegetables.

TEA.

The produce per acre is given for 1 district only. But the Report at page 78 takes the general average to be the same, viz. 96 lbs. The price is not given. I take 3 lbs. per Re. 1.

Districts.	Acres.
9	75
12	7,985
19	468
30	356
Total...	8,884

Total... 8,884 × 96 lbs. = lbs. 852,864—at 3 lbs. per Re. 1, will give Rs. 2,84,288.

Sugar.

Districts.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total quantity.	1st sort Price per Re. 1.	Total value.
		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
1	34.881	*†1,500	52,321,500	5·49	95,30,328
2	1,125	646	726,750	6·68	1,08,795
3	14.309	,,	9,243,614	7·03	13,14,881
4	34	,,	‡ 21,964		
5	33,324	,,	21,527,304	8·14	26,44,631
6	6	* 389	2,334	6·34	368
7	25,540	* 280	7,151,200	5·83	12,26,620
8	14,400	* 661	9,518,400	6·86	13,87,521
9					
10	43.963	* 531	23,344,353	6·51	35,85,922
11	42,015	* 597	25,082,955	6·51	38,52,988
12	8,139	* 494	4,020,666	6·43	6,25,297
13	36.579	646	23,630,034	7·11	33,23,492
14	41,375	* 360	14,895,000	5·65	26,36,283
15	29.009	646	18,739,814	6·51	28,78,619
16	2.527	,,	1,632,442	5·65	2,88,927
17	26,625	,,	17,199,750	7·2	25,27,743
18	1,916	* 410	785,560	6	1,30,926
19	2,381	646	1,538,126	6·34	2,42,606
20	414	,,	267,444	5·83	45,873
21	7.221	* 660	4,765,860	6·51	7,32,082
22	1.312	646	‡ 847,552		
23	3.726	,,	2,406,996	6·17	3,90,112
24	260	* 261	67,860	5·91	11,482
25	113	646	72,998	6·17	11,831
26	4.355	,,	2,813,330	5·83	4,82,560
27	88	,,	56,848	5·65	10,061
28	55	,,	35,530	5·23	6,793
29	5,443	,,	3,516,178	5·36	6,56,003
30	9,914	,,	6,404,444	6·08	10,53,362
31	561	,,	362,406	5·49	66,022
32	20	,,	12,920	5·74	2,250
Total.	391,630	Average 646	253,012,132	Average 6·34	3,97,74,378

for lbs. 252,142,616 excluding the 2 quantities marked ‡

* For these districts only is the produce per acre given in the Report. I have applied the average of these to others.

† This is evidently a mistake. Though other districts, such as Ludhiana (8) are better than Delhi—and while 661 lbs. is considered a fair average for Ludhiana, 1,500 for Delhi cannot be correct. It is more likely 500 than 1,500. If 500 be adopted the average will become 487 instead of 646 lbs. And it is also considered, that an average of about 489 will be near the mark. I have allowed the figure 1,500 to remain, though this increases the average above 487 lbs. nearly 32 per cent.

The average price, as obtained on the basis of the prices given in the Report, is, for "1st sort" or what is called Misri. But there are different qualities of sugar, viz. Gol, Red Sugar, ordinary 2nd sort sugar, and best or 1st sort sugar. Taking the price of 1st sort as averaging 6 lbs. per Rupee, the prices of the other kinds are:—

Gol	24 lbs.	per Rupee	Of these the first two form nearly $\frac{2}{3}$rds and the last two form $\frac{1}{3}$rd of the whole quantity. Taking in this ratio we get
Red Sugar ...	16 ,,	,,	
Ordinary 2nd	7 ,,	,,	
1st sort ...	6 ,,	,,	

$\frac{2}{3}$rds at 20 lbs. $= 13\frac{1}{3}$
$\frac{1}{3}$rd ,, $6\frac{1}{2}$,, $= 2\frac{1}{6}$ } or $15\frac{1}{2}$ or say 15 lbs. per Rupee.

The whole quantity, being 253,012,132 lbs., will at 15 lbs. per Rupee give the total value Rs. 1,68,67,475.

For seed, to deduct cane equal to 40 lbs. of sugar per acre.

This gives 16 fold, and taking the higher average of 646 lbs., I deduct say 6 per cent.

The whole quantity is then lbs. 237,831,405.

And the whole value is then Rs. 1,58,55,427.

If, as I have pointed out above, the average of Delhi (1) were taken 500 lbs. instead of 1,500 lbs., which would make the average produce of the whole of the Punjab 487 lbs. instead of 646, the above quantity and value will prove some 30 per cent. higher than they should be.

It may be noted here, that the Report itself makes the average 449 lbs. only, on the fallacious principle of simply adding up and dividing by the number of districts, while when properly calculated the figure should be 646 instead of 449. This is an instance of how misleading and incorrect the averages are as they are generally calculated in the Administration Reports.

Summary of Produce of all Districts.

Produce.	Acres.	Total quantity.	Average per Acre.	Total value.	Average price per Re. 1
		lbs.	lbs.	Rs.	lbs.
Rice	708,699	541,492,369	796	2,25,35,693	20·42
Wheat...	6,609,497	5,332,813,517	840·4	9,17,42,419	53·48
Makai (Indian corn)	1,084,339	1,593,872,255	1500	2,33,01,265	68·4
Jow (Barley)...	1,874,217	883,781,444	503	1,06,78,175	82·76
Gram	2,272,236	1,417,173,807	645	1,86,72,194	75·89
Inferior grains	6,534,963	3,169,169,607	510·5	4,54,14,114	69·78
Poppy (Opium)	12,348	154,550	12·51	3,86,375	·4 { 2½ Rs. per lb paid by Govt. }
Tobacco	71,867	60,804,785	846	48,32,541	12·58
Turmeric	4,130	677,320	164 (dry)	67,732	10
Coriander seed	6,934	2,288,220	330 "	1,43,014	16
Ginger...	286	58,630	205 "	8,376	7
Chillies	23,518	3,800,700 (dry)	{ 808 (green) 161·6 (dry) }	4,75,100	8
Other kinds drugs and spices ...	35,074	11,574,420	330	8,26,744	14
Oil seeds	846,689	325,730,071	392	1,20,64,076	27
Cotton...	668,876	70,013,890	105	1,23,54,344	5·66
Hemp	51,260	18,770,866	366	9,38,543	20
Kassamba (Safflower)	24,708	988,320	40 (dry)	3,95,328	2·5
Indigo	129,465	4,070,941	31·44	30,53,205	1⅓
Vegetables	256,800	{ 1,068,002,055 78,966,000	4753 2460	1,06,80,020 25,47,290	100 Green vegetables. 31 Potato.
Tea	8,884	852,864	96	2,84,288	3
Sugar	391,630	237,831,405	646	1,58,55,427	15 { Average of 4 qualities. }
Total... ...	21,616,420			27,72,56,263	

Manufactures.

Goods.	Value given in the Report.	Deduct for raw Material already calculated and included in the produce, or imported and paid from produce.		Balance representing labour.
	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Silks	19,62,049	Say half for Material (imported)	9,81,024	9,81,024
Cottons	1,75,05,556	„ 40% per „ „	70,02,222	1,05,03,334
Wool	9,42,329			9,42,329
Fibres	6,41,578	„ 20% „ „	1,28,315	5,13,263
Paper	1,58,565	„ 25% „ „	39,641	1,18,924
Wood	67,28,686			67,28,686
Iron	43,26,132	„ ⅓rd „ „	14,42,044	28,84,088
Brass and Copper	6,38,573	„ 40% „ „	2,55,429	3,83,144
Building	43,22,867			43,22,867
Leather	63,21,802			63,21,802
Gold and Silver lace	56,27,054	„ ⅔rd „ „	37,51,370	18,75,685
Dyeing	7,38,926	Material not stated.		7,38,926
Oil	12,45,966	„ ⅓rd or say ½ Material	6,22,983	6,22,983
Shawls	8,96,507	„ $\frac{1}{12}$th Material imported	74,709	8,21,798
Other Manufactures	30,81,205	Not described		30,81,205
			Total......	4,08,40,058

Mines.

There is no clear statement of the value of the produce of Mines given in this Report. The chief article is Salt. The report does not give any account of the cost of Salt.

Parl. Return No. 176 of 1878 gives (page 30) "The quantity manufactured, excavated or purchased" during the year (1876-77) as Maunds 1,795,956. In the statistics published by the Government of India (1875) at Calcutta—part III., page 79, it is said "Since 4th July 1870, one anna per maund has been charged as the cost price of the salt in addition to the duty." At this rate the above production of Salt, viz. Maunds 1,795,956 will cost Rs. 1,12,247. Duty is paid from the produce of the country.

For other minerals I can get no estimate. I roughly and as a very outside estimate put down the *whole* product of mines at Rs. 3 lacs.

Stock.

I am unable to make any estimate of the annual addition to stock during the year. All that portion however which is used for agricultural or manufacturing purposes need not be estimated, as its labour, like that of the agriculturer and the manufacturer himself, is included in the agricultural or manufacturing produce. The portion of the annual produce or addition, which is used for other than agricultural and manufacturing purposes, such as carriage and food and milk, needs to be added to the production of the year. Though I cannot estimate this, still it will not matter much, for, as I have shown in the table for inferior grains, a certain portion of them goes in the feed of animals—and as this portion supplies the feed of the *whole* stock that requires grain, and not merely that of the *annual* addition, the non-estimate of that portion of the *annual* addition to the stock which is used for carriage and for food may be more than covered by the value of the grain used for animals. Moreover, as I also give a margin upon the total estimate for any omission, any such item will be fully provided for.

Summary of the total production of Punjab.

		Value.
Agricultural Produce	... Rs.	27,72,56,263
Manufactures	... "	4,08,40,0[illegible]
Mines	... "	3,00,0[illegible]
	Rs.	31,83,96,3[illegible]

In order to meet any omissions (fish, &c.) I allow a further margin of above 3½ crores of Rupees, making say the whole produce of Punjab 35⅓ crores of Rupees, or at 2*s.* per Re. = £35,330,000, which, for a population of 17,600,000, gives £2 per head per annum at the outside for the year 1876-7.

The approximate estimate I had made out for the year 1867-8 in my paper on *The Poverty of India* was *49s. 5d.*, showing that either my calculation for the year 1867-8 was too high or the production of the province has diminished in value. The truth most likely is between both.

At all events unless any error of importance is pointed out, it seems clearly established that the value of the production of one of the best Provinces of India is Rs. 20 per head per annum at the outside.

Food Produce.

Grain.	Total Quantity. lbs.
Rice	541,492,369
Wheat	5,332,813,517
Makai (Indian corn)	1,593,872,255
Jow (Barley)	883,781,444
Gram	1,417,173,807
Inferior grains	3,169,169,607
Total...	12,938,302,999

Quantity raised for animals. about

Gram lbs. 1,417,173,807 × ½ = 708,586,903
Jow ,, 883,781,444 × ¾ = 662,836,083
Jowár acres 2,221,535 × ⅔ = 1,481,023 | lbs. per |
Bájrá ,,
Moth ,,
Másh ,,

Total...3,458,732 × 484 = 1,674,026,288

Total...3,045,449,274

Balance remaining for human use. 9,892,853,725

Or 562 lbs. per annum or lb. 1 oz. 8·65 per day per head for a population of 17,600,000.

Even taking the *whole* quantity of grain as for human use and thus not allowing any portion at all for animals (which would of course not be right to do) the quantity per *annum* will be 735 lbs. or 2 lbs. per day per head.

In the value I have calculated for grain, I have taken the *whole* grain, *i. e.* including the portion for animals.

VEGETABLES.

General Vegetables.

Total quantity 1,068,002,055 lbs. gives 60·7 lbs. per annum or 2·66 oz. per day per head.

POTATO.

Total quantity 78,966,000 lbs. gives 4·48 lbs. per annum or ·2 oz. per day per head.

LAND REVENUE OF THE PRINCIPAL PROVINCES OF INDIA FOR 1875-6.*

	Revenue.	Population.	Revenue per head.
	Rs.		Rs. a. p.
Bengal	3,77,65,067	60,502,897	0 10 0
Punjab	2,00,15,260	17,611,498	1 2 2
N. W. Provinces ...	4,24,57,444	30,781,204	1 6 0¾
Madras	4,54,50,128	31,672,613	1 6 11
Bombay (including Sind)	3,69,43,563	16,302,173	2 4 3

* *I have taken 1875-6, for, on account of the Famines in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies in the year 1876-7, a comparison for the year 1876-7 will be an unfair one.*

Cost of absolute Necessaries of life of an agricultural labourer.—(Punjab, 1876-7.)

FOOD.

MAN.

Items.	Quantity per day.	Quantity for 1 year.	Price for Re. 1.	Cost for 1 year.		Remarks.
	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Rs.	a.	
Flour	1	365	25	14	9	The price in the Report is 20 seers for 1st sort; I have taken 25 per cent. lower price for lower quality.
Rice	¼	91	13	7	0	The price in the Report is 10 seers for 1st sort; I take 30 per cent. lower price for inferior quality.
Dal	⅛	45	18	2	8	The price in Report is 16 seers; I take it 12 per cent. lower.
Salt	1 oz.	11	9¼	1	3	The price of the Report—which is Government sale price.
Ghee	1 "	11	3	3	11	The price in the Report is less then 2 seers. In taking 3 seers, I lower it above 50 per cent, or rather to the price of oil. The quantity 1 oz is also rather low for a Punjabee.
ondiment ...	2 pies worth	......	......	3	13	These are regarded as under the mark.
acco	1½ " "	......	......	2	14	
bles ..	1 " "	......	......	1	8	
Total..	......	......	......	37	2	Without any meat, sugar, milk or any drink or any kind of luxury whatever.

WOMAN.

All the above items will be nearly the same, except tobacco. Deducting tobacco, it will be Rs. 34-2 as., say Rs. 32.

2 MORE MEMBERS IN A FAMILY.

1 Young person, say between 12 and 18—Say Rs. 26—though there will not be so much difference.

1 " " under 12 Say " 0 though this cannot be the case generally.

Cost of absolute Necessaries of Life of an agricultural labourer—(*continued*).

CLOTHING FOR 1 YEAR.

Man.	Rs. a.	Woman.	Rs. a.	Remarks.
2 Dhotees	1 0	2 Pajamas ...	1 0	No holiday clothing, *nor for occasions* of joy and sorrow, are reckoned.
2 Pairs shoes	1 0	1 Gagra	2 0	
1 Turban	1 0	2 Chadars ...	1 8	
2 Bandis for warm and cold weather	1 8	4 Cholees... ...	1 0	
2 Kamlees	4 0	Bangles... ...	0 8	
1 Small piece of cloth for langootee, &c.	0 4	2 Pairs shoes ...	0 8	
1 Chadar	0 12	Hair Dressing ...	0 3	
1 Pajama	0 12			
Total......	*10 4*		*6 11*	

For 1 young person, say Rs. 6—for the 2nd, say nothing.

FAMILY EXPENSES IN COMMON.

	Rs. a.		Remarks
Cottage, Rs. 60 Say Rs.	4 0	for 1 year.	Calculated on the lowest scale without any furniture—such as cots or mats, or stools or any thing.
Repairs	3 0		
Cooking and other utensils.	3 8		
Firewood, ¼ anna per day.	5 11		
Lamp oil, 1 oz. per day, at 3 seers per Re. 1	3 12		
Total...	19 15		

Taking 4 in the family.

	Food.	Clothing.	Family expenses.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	
Man	37	10 4		
Woman	32	6 11		
Youth (12 to 18) ...	26	6 0		
Child (under 12) ...	...	......		
	95	22 15	19 15	137 14—*say Rs. 136.*

Which will be Rs. 34 per head per annum in a family of 4—against the production of Rs. 20 per annum at the outside.

No wedding, birth, and funeral expenses calculated, nor medical, educational, social and religious wants, but simply the absolute necessaries for existence in ordinary health, at the lowest scale of cost and quantity.

The prices this year are the lowest during 10 years.

The Report says—page 83—"Salt and tobacco show a rise in price." This is a mistake into which the writer is led by the mistake of the clerk in taking his totals and division by the number of districts. The figures in table 45 (page clxxvii) in the line of the "General Average" of tobacco *viz.* 4-5 and 5-7 are wrong. And so also in the line of Salt 7 and 7-5 are wrong. I do not mean these figures are wrong on account of the fallacious principle of the report in taking averages, but in taking the average according to the report's own method, *i. e.* of adding up the columns and dividing by the number of districts.

2

Memorandum on Mr. Danvers's papers of 28*th June* 1880 *and* 4*th January* 1879.

Mr. Danvers says:—"In examining Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper, it appears that in his calculations he has omitted to make any allowance for the value of straw, and he has made no attempt to estimate the value of the increase of Agricultural stock, but he has added an arbitrary sum for the latter and for other omitted items"

I have omitted not only straw, but also Grass, Cotton seed, and any fodder or other food for animals which I have not taken in my tables; and further, I should also omit all that portion of the inferior grains which I have shown in my table at page 9—of about 30 per cent. of the whole acreage of grains, and which is grown for the food of animals.

The reason is this. The principle to be considered is:—1st—Either the whole gross annual production of the country may be taken (including straw, grass, &c. &c.) and from this *gross* production, before apportioning it per head of human population, a deduction should be made for the portion required for all the stock—which in the case of the Punjab are above 7,000,000 large cattle and near 4,000,000 sheep and goats; or 2nd—All straw, grass and every production raised for animal food should be left out of calculation, and only the rest of the production which is and can be turned to human use, should be apportioned among the human population. Mr. Danvers may adopt either of the above two methods—whichever he may consider would give most correctly the actual production for human use. It would not be correct to include ... pro-

raised for animal use and then not to make the necessary deduction for such use. I would put this matter in another form.

Suppose on the 1st of Janaury 1880, we have in India a certain amount of material wealth in all its various forms, and we take complete stock of it; that during the year following the country works in all its varieties of ways, consumes for all its various human, animal and instrumental wants from the store existing on the 1st January 1880; and that after the end of the year, on 1st January 1881, we gather together or take stock of every possible kind of material production (agricultural, mineral and manufacturing and addition from profits of foreign trade) during the year. This production during the year will have to meet all the wants of the next year. If this production prove less than what would be wanted for the next year, then there would be a deficiency, and either the original wealth or capital of the country will have to be drawn upon, or the people will be so much less supplied with their wants in some shape or other; in either way showing a diminution of prosperity—both as property and capacity. If on the other hand, the whole material production of the year prove more than what would be necessary for the next year for all ordinary or usual wants, then a surplus would accrue, and so far in some permanent form, add to the capital of the country and increase its prosperity.

I request therefore that Mr. Danvers may be asked to work out the total production and wants of India, for say the last dozen years, on correct principles of calculations, from such materials as are already available at the India Office, supplementing such information as may be deficient by asking from India and from experienced retired officials who are now in this country. Such tables will show what the actual material condition of the country is, and whether it is increasing or diminishing in prosperity. Unless such information is obtained, the Government of the country will be blind and in the dark, and cannot but result in misery to India, and discredit to the Rulers, their best intentions notwithstanding. It is hopeless to expect intelligent government without the aid of such important information annually.

I am glad Mr. Danvers has made an estimate of the annual increase of agricultural stock in his paper of 4th January 1879, and as I have to say something upon this paper further on, I do not say anything here upon the subject of stock.

Mr. Danvers says :—"Mr. Dadabhai has adopted the principle of equally apportioning the value of agricultural produce and manufactures,

as ascertained by him from the statistics available, amongst the whole population, without distinguishing how many are agriculturists, how many mechanics, and how many belong to other trades or professions, or possess property, and whose incomes therefore are derived directly neither from agriculture nor from manufactures. Thus he omits all reference to railway wealth, Government stock, house property, profits of trade, salaries, pensions, non-agricultural wages, professional incomes, and returns to investments, and all other sources from which a man who does not grow food himself may obtain the means of purchasing it."

"From the Census Report of 1871 it appears that, out of a total population of 17,611,498 under British Administration, in the Punjab 9,689,650 are returned as agriculturists, 1,776,786, adult males, equivalent to about 4,500,000 of population as engaged in industrial occupations, thus leaving a population of nearly 3½ millions directly dependent neither upon agriculture, manufactures, nor mining, and who must therefore derive their means of subsistence from other sources."

I take each of the items ;—

1st—"Railway wealth." I am not sure what Mr. Danvers means by 'Railway wealth.' In his paper of 4th January 1879 he regards railways "enhancing the value of food grains and adding, *protanto,* to the wealth of the districts through which they run." If he means in the above extract, by "railway wealth" something different, then that needs to be explained. In the mean time I adopt the interpretation as I make out with the aid of his paper of 4th January 1879.

Suppose 100 maunds of wheat exist in the Punjab, and its cost to the producer, say, is Rs. 100—suppose that this wheat is carried by railway to Bombay and its value at Bombay is Rs. 125. Does Mr. Danvers mean that this circumstance has *added* Rs. 25 or anything at all to the existing wealth of India?

If so, then no such thing has happened. The 100 maunds of wheat existed in the Punjab, and the Rs. 125 existed in Bombay, before the wheat was moved an inch. After the movement, the only result has been change of hands. The wheat has gone to Bombay and the Rs. 125 are distributed between the owner at Punjab, who receives Rs. 100, and the railway owners and workers, and the merchant who carried through the transaction, who between them divide the Rs. 25. By the mere fact of the removal of the wheat from the Punjab to Bombay, not a single grain of wheat nor a single pie of money is *added* to what already existed in

India before the wheat was touched. Such "railway wealth" does not exist. If the mere movement of produce can *add* to the existing wealth, India can become rich in no time. All it would have to do, is to go on moving its produce continually all over India, all the year round, and under the magic wheels of the train, wealth will go on springing, till the land will not suffice to hold it. But there is no Royal (even railway) road to material wealth. It must be produced from the materials of the Earth till the great discovery is made of converting motion into matter. I should not be misunderstood. I am not discussing here the benefits of railways, whatever they are, to any country or to India. To show that the people of India are not deriving the usual benefits of railways, I give hereafter a short separate section. Here it is enough for me to state that railways are in a way an indirect means of increasing the material production of any country, but that whatever that "means" is, its result is fully and completely included in the estimate of the actual annual production of the country, and that there is nothing more to be *added* to such actual material production of the year.

2nd—"Government Stock." Suppose I hold a lakh of rupees of Government 4 per cent. Rupee paper. It does not from itself produce or create or make to grow out any money or food or any kind of material wealth for me. It simply means that Government will give me Rs. 4,000 every year, and that, not by creating anything by any divine power, but from the revenue of the country; and this revenue can be got from only the actual material production of the year. So in reality my income of Rs. 4,000 from "Government Stock" is nothing more nor less than a share out of the production of the country, and is therefore fully and completely included therein. No addition has to be made from "Government Stock" to the actual material production of the year. No such addition exists at all.

3rd—"House Property." Suppose I have taken a house at a yearly rent of Rs. 1,000. The house does not grow or create the rent by the mere fact of my occupying it. I have to pay this amount out of my income of the Rs. 4,000 from Government Stock, and so the house-owner receives through me and the Government his share out of the production of the country. The discussion of the other items further on will show that, be my income from any of the various sources Mr. Danvers suggests, it is ultimately and solely derived from and is included in, the yearly production of the country, and the owners of "House Property" simply take their share, like everybody else, from this same store.

4th—"Profits of Trade." I take first foreign trade. Mr. Danvers is quite right that the foreign trade of a country adds to its annual income or production.* But unfortunately the case with India is quite otherwise. The present system of British Administration not only sweeps away to England the whole profits of the foreign trade, but also drains away a portion of the annual production itself of the country. So India, instead of making *any* addition from its "profits of foreign trade" to its yearly production, a deduction has to be made from such production in estimating the actual quantity that ultimately remains for the use of the people of India. A portion of the actual production, through the channel of foreign trade, goes clean out of the country to England, without an atom of material return. The manner in which the foreign trade of India becomes the channel through which India's present greatest misfortune and evil operate, I treat further on in a separate section, *to avoid confusion. It is enough for me to say here,* that as matters actually stand, instead of there being, as should be, any addition from foreign trade to the annual production of India, there is actually a diminution or drain of it, clean out of the country to England, to the extent of some £18,000,000 a year, together with and over and above all its "profits of trade." I grieve, therefore, that I have nothing to *add* from "profits of trade" as Mr. Danvers suggests, but much to *subtract*.

I take next the internal trade. Resuming the illustration of the 100 maunds of wheat at Punjab, say a merchant buys at Rs. 100 and sends it to Bombay, where he gets Rs. 125. The result simply is, that the wheat is still the same 100 maunds, and the Rs. 125 that existed in Bombay are still Rs. 125, but that out of Rs. 25, the merchant receives his "profit of trade," and the railway its charges for carrying. Not a single atom of money or wheat is added to the existing wealth of the country by this internal trade; only a different distribution has taken place. I should not be misunderstood. I am not discussing here the usefulness of internal trade whatever it is. I am only pointing out that any increase in the material income of the country by the mere transactions of the internal trade, is a thing that does not exist, and that whatever benefits and "profits of trade" there are from internal trade, are fully and completely included in the ultimate result of the actual material production of the year.

* Taking the aggregate wealth of the world, Foreign Trade even adds nothing. It simply then becomes Internal trade, and is mere change of hands, as explained further on.

5th—"Salaries and pensions." These will be official and non-official. Official salaries and pensions are paid by Government from revenue, and this revenue is derived from the production of the country; and so from that same store are all such salaries and pensions derived. For non-official salaries or pensions, the phenomenon is just the same. I pay my clerks or servants, either from my profits of trade, or interest of Government stock, or from rent of my house property, or from any of the sources which Mr. Danvers *may* suggest, but one and all of these incomes are drawn from the *same* store,—the annual material production of the country. All salaries and pensions are thus fully and completely included in the estimate of the production.

But this is not all. In these salaries and pensions, &c. do we come to the very source of India's chief misfortune and evil, which, as I have already said, works through the medium of the foreign trade. It is the salaries and pensions, and all other expenditure incident to the excessive European Agency, both in England and India, which is India's chief curse, in the shape of its causing the *exhausting drain* which is destroying India. In the ordinary and normal circumstances of a country when all the salaries, pensions, &c. are earned by the people themselves, and remain in the country itself to fructify in the people's own pockets, there is no such thing as an addition to the annual production of the country from "salaries and pensions." But as far as India is concerned, the case is much worse. All salaries and pensions &c. paid to Europeans in England and India beyond the absolute necessity of the maintenance or supervision of British rule, are actually, first, a direct deprivation of the natural provision for similar classes of the people of the country, and second, a drain from the property and capacity of the country at large. So, unfortunately, is there nothing to be *added*, as Mr. Danvers asks, from "salaries and pensions," but much to be *subtracted*, that is, either spent in England or remitted to England from the resources of India, and for which not a particle returns, and what is enjoyed in India itself by the Europeans.

Mr. Danvers may kindly consider his own salary. It is derived from the production of India. It is brought to England, and not a farthing out of it returns to India. Even if it returned, it would be no *addition* to the wealth of India, but as it does not return, it is so much actual *diminution* from the means of the subsistence of the people. I should not be misunderstood. That for a good long time, a reasonable amount of payment for British rule is necessary for the regeneration of India, is true, and no thinking native of India denies this It is the evil

of excessive payment that India has to complain of. But what I have to point out here is that salaries and pensions, even to the natives themselves, are no addition to the wealth, and much less are those which are not paid to the people of the country. The increase supposed by Mr. Danvers does not exist. There is, on the contrary, much diminution.

6.th—" Non-agricultural wages."

A person, employed by a farmer, say as a labourer, upon building his house, is paid from the farmer's agricultural income. A person employed by a merchant, a house holder, a stock holder, a pensioner, or a salaried man, or on a railway, is paid from their income, which, as I have explained, is derived from the only great store—the annual material production of the country. In short every labourer—mental or physical—has his share for his subsistence, through various channels, from the only one fountain-head,—the annual material production of the country. There is no source, outside the production (including any addition to it from profits of foreign trade) from which any individual derives his means of subsistence.

7.th—" Professional incomes."

I consult a doctor or a solicitor. The mere act of my consulting these professional gentlemen does not enable me to create money to pay them. I must pay them from my income as an agriculturist, or a miner, or a manufacturer, or a stockholder, or a householder, &c. &c., and my such income is all and solely derived from the material production of the country.

I need not now go any further into a repetition of the same argument with regard to,

8th.—"Returns to investments, and all other sources from which a man who does not grow food himself may obtain the means of purchasing it;" or leaving a population "directly dependent neither upon agriculture, manufactures, nor mining, and who must therefore derive their means of subsistence from other sources."

There *do not exist* any such "other sources," except profits of foreign trade. But unfortunately for India, instead of foreign trade bringing any profits, it is actually the channel by which, in addition to all such profits, a portion of the production itself is also swept away. So India exhibits the strange phenomenon, that her people cannot get any benefit from profits of foreign trade, and [illegible] for their subsis-

ence even their own production fully or adequately. The result of all the different influences, forces, labour, knowledge, land, climate, railways or all other kinds of public works, good government, justice, security of property, law, order, and all the above 8 and other so-called sources of income, is *fully and completely* comprised in the *ultimate resultant* of all of them, viz. the actual material income of the year. *Its increase or* decrease every year, is in fact *the* test of the ultimate and full result of all the above direct and indirect means of the production of a country. If the material income of the year does not suffice for all the wants of the whole people for the year, the existing "capital" wealth of the country is drawn upon, and so far the capital and the capacity for annual production are diminished.

I submit therefore that Mr. Danvers' argument of the "other sources" has to be laid aside.

Mr. Danvers says, "Mr. Dadabhai makes out the total value of the agricultural produce of the Punjab to be Rs. 27,72,56,263, and that from manufactures and mines Rs. 4,11,40,058. To this he adds, to meet any omissions, a further margin of $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores, making the whole produce of the Punjab $35\frac{1}{4}$ crores of Rupees, "which for a population of 17,600,000 gives Rs. 20 per head per annum at the outside for the year 1876-77," to which year the figures he has taken refer. At page 27 of his tables he shows that the cost of absolute necessaries of life of an agricultural labourer is Rs. 34 per annum, but he omits to explain how, under these circumstances, the people of the Punjab managed to live, and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions how, with only Rs. 20 per annum, he can provide for an expenditure of Rs. 34."

Why, that is the very question I want government to answer,—how they can expect people to manage to live, under such circumstances, without continuously sinking in poverty. The first real question is,—*are these facts or not?* If not, then what are the actual facts of the "means and wants" of the people of India? If they are, then the question is for Mr. Danvers and government to answer how people can manage to live. The answer to the question is however obvious, viz that as the balance of income every year, available for the use of the people of India, *does not suffice for the* wants of the year, the capital wealth of the country is being drawn upon, and the country goes on becoming poorer and poorer, and more and more weakened in its capacity of production; and that the American War, for a little while, gave, and the various loans, give a show of prosperity to end in greater burdens, and great destruction by famines.

These facts of the insufficiency of the means for the wants go to prove late Lord Lawrence's statements made in 1864 as Viceroy and in 1873 before the Finance Committee. In 1864 he said that India was on the whole a *very poor country* and the mass of the people enjoyed only a scanty subsistence; and in 1873 he repeated that the mass of the people of India were so miserably poor that they had barely the means of subsistence, that it was as much as a man could do to feed his family or half feed them, let alone spending money on what might be called luxuries or conveniences. Such then is the manner in which the people of India manage to live; scanty subsistence, and dying away by millions at the very touch of drought. In the case of the Punjab as the latest British possession and least drained, and from other circumstances noted below,* the people have had as yet better resources, in their "Capital" wealth to draw upon. But taking India as a whole, Lord Lawrence's *words are most deplorably but too true.*

I need not discuss Mr. Danvers's *paper of 28th June 1880 any further.* The fallacy of "other sources," besides agriculture, mines, manufactures, and foreign trade, pervades his whole argument, and in the latter part of the paper, 2 different matters are mixed up, a little misapprehension has taken place as to my meaning, and some part is irrelevant.

The whole question now before us is simply this.

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been further favoured by other circumstances in the following way :—

capital, a freer circulation of money, and a fresh impetus to cultivation.

It will be seen that the Punjab has more capital to draw upon, and has some addition to its resources at the expense of the other provinces, to make up some of its deficiency of its production.

1st—What the whole actual, material, annual income of India is, as the ultimate balance of all sources and influences, that is available for the use of the whole *people of India.*

2nd—What the absolutely necessary wants, and the usual wants of all classes of the people, are; and

3rd—Whether the income of India is equal to, less, or more than such wants.

By carefully ascertaining these facts every year, shall we ever be able to know truly, whether India is progressing in prosperity, or sinking in poverty, or is in a stationary condition. This is the whole problem, and it must be boldly faced and clearly answered, if the mission of Britain is the good of India, as I firmly believe it to be.

As to the question, how and by whom, directly or indirectly, the income is actually produced, and how, and by whom, and through what channels, this income is distributed among the whole people, is entirely a different matter, and though important in itself and involving much legislation, is *quite separate from the first and fundamental* question of the whole *total of the means and* wants of India.

I may explain the misapprehension to which I alluded above. In my tables for consumption, in taking "the cost of absolute necessaries of life of an agricultural labourer," I meant him, as merely representing the lowest class of labourers of all kinds, so as to show the lowest absolute necessary wants of the people.

I am under the impression that there is a Statistical Committee at Calcutta existing for the past 20 years, and I hope it will adopt means to give complete tables of the means and wants of India.

As I am requesting His Lordship, the Secretary of State for India, that Mr. Danvers be asked to work out the means and wants of the people of India during the last 12 years, and that the Government of India may adopt means to perfect the machinery for getting complete information for the future, I submit a few remarks on Mr. Danvers's tables of 4th January 1879, so kindly sent to me. As I have my Punjab tables only, for comparison, I examine Mr. Danvers's Punjab tables only.

In his table of quantities of all the inferior grains, Mr. Danvers has taken the crop per acre of only some of the grains whose average is 510 lbs. per acre. But the produce of makai and gram, which are included by Mr. Danvers in the inferior grains, is larger, and the result is a large

error. The acreage of makai is 1,084,339 acres, and the average produce per acre is 1,500 lbs., so that this produce is under-estimated to the extent of taking only about one-third of the actual quantity. The average produce of gram is 645 lbs. per acre, and the acreage is 2,272,236 acres. On this large acreage, there is nearly 26 per cent. of under-estimate. The result of the whole error in the table of inferior grains is, that the total quantity is taken by Mr. Danvers as 6,504,880,162 lbs., when it actually is 7,371,110,343 lbs., or above 866,200,000 lbs. more.

In the prices of inferior grains it is necessary to make proper allowance for the lower prices of such grains as Moth, Kangni, Chínà, Mater, and Masur, which are nearly 25 per cent. lower than the other grains—Jowár, Bájrá, Másh, Múng, and Arhar. This makes an over-estimate of £240,000. The price for makái, jow, and gram are given in the report, and separate estimates should, therefore, be made of the values of these grains, to obtain all possible approximation to truth and accuracy.

The total under-estimate by Mr. Danvers is £1,300,000 in the value of inferior grains.

In "other crops," the value assumed by Mr. Danvers is nearly only one-fourth of what I make, by taking every item separately, *i. e.* I make Rs. 19,16,294 against Mr. Danvers's Rs. 4,73,200.

In the following articles, Mr. Danvers has adopted the average given in the report, which, as pointed out by me on previous occasions, are taken on the fallacious principle of adding up the produce per acre of the districts and dividing by the number of districts, without any reference to the quantity of acreage of each district.

Produce.	Incorrect average.	Correct average.	Error. Correct average. More per cent.	Error. Correct average. Less per cent.
Vegetables	4,008	4,753	18½	...
Sugar*	449	646	44	...
Cotton*	102	105	3	...
Tobacco	825	846	2½	...
Fibres	322	366	13¾	...
Indigo	47	31	...	33
Opium	10	12·5	25	...

* For some probable errors in these two articles in the Report, I have already given my views in my tables.

the actual value given in the report. But not only has there been this incorrect increase thus made, but by some arithmetical mistake, the value put down by Mr. Danvers, is above 3 times as much as even this increased amount, *i. e.* instead of £478,198, Mr. Danvers has put down £1,501,096. If this be not merely an arithmetical mistake, it requires explanation.

Mr. Danvers has taken the import of ghi from "foreign trade" only, and has overlooked a further quantity of import "inter-provincially" of 16,312 maunds of the value of £34,741, which, taken 4 times, would be £138,964, making up the total value of the assumed produce of ghi in the Punjab to be £385,611 + 138,964 = £524,575.

Working upon Mr. Danvers's own assumption, and what information I have been at present able to obtain, it appears that the assumption of 4 times the import—or £525,000, will be an under-estimate by a good deal. I am not at present able to test the accuracy of Mr. Danvers's assumption of the produce of milk, nor of the information I am using below, but I give it just as I have it, to illustrate the principle. I adopt Mr. Danvers's assumption of 10 per cent. of the whole cattle to be milch animals. The number then will be 657,000. Of these, cows may be taken, I am told by a Punjabee, at 75 per cent., and buffaloes 25 per cent. This will give 164,250 buffaloes and 492,750 cows. Each buffalo may be taken, on an average, as giving 6 seers of milk per day for 6 months in the year, and each cow about 3 seers. The quantity of milk will then be

		seers		days		
164,250	×	6	×	180	=	177,390,000 seers.
492,750	×	3	×	180	=	266,085,000 ,,
				Total ..		443,475,000 ,,

Mr. Danvers assumes for milk used in the province to be about Rs. 10 per annum from each of the 10 per cent. of the cattle, and taking the price of milk to be 16 seers per Rupee, the quantity of milk used would be 657,000 × 160 = 105,120,000 seers. This, deducted from the above total produce of milk, will give (443,475,000—105,120,000) 338,355,000 seers as converted into ghi. The produce of ghi is about $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{16}$ of milk, according to quality. Assuming $\frac{1}{12}$ as the average, the total quantity of ghi will be about 28,196,250 seers = 704,906 maunds, or allowing a little for wastage, say 700,000 maunds, which, at the import price (Rs. 13,11,445 for 68,615 maunds) of Rs. 19 per maund, will give about £1,339,300, or nearly 2¾ times as much as Mr. Danvers:

has assumed. I have endeavoured in a hurry to get this information as well as I could, but it can be obtained correctly by the officials on the spot. My object, at present, was simply to show that, calculated on Mr. Danvers's assumption of milch-cattle and milk used, how much ghi should be produced in the country, if the information I have used be correct.

For hides and skins, the export only is taken into account, but a quantity must be consumed in the province itself, which requires to be added.

The value assumed, Rs. 100 per horse, is rather too high. Rs. 60 or 70, I am told, would be fairer, so also for ponies, Rs. 25 to 30 instead of Rs. 35, and camels, Rs. 60 or 70 or 75 instead of Rs. 100. For sheep, &c. Rs. 1½ instead of Re. 1, would be fairer.

But as I have said above, officials in India can give all this information correctly for every year, and I do not see any reason why this should not be done. I urgently repeat my request, that the wants and means of the last 12 or 15 years may be ordered by His Lordship, the Secretary of State, to be carefully worked out, as far as practicable, and that future reports should be required to give complete information.

RAILWAYS.

I may take railways to represent Public Works.

The benefits generally derived from Railways are these.

They distribute the produce of the country from parts where it is produced or is in abundance, to the parts where it is wanted, so that no part of the produce is wasted, which, otherwise, would be the case if no facility of communication existed. In thus utilising the whole produce of the country, the railway becomes directly a saving agent, and indirectly, thereby, helps in increasing the production of the country.

It brings the produce to the ports at the least possible cost for exportation and commercial competition for foreign trade, and thus indirectly helps in obtaining the profits of foreign trade, which are an increase to the annual income of a country.

Every country in building railways, even by borrowed capital, derives the benefit of a large portion of such borrowed capital, as the capital of the country, which indirectly helps in increasing the production of the country. Excepting interest paid for such borrowed capital to the foreign lending country, the rest of the whole income remains in the country.

But the result of *all* the above benefits from railways, is ultimately realised and comprised in the actual annual income of the country.

The misfortune of India is that she does not derive the above benefits as every other country does.

You build a railway in England and, say, its gross income is a million. All the employés, from the Chairman down to the common labourer, *are Englishmen.* Every farthing that is spent from the gross income, is so much returned to Englishmen, as direct maintenance to so many people *of England,* and to England at large as a part of its general wealth. Whether the shareholders get their 5 per cent. or 10 per cent. or 1 per cent. or 0 per cent. or even lose, it matters not at all to the whole country. Every farthing of the income of the million is fully and solely enjoyed by *the people of the country*—excepting only (if you borrowed a portion of the capital from foreign parts) the interest you may pay for such loan. But such interest forms a small portion of the whole income, and every country with good railways, can very well afford to pay. All the benefits of railways are thus obtained and enjoyed by *the people of the country.*

Take the case of the United States. India and the States are both borrowers for their railways (the latter only partially), and they both pay interest to the lending countries. They both buy, say, their rails, machinery, &c. from England, the States buying only a portion. So far they are under somewhat similar circumstances. But here the parallel ends. In the United States, every cent of the income of the railway (excepting the interest on the Foreign loan) is the income *of the people of the country*—is a direct maintenance for the people employed on it, and an indirect property of the whole country and remaining *in* it.

In India the case is quite different. First, for the Directors' home establishments, Government Superintendence, and what not in England, a portion of the income must go from India; then a large European staff of employés (excepting only for inferior and lowest places or work left for natives) must eat up and take away another large portion of the income, and to the rest, the people of the country are welcome, with the result, that out of their production which they give to the railways, only a *portion* returns to them and *not the whole,* as in all other countries (except interest on foreign loan); and the diminution lessens so far the capacity of production every year. Such expenditure, both in England and India, is so much direct deprivation of the natural maintenance of as many people of India, of similar classes, and a loss to

the general wealth and means of the people at large. Thus, the whole burden of the debt is placed on the shoulders of the people of India, while the benefit is largely enjoyed and carried away by the people of England, and yet Englishmen raise up their hands in wonder, why India should not be happy, pleased, and thankful! Some years ago, I asked Mr. Danvers to make a return in his annual Railway report, of the salaries and every kind of disbursement on Europeans, both in England and India. If I remember right (I cannot just now lay my hands on the correspondence) he was kind enough to promise he would try. But I do not know that this information has been given. Let us have this information, and we shall then know why India does *not* derive the usual benefits of railways; how many Europeans displace as many natives of the same class, and deprive them of their natural means of subsistence (some 3,600 in India and all those in England), and what portion of the income the people of India do not see or enjoy a pie of.

Instead, therefore, of their being any 'railway wealth' to be added to the annual production or income of India, it will be seen that there is much to be deducted therefrom to ascertain what *really* remains for the use of its own people. For the income of railways is simply a portion or share of the production of the country, and what is eaten up and taken away by Europeans, is so much taken away from the means of the people.

It is no wonder at all, that the United States have their 70,000 or more miles of railways, when India, under the *British Government*, with all its wonderful resources, with all that good government can do, and the whole British wealth to back, has hardly one-tenth of the length, and that even, with no benefit to the people of the country. In short, the fact of the matter is, that as India is treated at present, all the new departments, opened in the name of civilization, advancement, progress, and what not, simply resolve themselves into so much new provision for so many more Europeans, and so much new burden on exhausting India. We do pray to our British rulers, let us have railways and all other kinds of beneficial public works, by all means, but let *us* have their natural benefits, or talk not to a starving man of the pleasures of a fine dinner. We should be happy too and thankfully pay for such European supervision and guidance as may be absolutely *necessary for successful work*; but do not, in heaven's and honesty's names, talk to us of benefits which *we do not* receive, but have on the contrary to pay for from our own. If we are allowed to derive the usual benefits of railways and other public works, under such govern[illegible]ish—of In

order and justice,—we would not only borrow 200, but 2,000 millions and pay the interest with as many thanks, with benefits both to ourselves and to England, as India would be then her best and largest commercial customer.

The real important question, therefore, in relation to public works, is, not how to stop them, but how to let *the people of the country* have their full benefits. One of the most important part of England's great work in India, is to develop these public works, but to the *people's* benefit and not to their detriment—*not that they should slave and others eat.*

FOREIGN TRADE.

Resuming our illustration of the 100 maunds of wheat from the Punjab, arriving at Bombay, costing to the Bombay merchant Rs. 125, we suppose that this merchant exports it to England. In ordinary course and natural conditions of trade, suppose the Bombay merchant, after two or three months, gets his net proceeds of Rs. 150, either in silver, or as a bale of piece-goods, which could be sold at Bombay for Rs. 150. The result then of this "foreign trade" is, that before the wheat left Bombay, there were 100 maunds of wheat costing Rs. 125 at the time of export; and *after* the operation, India has either Rs. 150, or a bale of cotton goods worth Rs. 150. There is, thus, a clear "profit of trade" of Rs. 25, or in other words, an addition of Rs. 25 worth either in silver or goods, to the annual income or production of the country. This, in ordinary commercial language would be, India exported value Rs. 125 in the shape of wheat, and imported value Rs. 150 in the shape of silver or merchandise, or both, making a trade-profit of Rs. 25.

Under ordinary natural circumstances, such is the result of foreign trade to every country. I shall take the instance of the United Kingdom, and we may see what its ordinary foreign trade-profits are during a few past years, say, from 1871 to 1878.

PROFITS OF FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

IMPORTS.

Years.	Merchandise.	Treasure. (Gold and Silver.)	Total.
	£	£	£
1871	331,015,480	38,140,827	369,156,307
1872	354,693,624	29,608,012	384,301,636
1873	371,287,372	33,599,231	404,886,603
1874	370,082,701	30,379,188	400,461,889
1875	373,939,577	33,264,789	407,204,366
1876	375,154,703	37,054,244	412,208,947
1877	394,419,682	37,152,799	431,572,481
1878	368,770,742	32,422,955	401,193,697
Grand Total...		..	3,210,985,926

EXPORTS.

Years.	Merchandise.	Treasure. (Gold and Silver.)	Total.	Foreign Trade Profits.	Pe
	£	£	£	£	
1871	283,574,700	33,760,671	317,335,371	51,820,936	
1872	314,588,834	30,335,861	344,924,695	39,376,941	
1873	311,004,765	28,899,285	339,904,050	64,982,553	
1874	297,650,464	22,853,593	320,504,057	79,957,832	
1875	281,612,323	27,628,042	309,240,365	97,964,001	
1876	256,776,602	29,464,082	286,240,684	125,968,263	
1877	252,346,020	39,798,119	292,144,139	139,428,342	
1878	245,483,858	26,686,546	272,170,404	129,023,293	
Grand Total...		...	2,482,463,765	728,522,161 = 29:	

The result of the above table is, that during the 8 years, the United Kingdom has received as trade-profits 29·34 per cent. This result requires the following further consideration. It includes the results of all money-trade, or loans to and from foreign countries. Suppose England has lent a hundred millions to foreign countries; that forms a part of Exports. Suppose it has received in interest, say, £5,000,000—that forms a part of the imports, and unless any portion of the Principal of the loan is returned, the whole or balance (if a portion is paid) of the loan remains outstanding, and is so much more to be added to the above figure of trade-profits. Again, there is the political profit from India of some £27,000,000 a year (as shown further on). That forms a part of the import, and has to be deducted from the figure of trade-profits. England contributes to the expenses of the Colonies. This is a part of its exports. Thus the formula will be :—

£728,522,161 + outstanding balance of loans of the 8 years—the political drain from India to England (£216,000,000) + contributions to the Colonies = the actual profits of all commercial and monetary transactions with the world, or in other words = the actual profits of the Foreign Trade of the 8 years.

Now the figure £728,522,161 is 29·34 per cent. The Political drain of India forms nearly 9 per cent. out of this. There remains, above 20 per cent. + the amounts of balance of loans, and contributions to the Colonies, as the actual rate of profits of the Foreign Trade of the United Kingdom.

I may fairly adopt this rate, of at least 20 per cent. for the profits of the Foreign Trade of India. But to be quite under the mark, I adopt only 15 per cent

Now we may see what actually happens to India—taking the same period of 1871-8.

The actual Exports (excluding Government stores and treasure).

Merchandise and Gold and Silver... ... ... =	£ 485,186,749
Take profits only 15 per cent. ... ... =	£ 72,778,012
The Imports as they *ought to be* ... ... =	£ 557,964,761
Actual Imports (excluding Government stores and treasure.) Merchandise and Gold and Silver...	£ 342,312,799
Deficit in Imports, or what is drained to England ...	£ 215,651,962

i. e. nearly 27 millions a year.

Again taking actual Exports	£ 485,186,749	
And actual Imports...	£ 342,312,799	

Abstraction from the *very produce* of the country (besides the whole profits), is ... ... = 142,873,950 in 8 years or nearly £18,000,000 a year or 29·4 per cent.

Thus, with all the advantages of good Government, law, order, justice, &c., railways, and every other influence of a civilized rule, the actual result is, that not only does India *not* get a *single farthing* of the 15 or 20 per cent. *or whatever it be, of the profits of her foreign trade, but* actually has a further amount of nearly 30 per cent. of her exports kept away from her. This is not all. There is, moreover, the halter round her neck of the accumulated railway debt of nearly a hundred millions, held in England, (from which her people have not derived the usual benefits); *about 60 millions of public debt (out of £134,000,000—* mostly owing to wars) held in England, and £5,000,000 spent in England on account of State Public Works; and yet Englishmen wonder why India is poor, and her finances inelastic! Good God, when will this bleeding-to-death end!

Keeping as much as possible on the right side, we find some £18,000,000 from the production itself, swept away from India, besides all her profits, and besides what Europeans enjoy in India itself, to the so much exclusion and deprivation of her own people. But this item of £18,000,000 would be found much under the mark. For instance, all duty-articles imported into India, are, I believe, valued 10 per cent. more than their laying down value. If so, roughly taking, the customs, revenue being 2½ millions, represents roughly a duty at 5 per cent. on £50,000,000—and to make up this £50 millions, with 10 per cent. extra, require an addition to the actual value of imports of about £5,000,000. If so, then there will be this much above £18,000,000—taken away from the actual production from India, besides the whole trade profits, maintenance of Europeans in India, debts, &c.

The real abstraction from the very *produce* of the country is most *likely much above £20,000,000* a year, and *the whole loss* above £30,000,000 a year—besides what is enjoyed in India itself by Europeans.

Under such circumstances it is no wonder at all, that Famines and Finance should become great difficulties, and that Finance has been the grave of several reputations, and shall continue to be so, till the dis-

covery is made of making 2 and 2 equal to 5, if the present unnatural treatment of India is to continue.

Far, therefore, from there being anything to be added to the annual income of India, as Mr. Danvers thinks, from the "profits of trade," there is the deplorable fact of much to be deducted in the case of India, and the consequences of such abstraction, in impoverishment and destruction by famines &c., lay mostly at the door of the present unnatural policy of the British Administration. Let our rulers realise this fact intelligently and face it boldly in a way worthy of the British moral courage and character, and the whole scene will be entirely changed—from deplorable poverty to prosperity; from the wail of woe to joy and blessing. Our misfortune is that the great statesmen of this country have not the necessary time to see into Indian matters, and things are allowed to drift blindly; or England would never become, as she unwittingly is at present, the destroyer of India. Her conscience is sound.

It is natural that in all discussions on Finance, curtailment of expenditure and economy are, at first blush, recommended :—*to cut the coat according to cloth.* But, unfortunately, no one asks the question, why the cloth is short; why, under such rule as that of the English, India should not do well, if not quite as well as these Islands, but should be only able to pay the wretched revenue of some 6*s.* a head, and that even after "wringing out the last farthing."

No doubt, vigilance for economy will always be a necessity in the best of states (not excepting England, as debates in Parliament testify) as long as the world lasts. But the real question, the most important question of all questions at present, is not how to get £60,000,000 or £100,000,000 for the matter of that, if that be necessary, but how *to return to the people* what is raised from them.

There is no reason whatever, why India with all her vast resources, the patient industry of the people, and the guidance and supervision of British high officials, should not be able to pay 2 or 3 times her present wretched revenue, say a hundred or hundred and fifty millions, for efficient administration by her own people under British supervision, and for the development of her unbounded material resources. Is it not unsatisfactory or even humiliating, that British statesmen should have to confess, that they have hopelessly to depend, for about a sixth of the net revenue, on supplying opium to another vast human race; and to ask despairingly, what they were to do to get this amount of revenue from India itself. Then again, nearly as much more income has to be

raised by an oppressive and heavy tax on salt, so that between a third and a fourth of the net revenue has to be derived, a part, by pinching and starving the poor millions of India in one of the absolute necessaries of life, and the other part, by poisoning and demoralising the millions of China. Surely a great people like the English, with their statesmanship of the highest order and with all their genuine desire to do good to, and to advance mankind, should not be able to get the necessary revenues from India from her own healthy and natural prosperity, is a strange phenomenon in this advanced age.

Only restore India to her *natural* economical conditions. If as in England the revenue raised from the people, *returned to the people;* if the income of railways and other public works taken from the people, returned to the people, to fructify in their pockets,—then will there be no need for anxiety for finance or famines, nor for pinching in salt, nor poisoning with opium, millions of the human race. India will then pay with ease a hundred or two hundred millions of revenue, and will not be the worse for it. It would be far better also, which would then be the case, that India should be able to purchase a pound or two worth a head of British manufactures, and become England's best and largest customer, instead of the wretched one she is at present.

I repeat, therefore, with every earnestness, that the most important question of the day is, how to stop the bleeding drain from India. The merit or good of every remedy, will depend upon and be tested by its efficacy in stopping this deplorable drain, without impairing the wants of the Administration, or checking India's natural progress towards prosperity.

There is a deep conviction among educated and thoughtful natives, that, if there is any one nation, more than another, on the face of the earth, that would, on no account, knowingly do a wrong to or enslave, degrade or impoverish a people, and who, on feeling the conviction of any injury having been unintentionally done by them, would, at once and at all reasonable sacrifice, repair the injury without shrinking,—that nation is the British nation. This conviction keeps the thinking natives staunch in their loyalty to the British rule. They know that a real regeneration, civilization and advancement of India, materially, morally and politically, depends upon a long continuance of the British rule. The peculiarly happy combination of high civilization, intense love of liberty and nobility of soul in the British, cannot but lead them to the desire of the glory of raising a vast nation, instead of trampling upon them. This noble desire has found expression from some of their

The English people have a task before them in India, for which there is no parallel in the history of the world. There has not been a nation, who, as conquerors, have like the English considered the good of the conquered as a duty, or felt it as their great desire, and the natives of India may, with the evil of the present drain stopped, and a representative voice in their legislation, hopefully look forward to a future under the British rule, which will eclipse their greatest and most glorious days.

May the light of heaven guide our Rulers.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

32, Great St. Helens,
London, 13th September 1880.

INDIA OFFICE, S. W.,
15*th October* 1880.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th September, which, together with its enclosure, has been duly laid before the Secretary of State for India.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
LOUIS MALLET.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

3

32, Great St. Helen's,
London, 16th November 1880.

SIR LOUIS MALLET,
The Under Secretary of State for India,
India Office,
London, S. W.

Sir,

Thanking you for your letter of 15th ultimo, informing me that my letter of 13th September with enclosure had been duly laid before His Lordship the Secretary of State for India, and hoping that the same kind attention will be given to it as to my previous letter, and that if I am wrong in any of my views I would be corrected, I beg to submit for His Lordship's kind and generous consideration the accompanying Memorandum No. 2, on the Moral Poverty of India and Native Thoughts on the British Indian Policy.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
DADABHAI NAOROJI.

The Moral Poverty of India,

and

Native Thoughts on the present British Indian Policy.

In my last paper, I confined myself to meet Mr. Danvers's line of argument, on the question of the material destruction and impoverishment of India by the present British Indian policy. I endeavoured to show that this impoverishment and destruction of India was mainly caused by the unnatural treatment it received at the hands of its British rulers, in the way of subjecting it to a large variety of expenditure upon a crushing foreign Agency, both in India and England, whereby the children of the country were displaced and deprived of their natural rights and means of subsistence in their own country. By what was being taken and consumed in India itself and by what was being continuously taken away by such agency clean out of the country, an exhaustion of the very life-blood of the country was unceasingly going on. That till this disastrous drain was not duly checked, and till the people of India were not restored to their natural rights in their own country, there was no hope for the material amelioration of India.

In this Memorandum I desire to submit for the kind and generous consideration of His Lordship the Secretary of State for India, that from the same cause of the deplorable drain, besides the material exhaustion of India, the moral loss to her is no less sad and lamentable.

With the material wealth go also the wisdom and experience of the country. Europeans occupy almost all the higher places in every department of government, directly or indirectly under its control. While *in* India they acquire India's money, experience and wisdom, and when they go, they carry both away with them, leaving India so much poorer in material and moral wealth. Thus India is left without, and cannot have, those elders in wisdom and experience, who in every country are the natural guides of the rising generations in their national and social conduct, and of the destinies of their country—and a sad, sad loss this is!

Every European is isolated from the people around him. He is not their mental, moral or social leader or companion. For any mental or moral influence or guidance or sympathy with the people, he might just as well be living in the moon. The people know not him, [illegible] he knows not, nor cares for the people. Some honor[illegible]

and then, make an effort to do some good they can, but in the very nature of things, these efforts are always feeble, exotic, and of little permanent effect. These men are not always in the place, and their works die away when they go.

The Europeans are not the natural leaders of the people. They do not belong to the people. They cannot enter into their thoughts and feelings; they cannot join or sympathise with their joys or griefs. On the contrary, every day the estrangement is increasing. Europeans deliberately and openly widen it more and more. There may be very few social Institutions started by Europeans in which, Natives, however fit and desirous to join, are not deliberately and insultingly excluded. The Europeans are and make themselves strangers in every way. All they effectually do, is to eat the substance of India, material and moral, while living there, and when they go, they carry away all they have acquired, and their pensions and future usefulness besides.

This most deplorable moral loss to India needs most serious consideration, as much in its political as in its national aspect. Nationally disastrous as it is, it carries politically with it its own Nemesis. Without the guidance of elderly wisdom and experience of their own natural leaders, the education which the rising generations are now receiving, is naturally leading them (or call misleading them, if you will) into directions which bode no good to the rulers, and which, instead of being the strength of the rulers as it ought to and can be, will turn out to be their great weakness. The fault will be of the rulers themselves for such a result. The power that is now being raised by the spread of education, though yet slow and small, is one that in time must, for weal or woe, exercise great influence. In fact it has already begun to do so. However strangely the English rulers, forgetting their English manliness and moral courage, may, like the ostrich, shut their eyes by gagging acts or otherwise, to the good or bad influences they are raising around them, this good or evil is rising nevertheless. The thousands that are being sent out by the Universities every year, find themselves in a most anomalous position. There is no place for them in their mother-land. They may beg in the streets or break stones on the roads, for aught the rulers seem to care for their natural rights, position and duties in their own country. They may perish or do what they like or can, but scores of Europeans must go from this country to take up what belongs to them, and that, in spite of every profession for years and years past and up to the present day, of English statesmen, that they must govern India for India's good, by solemn acts and declarations of Parliament, and above

all, by the words of the August Sovereign Herself. For all practical purposes all these high promises have been hitherto, almost wholly, the purest romance, the reality being quite different.

The educated find themselves simply so many dummies, ornamented with the tinsel of school education, and then their whole end and aim of life is ended. What must be the inevitable consequence? A wild spirited horse, without curb or reins, will run away wild, and kill and trample upon every one that came in his way. A misdirected force will hit anywhere and destroy anything. The power that the rulers are, so far to their credit, raising, will, as a nemesis recoil against themselves, if with this blessing of education they do not do their whole duty to the country which trusts to their righteousness, and thus turn this good power to their own side. The nemesis is as clear from the present violence to nature, as disease and death arise from uncleanliness and rottenness. The voice of the power of the rising education is, no doubt, feeble at present. Like the infant, the present dissatisfaction is only crying at the pains it is suffering. Its notions have not taken any form or shape or course yet, but it is growing. Heaven only knows what it will grow to! He who runs may see, that if the present material and moral destruction of India continued, a great convulsion must inevitably arise, by which either India will be more and more crushed under the iron heel of despotism and destruction, or may succeed in shattering the destroying hand and power. Far, far is it from my earnest prayer and hope that such should be the result of the British rule. In this rule, there are every element to produce immeasurable good, both to India and England, and no thinking native of India would wish harm to it, with all the hopes that are yet built upon the righteousness and conscience of the British statesmen and nation.

The whole duty and responsibility of bringing about this desired consummation, lies upon the head and in the hands of the Indian authorities *in England*. It is no use screening themselves behind the fiction and excuse, that the Viceroys and authorities in India are difficult to be got to do what they ought, or that they would do all that may be necessary. They neither can nor will do this. They cannot go against acts of Parliament on the one hand, and on the other, the pressure of European interests, and of European selfishness and guidance, is so heavy in India, that the Viceroys in their first years are quite helpless and get committed to certain courses; and if, in time, any of them, happening to have sufficient strength of character and confidence in their own judgment, are lik to take matters in their own hands, and with any moral

interests, hostile or antagonistic to the good of the people, the end of their time begins to come near, their zeal and interest begin to flag, and soon they go away, leaving India to roll up Sisyphus's stone again, with a new Viceroy. It is the highest Indian authority here, the Secretary of State for India, upon whom the responsibility wholly rests. He alone has the power, as a member of and with the weight of the British Cabinet, to guide the Parliament to acts worthy of the English character, conscience and nation. The glory or disgrace of the British in India, is in his hands. He has to make Parliament lay down by clear legislation, how India *shall* be governed for "*India's good,*" or it is hopeless for us to look forward for any relief from our present material and moral destruction, and for future elevation.

Englishmen sometimes indulge the notion, that England is secure in the division and disunion among the various races and nationalities of India. But even in this, new forces are working their way. Those Englishmen who sleep such foolish sleep of security, know precious little of what is going on. *The kind of education that is being received* by thousands of all classes and creeds, is throwing them all in a similar mould; a sympathy of sentiment, ideas, and aspirations is growing among them; and more particularly a political union and sympathy is the first fruit of the new awakening, as all feel alike their deprivation, and the degradation and destruction of their country. All differences of race and religion and rivalry are gradually sinking before this common cause. This beginning, no doubt, is at present insignificant, but it is surely and steadily progressing. Hindus, Mahomedans, and Parsees are asking alike, whether the English rule was to be a blessing or a curse. Politics now engross their attention more and more. This is no longer a secret, or a state of things not quite open to those of our rulers who would see. It may be seen that there is scarcely any union among the different nationalities and races in any shape or ways of life, except only in political associations. In these associations they go hand in hand with all the fervour and sympathy of a common cause. I would here touch upon a few incidents, little as they are, still showing how nature is working in its own quiet way.

Dr. Birdwood has brought to the notice of the English public certain songs now being spread among the people of Western India, against the destruction of Indian industry and arts. We may laugh at this as a futile attempt to shut out English machine-made cheaper goods against hand-made dearer ones. But little do we think what this movement

is likely to grow into, and what new phases it may take in time. The songs are at present directed against English wares, but they are also a natural and effective preparation against other English things when the time comes, if the English in their blindness allow such times to come. The songs are full of loyalty, and I have not the remotest doubt in the sincerity of that loyalty. But if the present downward course of India continue, if the mass of the people at last begin to despair for any amelioration, and if educated youths, without the wisdom and experience of the world, become their leaders, it will be but a *very, very* short step from loyalty to disloyalty, to turn the course of indignation from English wares to English rule. The songs will remain the same, one word of curse for the rule will supply the spark.

Here is another little incident with its own significance. The London Indian Society, a political body of many of the native residents of London, had a dinner the other day, and they invited guests. The three *guests were, one Hindu, one Mahomedan, and one Parsee. The society* itself is a body representing nearly all the principal classes of India. It is small and may be laughed at as uninfluential and can do nothing. But it shows how a sympathy of political common cause is bringing the different classes together, and how, in time, such small seeds may grow into large trees. Every member of this little body is carrying back with him ideas, which as seeds may produce crops, sweet or bitter according to the cultivation they may receive at our rulers' hands.

I turn to one bright incident on the other side. True to their English nature and character, there are some Englishmen who try to turn the current of native thought towards an appreciation of English intentions, and to direct English thought towards a better understanding of England's duty to India. The East India Association is doing this beneficent work, more especially by the fair and English character of its course of bringing about free and full discussion upon every topic and from every point of view, so that by a sifting of the full expression of different views, truth may be elicited. Though yet little appreciated by the English public, the English members of this Association are fulfilling the duty of patriotism to their own country and of benefaction towards India. How far their good efforts will succeed is yet to be seen. But they at least do one thing. These Englishmen, as well as public writers like Fawcett, Hyndman, Perry, Caird, Knight, Bell, Wilson, and others, vindicate to India the English character, and show that when

Englishmen as a body will *understand* their duty and responsibility, the natives of India may fairly expect a conduct of which their's is a sample —a desire and deed to act rightly by India. The example and earnestness of these Englishmen, though yet small their number, keep India's hope alive;—that England will produce a statesman who will have the moral courage and firmness to face the Indian problem, and do what the world should expect from England's conscience, and from England's mission to humanity.

I have thus touched upon a few incidents only, to illustrate the various influences that are at work. Whether the result of all these forces and influences will be good or bad, remains, as I have said, in the hands of the Secretary of State for India.

In my last paper, I said, the thinking natives were as yet staunch in their loyalty to the British rule, as they were yet fully hopeful of the future from the general character and history of the English people. They believe, that when the conscience of the English nation is awakened, it will not be long before India receives full and thorough redress for all she has been suffering. While thus hopeful of the future, it is desirable that our rulers should know and consider, what about the past is passing in many a thinking native mind.

They are as grateful as any people can be, for whatever real good of peace and order and education has been done for them. But they also ask what good upon the whole England has done to India. It is sadly poor and increasing in poverty, both material and moral. They consider and bewail the unnatural treatment India has been receiving.

They dwell upon the strange contrast between the words and deeds of the English rulers. How often deliberate and solemn promises are made and broken. I need not here instance again what I have at some length shown in my papers on the Poverty of India under the heading of

"Non-fulfilment of Solemn Promises." *

I would refer here to one or two characteristic instances only. The conception for an Engineering College in London was no sooner formed than it became an accomplished fact; and Mr. Grant Duff, then Under

* The Duke of Argyll, as Secretary of State for India, said in his speech of 11th March 1869 with regard to the employment of Natives in the Covenanted *Service*:—"I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty or the promises and engagements which we have made." See page 245 of this book.

Secretary of State, in his place in Parliament, proclaimed what great boons "we" were conferring on the English people, but quite oblivious at whose sacrifices. It was an English interest, and the thing was done as quick at it was thought of. On the other hand, a clause for native interests, proposed in 1867, took 3 years to pass, and in such a form as to be simply ineffectual. I asked Sir Stafford Northcote at the time of the proposal to make it in some way imperative, but without effect. Again, after being passed after 3 years, it remained a dead letter for 7 years more, and might have remained so till doomsday for aught any of the Indian authorities cared. But thanks to the persevering exertions of one of England's true sons, Sir Erskine Perry, some steps were at last taken to frame the rules that were required, and it is now, in the midst of a great deal of fine writing, making some, though very slow progress. For such even as it is we are thankful, but greater efforts are necessary to stem the torrent of the drain. Turning to the uncovenanted service, Sir Stafford Northcote's despatch of 8th February 1868 declared that Europeans should not be allowed in this service to override "the inherent rights of the natives of the country." Now in what spirit was this despatch treated till very lately? Was it not simply, or is not even now, almost a dead letter?

In the matter of the load of the public debt of India, it is mainly due to the wars of the English conquests in India, and English wars abroad in the name of India. Not a farthing has been spent by England for its British Indian Empire. The burden of all England's wars in Asia, has been thrown on India's shoulders. In the Abyssinian War, India narrowly and lightly escaped, and in the present Afghan War, her escape from whatever portion she may be saved, is not less narrow. Such though the character of nearly the whole of the public debt, (excluding for public works) being caused by the actions by which England has become the mistress of a great empire and thereby the first nation in the world, she would not move her little finger to give India any such help as is within her power without even any material sacrifice to herself, viz. that of guaranteeing this public debt, so that India may derive some little relief from reduced interest.

When English interests are concerned, their accomplishment is often a foregone conclusion. But India's interests always require long and anxious thought—thought that seldom begins, and when it does begin, seldom ends in any thorough good result. It is useless to conceal [illegible]

the old pure and simple faith in the honour and word of the English rulers is much shaken, and were it not for the faith in the conscience of the statesmen and people in *this* country, any hope of good by an alteration of the present British Indian policy would be given up.

The English rulers boast and justly so, that they have introduced education and western civilization into India, but on the other hand, they act as if no such thing had taken place, and as if all this boast was pure moonshine. Either they have educated or have not. If they deserve the boast, it is a strange self-condemnation, that after half a century or more of such efforts, they have not yet prepared a sufficient number of men fit for the service of their own country. Take even the educational department itself. We are made B. As. and M. As. and M. Ds., &c. with the strange result that we are not yet considered fit to teach our countrymen. We must have yet forced upon us even in this department, as in every other, every European that can be squeezed in. To keep up the sympathy and connection with the current of European thought, an English head may be appropriately and beneficially retained in a few of the most important institutions. But as matters are at present, all boast of education is exhibited as so much sham and delusion.

In the case of former foreign conquests, the invaders either retired with their plunder and booty, or became the rulers of the country. When they only plundered and went back away, they made no doubt great wounds, but India with her industry revived and healed the wounds. When the invaders became the rulers of the country, they settled down *in* it, and whatever was the condition of their rule, according to the character of the sovereign of the day, there was at least no material or moral drain from the country.* Whatever the country produced, remained in the country. Whatever wisdom and experience was acquired in her services, remained among her own people. With the English the case is peculiar. There are the great wounds of the

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* Sir Stafford Northcote, in his speech in *Parliament* on 24th May 1867, said :—
"Nothing could be more wonderful than our empire in India, but we ought to "consider *on what conditions* we held it, and how our predecessors held it. The "greatness of the Mogul empire depended upon the liberal policy that was "pursued by men like Akbar availing themselves of Hindu talent *and assistance*, "and *identifying* themselves as far as possible with the people of the country. "He thought that they *ought* to take a lesson from such a circumstance, and if "they were to do their duty towards India, they *could only* discharge that duty "by obtaining the assistance and counsel of all who were great and good in that "country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of "statesmanship and ability in the Indian character."—*Times* of 25th May 1867.

first wars in the burden of the public debt, and those wounds are kept perpetually open and widening, by draining away the life blood in a continuous stream. The former rulers were like butchers hacking here and there, but the English with their scientific scalpel cut to the very heart, and yet lo! there is no wound to be seen, and soon the plaster of the high talk of civilization, progress, and what not, covers up the wound! The English rulers stand sentinel at the front door of India, challenging the whole world, that they do and shall protect India against all comers, and themselves carry away by a back-door the very treasures they stand sentinel to protect.

In short, had England deliberately intended to devise the best means of taking away India's wealth, in a quiet continuous drain, without scandalising the world, she could not have hit upon a more effectual plan than the present lines of policy. A Viceroy tells,—the people of India enjoy but scanty subsistence—and this is the outcome of the British rule.

No doubt, the exertions of individual Europeans at the time of famines may be worthy of admiration; the efforts of Government and the aid of the contributions of the British people to save life, deserve every gratitude. But how strange it is, that the British rulers do not see that after all they themselves are the main cause of the destruction that ensues from droughts; that it is the drain of India's wealth by *them* that lays at their own door the dreadful results of misery, starvation, and deaths of millions. England does not know famines, be the harvest however bad or scanty. She has the means of buying her food from the whole world. India is being unceasingly deprived of these means, and when famine comes, the starving have to be taxed so much more to save the dying.

England's conduct in India is in strange contrast with her conduct with almost any other country. Owing to the false groove in which she is moving, she does violence to her own best instincts. She sympathises with and helps every nationality that struggles for a constitutional representative Government. On the one hand, she is the parent of, and maintains the highest constitutionalism, and on the other, she exercises a clear and, though thoughtlessly, a despoiling despotism in India, under a pseudo-constitutionalism in the shape of the farce of the present Legislative Councils

Of all countries in the world, if any one has the greatest claim on England's consideration, to receive the boons of a co ˙ utional

The towns are :—

* Bombay.	Poona.	Ahmedabad.	Surat.	Karachi.	Sholapore.
644,405	118,886	116,873	107,149	53,526	53,403.

Thus Bombay having 3—the Gujarati division of the Presidency will be represented by Ahmedabad and Surat, the Maratha portion by Poona and Sholapur, and Sind by Karachi, making altogether 8 members—which will be a fair though a small representation to begin with. Government may with advantage adopt a larger number ; all I desire and insist is, that there must be a fair *representative* element in the councils. As to the qualifications of electors and candidates for election, government is quite competent to fix upon some, as they did in the case of the Bombay Corporation, and such qualifications may from time to time be modified as experience may suggest. With this modification in the present Legislative Council, a great step will have been taken towards one of the greatest boons which India asks and expects at England's hands Without some such element of the people's voice in all the Legislative Councils, it is impossible for Englishmen, more and more estranged and isolated as they are becoming, to be able to legislate for India in the true spirit and feeling of her wants.

After having a glorious history of heroic struggles for constitutional government, England is now rearing up a body of Englishmen in India, trained up and accustomed to despotism, with all the feelings of impatience, pride, and high-handedness of the despot becoming gradually ingrained in them, and with the additional training of the dissimulation of constitutionalism. Is it possible that such habits and training of despotism, with which Indian officials return from India, should not, in the course of time, influence the English character and institutions? The English in India, instead of raising India, are hitherto themselves descending and degenerating to the lower level of Asiatic despotism. Is this a nemesis that will in fulness of time show to them, what fruit their conduct in India produced ? It is extraordinary how nature may revenge itself for the present unnatural course of England in India, if England, not yet much tainted by this demoralisation, does not, in good time, check this new leaven that is gradually fermenting among her people.

There is the opium trade. What a spectacle it is to the world. In England, no statesman dares to propose that opium may be allowed

* Statistical abstract of British India—1879, page 21.

to be sold in public houses at the corners of every street, in the same way as beer or spirits. On the contrary, Parliament, as representing the whole nation, distinctly enacts "opium and all preparations of opium or of poppies" as "poison," to be sold by certified chemists only, and "every box, bottle, vessel, wrapper or cover in which such poison is contained, be distinctly labelled with the name of the article and the word poison, and with the name and address of the seller of the poison." And yet, at the other end of the world, this Christian, highly civilized, and humane England, forces a "heathen" and "barbarous" power to take this "poison," and tempts a vast human race to use it, and to degenerate and demoralise themselves with this "poison." And why,—because India cannot fill up the remorseless drain, so China must be dragged in to make it up, even though it be by being "poisoned." It is wonderful, how England reconciles this to her conscience. This opium trade is a sin on England's head, and a curse on India for her share in being the instrument. This may sound strange as coming from any natives of India, as it is generally represented, as if India it was, that benefited by the opium trade. The fact simply is, as Mr. Duff said, India is nearly ground down to dust, and the opium trade of China fills up England's drain. India derives not a particle of benefit. All India's profits of trade, and several millions from her very produce, (scanty as it is and becoming more and more so), and with these, all the profit of opium, go the same way of the drain to England. Only, India shares the curse of the Chinese race. Had this cursed opium trade not existed, India's miseries would have much sooner come to the surface, and relief and redress would have come to her long ago. But this trade has prolonged the agonies of India.

In association with this trade, is the stigma of the salt tax, upon the British name. What a humiliating confession to say, that after the length of the British rule, the people are in such a wretched plight that they have nothing that Government can tax, and that Government must, therefore, tax an absolute necessary of life to an inordinate extent. The slight flash of prosperity during the American war, showed how the people of India would enjoy and spend, when they have anything to enjoy and spend—and now, can anything be a greater condemnation of the results of British lines of policy, than that the people have nothing to spend and enjoy, and pay tax on, but that they must be pinched and starved in a necessary of life.

The English are, and justly and gloriously, the greatest champions of liberty of speech. What a falling off must have taken place in their character, when after granting this boon to India; they should have even

thought of withdrawing it. This act, together with that of disarming the people, is a clear confession by the rulers to the world, that they have no hold as yet upon the affection and loyalty of the people, though in the same breath, they make every profession of their belief in the loyalty of the people. Now which is the truth? And are gagging and disarming the outcome of a long benign rule?

Why do the English allow themselves to be so perpetually scared by the fears of Russian, or any other foreign invasion? If the people of India be satisfied, if their hearts and hands be with England, she may defy a dozen Russias On the other hand, do British statesmen think that however sharp and pointed their bayonets, and however long-flying their bullets, they may not find the two hundred millions of the people of India, her political Himalaya to be pierced through, when the present political union among the different peoples is more strengthened and consolidated?

There is the stock argument of over-population. They talk, and so far truly, of the increase by British peace, but they quite forget the destruction by the British drain. They talk of the pitiless operations of economic laws, but, somehow, they forget that there is no such thing in India, as the natural operation of economic laws. It is not the pitiless operations of economic laws, but it is the thoughtless and pitiless action of the British policy, it is the pitiless eating of India's substance in India, and the further pitiless drain to England,—in short, it is the pitiless *perversion* of economic laws by the sad bleeding to which India is subjected, that is destroying India. Why blame poor nature, when the fault lies at your own door. Let natural and economic laws have their full and fair play, and India will become another England, with manifold greater benefit to England herself than at present.

As long as the English do not allow the country to produce what it can produce; as long as the people are not allowed to enjoy what they can produce; as long as the English are the very party on their trial;—they have no right, and are not competent, to give an opinion, whether the country is over-populated or not. In fact, it is absurd to talk of over-population, *i. e.* the country's incapability, by its food or other produce, to supply the means of support to its people, if the country is unceasingly and forcibly deprived of its means or capital. Let the country keep what it produces, and then, can any right judgment be formed, whether it is over-populated or not. Let England first hold

hands off India's wealth, and then there will be disinterestedness in, and respect for, her judgment. The present cant of the excuse of over-population is adding a distressful insult to agonising injury. To talk of over-population at present, is just as reasonable as to cut off a man's hands and then to taunt him, that he was not able to maintain himself or move his hands.

When persons talk of the operation of economic laws, they forget the very first and fundamental principles. Says Mr. Mill, "Industry is limited by capital." "To employ industry on the land, is to apply capital to the land." "Industry cannot be employed to any greater extent than there is capital to invest." "There can be no more industry than is supplied by materials to work up and food to eat. Yet, in regard to a fact so evident, it was long continued to be believed, that laws and governments, without creating capital, could create industry." And while Englishmen are sweeping away this very capital, they raise up their hands and wonder why India cannot have industry.

The English are themselves the head and front of the offending, and yet they talk of over-population, and every mortal irrelevant thing, but the right cause, *viz.* their own drain of the material and moral wealth of the country.

The present form of relations between the paramount power and the princes of India, is un-English and iniquitous. Fancy a people, the greatest champions of fair play and justice, having a system of political agency by which, as the princes say, they are stabbed in the dark; the Political Agents making secret reports and the government often acting thereon, without a fair inquiry or explanation from the princes. The princes, therefore, are always in a state of alarm, as to what may befall them unawares. If the British authorities deliberately wished to adopt a method by which the princes should always remain alarmed and irritated, they could not have hit upon a more effective one than what exists. If these princes can feel assured that their treaty rights will be always honourably and faithfully observed, that there will be no constant nibbling at their powers, that it was not the ulterior policy of the British to pull them down gradually to the position of the mere nobles of the country, as the princes at present suspect and fear, and if a more just and fair mode of political agency be adopted, I have not the least hesitation in saying that, as much from self-interest alone, as from any other motive, these princes will prove the greatest bulwark and help to perpetuate British supremacy in India. It stands to reason and common

sense, that the native princes clearly understand their interest, that by a power like the British only, with all the confidence it may command by its fairness as well as strength, can they be saved from each other and even from themselves. Relieved of any fear from the paramount power, they will the more readily listen to counsels of reform which they much need. The English can then exercise their salutary influence, in advising and helping them to root out the old corrupt regimes, and in making them and their courtiers to understand that power was not self-aggrandizement, but responsibility for the good of the people. I say from personal conversation with some of the princes, that they thoroughly understand their interest under the protection of the present paramount power.

It is useless for the British to compare themselves with the past native rulers. If the British do not show themselves to be vastly superior, in proportion to their superior enlightenment and civilization, if India do not prosper and progress under them far more largely, there will be no justification for their existence in India. The thoughtless past drain we may consider as our misfortune, but a similar future will, in plain English, be deliberate plunder and destruction.

I do not repeat here several other views which I have already expressed in my last Memorandum.

I have thus given a general sketch of what is passing in many natives' minds on several subjects. It is useless and absurd to remind us constantly, that once the British fiat brought order out of chaos, and to make that an everlasting excuse for subsequent shortcomings, and the material and moral impoverishment of the country. The natives of the present day have not seen that chaos, and do not feel it, and though they understand it, and very thankful they are for the order brought, they see the present drain, distress, and destruction, and they feel it and bewail it.

By all means, let Englishmen be proud of the past. We accord them every credit for the order and law they brought about, and are deeply thankful to them, but let them now face the present, let them clearly realise and manfully acknowledge the many shortcomings of omission and commission, by which, with the best of intentions, they have reduced India to material and *moral wretchedness: and let them*, in a way worthy of their name and history, repair the injury they have inflicted. It is fully in their power to make their rule a 'blessing'— India, and a benefit and glory to England, by allow'

administration under their superior, controlling and guiding hand—or in their own oft-repeated professions and words, "by governing India for India's good."

May the God of all nations lead the English to a right sense of their duty to India, is my humble and earnest prayer!

16*th November* 1880. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

4

32, Great St. Helens,
London, 4th January 1881.

SIR LOUIS MALLET,
The Under-Secretary of State for India.
India Office,
London, S. W.

SIR,

I beg to request you to submit the accompanying Memorandum, No. 3, on some of the Statements in "the Report of the Indian Famine Commission, 1880," to his Lordship the Secretary of State for India, and I hope His Lordship will give his kind and generous consideration to it.

I remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
DADABHAI NAOROJI.

MEMORANDUM ON A FEW STATEMENTS IN THE REPORT OF THE INDIAN FAMINE COMMISSION, 1880.

Part II., Chapter I., Section VII. treats of Incidence of Taxation.

I submit that the section is fallacious, gives an erroneous notion of the true state of the matter, and is misleading.

We shall see what the reality is.

The income of a country consists of two parts—

1. The internal total annual material production of the country (Agricultural, Manufactures, Mines and Fisheries).
2. The external annual profits of Foreign Trade.

There is no other source of income beyond these two, excepting, in the case of British India, the tributes, and contributions of Native States of about £700,000.

The incidence of taxation of any country means that a certain amount or portion is taken out of this income for purposes of Government. Call this portion revenue, tax, rent, service, contributions, blessing, curse or by any name from A to Z in the English vocabulary. The fact simply is, that the country has to give a certain proportion out of its income for purposes of government. Every farthing that the country has thus to contribute for government, has to be produced, or earned from Foreign trade, or, in other words, has to be given from the annual income. No portion of it is rained down from heaven, or produced by some magic by the government of the country. The £24,000,000 which the Commissioners call "other than taxation," do not come down from the heavens, nor are to be obtained from any other source than the annual income of the country, just the same as what they call taxation proper. And so also what the Commissioners call "rent," with regard to the revenue derived from land.

Whatever plans, wise or unwise, a government adopt of distributing the incidence of the revenue among different classes of people; from whatever and how-many-soever different sources, government may obtain its revenue; by whatever hundred-and-one names may these different items of revenue be called,—the sum total of the whole matter is, that out of the annual income of the country, a certain portion is raised for the purposes of government, and the real incidence of this revenue in any country, is the proportion it bears to the actual annual income of the country, call the different modes of raising this revenue what you like.

Now England raises at present for purposes of government about £83,000,000. The income of the United Kingdom is well nigh £1,000,000,000* a year. The proportion therefore of the revenue of £83,000,000 or even £84,000,000, is about 8½ per cent. out of the annual income.

Now India's income, as I have first roughly shown in 1870 in my paper on the Wants and Means of India,† and subsequently in my papers on the Poverty of India,‡ is hardly £300,000,000 per annum, This statement has not been refuted by anybody. On the contrary.

* The *Westminster Review* of January 1876 gives the National production for 1875 of the United Kingdom as £28 per head of population. I do not know whether profits of trade are included in this amount. Mr. Grant Duff, in 1871, took £800,000,000—or roundly £30 per head of population. The population is above 34,000,000,--which, at £28, gives £952,000,000.

† Page 97 of this book.

‡ Page 160 of this book.

Mr. Grant Duff, though cautiously, admitted in his speech in 1871, in these words:—"The income of British India has been guessed at £300,000,000 per annum." And Lord Mayo quoted Mr. Grant Duff's speech soon after, without any contradiction, but rather with approval. If the fact be otherwise, let government give the correct fact every year. Out of this income of £300,000,000, the revenue raised in India for purposes of government is £65,000,000 or very near 22 per cent.

Thus, then, the actual heaviness of the weight of revenue on India, is quite 2½ times as much as that on England. This is the simple fact, that out of the grand income of £1,000,000,000—of only 34,000,000 of population, England raises for the purposes of government only 8½ per cent., while out of the poor, wretched income of £300,000,000 of a population of nearly 200,000,000—two and a half times more, or nearly 22 per cent., are raised in India for the same purpose, and yet people coolly and cruelly write that India is lightly taxed. It must be further realised, what this disproportionate pressure, upon a most prosperous and wealthy community like that of England, and the most wretched, and poverty and famine-stricken people of India, means. To the one, it is not a fleabite, to the other, it is starvation and death of millions, under her present unnatural treatment. For, this is not all. A far deeper and worse depth lies behind.

Let me then once more repeat that out of the grand income of £1,000,000,000 a year, England gives only 8½ per cent. for government purposes, while out of the wretched poverty of India of an income of £300,000,000—she gives 22 per cent. for purposes of government. Now comes the worst evil of the whole, to which English writers, with few exceptions, always shut their eyes.

Of the £83,000,000 of revenue, which is raised in England, every farthing returns in some shape or other to the people themselves. In fact, England pays with one hand, and receives back with the other. And such is the case in every country on the face of the earth, and so it must be—but poor India is doomed otherwise. Out of the £65,000,000, taken out of her wretched income, some £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 are never returned to the people, but are eaten up in the country, and taken away out of the country, by those who are not the people of the country —by England, in short. I pass over this mournful topic here, as I have to refer to it again further on.

I may be taken to task, that I am making a very indefinite statement, when I talk of "some £30,000,000 or £40,000,000—as being eaten up

and taken away by England." The fault is not mine, but that of government. In 1873, Sir D. Wedderburn moved for a return for the number, salaries, &c. of all the services. The return was ordered in July 1873. It is now past 7 years, but has not been made. Again 1879—Mr. Bright moved for returns (salaries, &c. 19th June '79) and Sir D. Wedderburn moved for Returns (East India Services—20th and 23rd June '79), and (East India Services—24th June '79). These returns have not yet been made. I hope they are being prepared. When these returns are made, we shall know definitely and clearly what the amount is, that, out of the revenue of £65,000,000, does not at all return to the people of India, but is eaten up in, and carried away from, India every year, by England. Such returns ought to be made every year. Once it is made, the work of succeeding years will be only the alterations or revision for the year, or revised estimates every 2 or 3 years even will do. To government itself, a return like this will be particularly useful. They will then act with clear light, instead of groping in darkness as at present, and though actuated with the best of intentions, still inflicting upon India untold misfortune and miseries. And it will then see, how India, of all other countries in the world, is subjected to a most unnatural and destructive treatment.

The next sections VIII and IX on Trade and Railways, are pervaded with the same fallacies as those of Mr. Danvers's Memo. of 28th June 1880, and to which I replied with my letter of 13th September 1880. I, therefore, do not go over the same ground here again. I need only refer to one statement, the last sentence of para. 4 of Section VIII:—

"As to the other half of the excess, which is due to the cost of English Administration, there can hardly be room for doubt that it is to the advantage of India, to pay the sum really necessary to secure its peaceful government, without which, no progress would be possible; and so long as this condition is not violated, it does not seem material whether a part of the charge has to be met in England or not."

A statement, more wrong in its premises and conclusion, can hardly be met with. Let us see.

By "the other half of the excess" is meant £8,000,000.

The Commissioners tell the public that India pays £8,000,000 for securing peaceful government. This is the f[illegible] W[illegible] the facts?

England, of *all* nations on the face of the earth, enjoys the utmost security of life and property of every kind, from a strong and peaceful government. For this, England "*pays*" £83,000,000 a year.

In the same manner, India "pays" not £8,000,000, but £65,000,000 for the same purpose, and should be able and willing to "*pay*" twice or thrice £65,000,000, under natural circumstances, similar to those of England.

Thus, England "pays" £83,000,000 and India "pays" £65,000,000 for purposes of peaceful government. But here the parallel ends, and English writers, with very few exceptions, fight shy of going beyond this point, and misstate the matter as is done in the above extract. Let us see what is beyond.

Of the £83,000,000 which England "pays" for security of life and property, or peaceful government, every farthing returns to the people themselves. It is not even a fleabite or any bite to the people of England that they "*pay*" £83,000,000 for peaceful government. They simply give with one hand and receive back with the other. The country and the people enjoy the *full benefit* of every farthing they either produce in the country or earn with foreign trade.

But with India, the *fact* is quite otherwise. Out of the £65,000,000 which she "*pays*" like England for peaceful government, £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 do *not* return to the people of the country. These £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 are eaten up in the country, and carried away from the country, by a foreign people. The people of India are thus deprived of this enormous amount, year after year, and are, as a natural consequence, weakened more and more every year in their capacity for production, or, in plain words, India is being simply destroyed.

The *romance* is, that there is security of life and property in India. The reality is, that there is no such thing.

There is security of life and property in one sense or way, *i. e.* the people are secure from any violence from each other or from native despots. So far, there is real security of life and property, and for which India never denies her gratitude. But from England's own grasp, there is no security of property at all, and as a consequence no security for life. India's property is not secure. What is secure and well secure is, that England is perfectly safe and secure, and does so with perfect security, to carry away from India and to eat up in India, her

property at the present rate of some £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 a year.

The reality therefore is, that the policy of English rule as it is (not as it can and should be), is an everlasting, unceasing and every-day-increasing foreign invasion, utterly, though gradually, destroying the country. I venture to submit, that every right-minded Englishman, calmly and seriously considering the problem of the present condition and treatment of India by England, will come to this conclusion.

The old invaders came with the avowed purpose of plundering the wealth of the country. They plundered and went away, or conquered and became the natives of the country. But the great misfortune of India is, that England did *not* mean, or wish, or come, with the intention of plundering, and yet events have taken a course which has made England the worst foreign invader she has had the misfortune to have. India does not get a moment to breathe or revive. 'More Europeans,' 'more Europeans,' is the eternal cry, and this very report itself of the Commission is not free from it.

The present position of England in India has, moreover, produced another most deplorable evil, from which the worst of old foreign invasions was free. That with the deprivation of the vital, material blood of the country, to the extent of £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 a year, the whole higher "wisdom" of the country is also carried away.

I therefore venture to submit, that India *does not* enjoy security of her property and life, and also moreover, of "knowledge" or "wisdom." To millions in India, life is simply "half feeding" or starvation, or famines and disease.

View the Indian problem from any point you like, you come back again and again to this central fact, that England takes from India every year £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 worth of her property with all the lamentable consequences from such a loss, and with a continuous diminution of the capacity of India for production, together with the moral loss of all higher wisdom.

India would be quite able and willing to "pay," as every other country, or as England "pays," for peaceful government. But no country on the face of the earth can stand the deprivation of property that India is subjected to, without being crushed to death.

Suppose England were subjected to such a condition at the hand of some foreign; power and would she not to a man clamour hat f... tter

would they fly at each other's throat, have strifes in streets of civil wars, or fights in fields for foreign wars, with all the chances of fame or fortune on survival, than to submit to the inglorious, miserable deaths from poverty and famines, with wretchedness and disease in case of survival. I have no hesitation in appealing to any Englishman to say, which of the two deaths he would prefer, and I shall not have to wait long for the reply.

What is property worth to India, which she can only call her own in name, but not in reality, and which her own children cannot enjoy? What is life worth to her that must perish by millions at the very touch of drought or distress, or can have only a half starving existence?

The confusion and fallacy in the extract I have given above, therefore, consists in this. It is not that India pays for peaceful government some £8,000,000. She pays for it £65,000,000, just as England pays £84,000,000. But there is one feature peculiar to India. She needs British wise and beneficent guidance and supervision. British aid of this kind can, under any circumstances, be but from outside the Indian family, *i. e.* foreign. This aid must be reasonably paid for by India. Now, if the whole foreign agency of European men and materials, required under the direct and indirect control of government, both in India and England, in every shape or form, be clearly laid down, to be confined within the limit of a fixed "foreign list" of say £5,000,000, or even say £8,000,000, though very much, which the Commissioners ask India should pay; India could very probably pay, without being so destroyed as at present. But the present thoughtless and merciless exhaustion of some £30,000,000, or £40,000,000, or may be even much more, is crushing, cruel, and destructive.

In fact, leaving the past alone as a misfortune, the continuance of the present drain will be, in plain English, nothing less than plunder of an unceasing foreign invasion, and not a reasonable price for a beneficent rule, as the Commissioners wrongly and thoughtlessly endeavour to persuade the public.

The great misfortune of India is that the temptation or tendency towards selfishness and self-aggrandisement of their own countrymen, is too great and blinding for Englishmen (with few exceptions) connected with India, to see that power is a sacred trust and responsibility for the good of the people. We have this profession to any amount, but unless and till the conscience of England, and of English honest thinkers and statesmen, is awakened, the performance will remain poor or nil as at present.

Lord Ripon said—India needs rest. More true words cannot be spoken. Yes—she needs rest—rest from the present unceasing and ever-increasing foreign invasion, from whose unceasing blows she has not a moment allowed to breathe.

I said before that even this Famine Report was not free from the same clamour, "more Europeans, more Europeans."

Whenever any question of reform arises, the only remedy that suggests itself to English officials' minds, is, "apply more European leeches, apply more European leeches!"

The Commission suggests the institution of an Agricultural Department, and a very important suggestion it is. But they soon forget that it is *for India* this is required, and that it is at India's expense it has to be done, that it is from India's wretched income has this expenditure to be provided, and that India cannot afford to have more blood sucked out of her for more Europeans, and deprive so much her own children; in short, that native agency, under a good English head or two, would be the most natural and proper agency for the purpose. No, prostrate as India is, and for which very reason, the Commission was appointed to suggest a remedy, they can only say, "more *Europeans*"—*as if no such thing as a people existed in India.*

Were any Englishman to make such a proposal for England,—that French or German youths be instructed at England's expense, and that such youths make up the different public departments, he would be at once scouted and laughed at. And yet, these Commissioners thoughtlessly and seriously suggest and recommend to aggravate the very evil for which they were expected to suggest a remedy.

I appeal most earnestly to His Lordship, the Secretary of State for India, that though the department suggested by the Commissioners is very important, His Lordship would not adopt the mode which the Commissioners have suggested with good intentions, but with thoughtlessness, about the rights and needs of India. That with the exception of some thoroughly qualified necessary Europeans at the head, the whole agency ought to be native, on the lines described by the Commissioners. There can be no lack of natives of the kind required, or it would be a very poor compliment indeed to the Educational exertions of the English rulers during the past half a century.

A new danger is now threatening India. Hitherto India's wealth above the surface of the land [illegible]

the wealth *under* the surface of the land, will also be taken away, and India lies prostrate and unable to help herself. England has taken away her capital. That same capital will be brought to take away all such mineral wealth of the country as requires application of large capital and expensive machinery. With the exception of the employment of the lower classes of bodily and mental labourers, the larger portion of the produce will, in several shapes, be eaten up and carried away by the Europeans, first as servants and next in profits and dividends, and poor India will have to thank her stars, that she will get some crumbs, in the lower employments of her children. And great will be the sounding of trumpets of the wealth found in India, and the blessings conferred on India, just as we have sickeningly dinned into our ears, day after day, about Railways, Foreign Trade, &c.

Now, this may sound very strange, that knowing full well the benefits of foreign capital to any country, I should complain of its going to India.

There is, under present circumstances, one great difference in the modes in which English capital goes to every other country and India. To every other country, English capitalists *lend*, and there is an end of their connection with the matter. The *people* of the country use and enjoy the benefit of the capital in every way, and pay to the capitalists their interest or dividend, and as some capitalists know to their cost, not even that. But, with India, the case is quite different. English capitalists do not merely lend, but with their capital, they themselves invade the country. The produce of the capital is mostly eaten up by their own countrymen, and after that, they carry away the rest in the shape of profits and dividends. The people themselves of the country *do not* derive the same benefit which is derived by every other country from English capital. The guaranteed Railways, not only ate up everything in this manner, but compelled India to make up the guaranteed interest also from her produce. The remedy then was adopted of making State Railways. Now under the peculiar circumstances of India's present prostration, state-works would be, no doubt, the best means of securing to India the benefits of English capital. But the misfortune is that the same canker eats into the state-works also,—the same eating up of the substance by European employés. The plan by which India can be really benefited would be, that all kinds of public works, or mines, or all works, that require capital, be undertaken by the state, with English capital and *native* agency, with some thoroughly competent Europeans at the head, as may be absolutely necessary.

Supposing that there was even extravagance or loss, government making up any deficiency of the interest of the loans from general revenue, will not matter much, though there is no reason why, with proper care, a native agency cannot be formed good enough for efficient and economic working. Anyhow, in such a case, the people of India will then really derive the benefit of English capital, as every other country does, with the certainty of English capitalists getting their interest from the government, who have complete control over the revenues of India, and can without fail provide for the interest.

For some time, therefore, and till India, by a change in the present destructive policy of heavy European agency, has revived and is able to help herself in a free field, it is necessary that all great undertakings which India herself is unable to carry out for developing the resources of the country, should be undertaken by the State, but carried out chiefly by native agency, and by preparing natives for the purpose. Then will India recover her blood from every direction. India sorely needs the aid of English capital. But it is English *capital* that she needs and not the English invasion, to come also and eat up both capital and produce.

As things are taking their course at present with regard to the gold mines, if they prove successful, great will be the trumpeting of India's wealth being increased, while it will all be being carried away by England.

In the United States the people of the country enjoy all the benefits of their mines and public works with English capital, and pay to England her fair interest; and in cases of failures of the schemes, while the people have enjoyed the benefit of the capital, sometimes both capital and interest are gone. The schemes fail, and the lenders of capital may lament, but the people have enjoyed the capital and the produce as far as they went.

I have no doubt that in laying my views plainly before the Secretary of State, my motives or sentiments towards the British rule will not be misunderstood. I believe that the result of the British rule *can be* a blessing to India and a glory to England,—a result worthy of the foremost and most humane nation on the face of the earth. I desire that this should take place, and I therefore lay my humble views before our rulers without shrinking. It is no pleasure to me to dwell incessantly on the wretched, heart-rending, blood-boiling condition of India. None will rejoice more than myself if my views are proved to be mistaken. The

sum total of all is, that without any *such intention* or wish, and with every desire for the good of India, England has, in reality, been the most disastrous and destructive foreign invader of India, and under present lines, unceasingly and everyday increasingly continues to be so. This unfortunate *fact* is to be boldly faced by *England;* and I am sanguine that, if once England realises this position, she would recoil from it and vindicate to the world her great mission of Humanity and Civilization among mankind. I am writing to English *gentlemen*, and I have no fear but that they would receive my sincere utterances with the generosity and love of justice of English gentlemen.

In concluding these remarks, I feel bound to say that as far as I can judge from Mr. Caird's separate paper on the Condition of India, he appears to have realised the abnormal economical condition of India, and I cannot but feel the true English manliness and moral courage he has displayed, that, though he went out an avowed defender of the Indian government, he spoke out his convictions, and what he saw within his opportunities. India needs the help of such manly, conscientious, true-hearted English gentlemen to study and probe her forlorn condition, and India may then fairly hope for ample redress ere long, at England's hands and conscience.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

32, Great St. Helens,
London, 4th January 1881.

CHAPTER VI.

WRITINGS—(*continued*).

III.

ADMISSION OF EDUCATED NATIVES INTO THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

(*A Memorandum respectfully submitted for the consideration of Sir Stafford Northcote, May 2, 1868.*)

"There is only one other point included in the Bill which I mus mention, and it is one of considerable importance and interest. I an sorry I do not see the member for Brighton in his place, who has giver a notice with reference to the subject—it relates to the admission of th natives into the Civil Service of India. It was always felt by the ol Court of Directors, by the Indian Council, by all the Home authorities and, indeed, by the Indian authorities also, that it was most desirable as far as possible, to make provision for the employment of the natives of India; but the difficulty has been in what way it could be accom

plished. When the member for Brighton brings forward the motion for which he has given notice, that competitive examinations should be held in India, I shall feel it my duty to state the reasons why I cannot assent to that proposal. I do not think it would be at all suitable to the condition of India, that the Civil Service should be thrown open to anybody who can pass the best competitive examination among the natives of India; for, although I am a strong advocate for competitive examinations in this country, I do not think they apply to such a country as India, where you require, not the cleverest men, but various other qualifications, which you are not so well able to test by competitive examinations."—*Extract from Sir Stafford Northcote's Speech in the House of Commons, 23rd April.*

It is said in the above extract:—

"It was always felt by the old Court of Directors, by the Indian Council, by all the Home Authorities, and, indeed, by the Indian Authorities also, that it was most desirable, as far as possible, to make provision for the employment of the natives of India; but the difficulty has been in what way it could be accomplished."

This comes rather strange, at this time of day, in the thirty-fifth year of a statute, and tenth year of a Royal Proclamation, as if proving that those suspicious natives, who regarded the statutory and Royal promises as never intended to be fulfilled, were in the right. Or otherwise, why should there have been any difficulty? Parliament and our gracious Sovereign have declared that race or creed should make no difference between her Majesty's subjects, and why should not, then, the natives of India have been, or be even now, allowed a door similar to that by which the English enter the service?

Further:—

"For although I am a strong advocate for competitive examinations in this country, I do not think they apply to such a country as India, where you require, not the cleverest men, but various other qualifications, which you are not so well able to test by competitive examinations."

I do not suppose that Sir Stafford Northcote does not require cleverness as one of the necessary qualifications. And next, it does not appear how, if those "various other qualifications" cannot be tested by competitive examination in the natives, they can be tested in the Englishmen.

How is the cleverness to be tested? Competition is the means adopted for the English candidates. Why should it not be for the

natives? No doubt it is the opinion of some that competitive examinations are useless. Be the worth of that opinion what it may, you *have* adopted the system, and till you abolish it, there is no reason why it should not be equally applicable to all candidates. However, be the test of cleverness that Sir Stafford Northcote may consider best what it may, it is necessary that, whatever that test may be, it should be clearly laid down, so that the natives may know what is required of them, endeavour to qualify themselves accordingly, and may get admission if so qualified.* Next comes the question of the "various other qualifications" which Sir Stafford says are necessary. These may be divided in two classes, personal and adventitious. Every one will admit that besides education and integrity, there must be also in the servant, tact, judgment, good temper, zeal, industry, and general administrative powers. I do not suppose that Sir Stafford requires that a candidate must first show that he is a Canning, a Lawrence, or an Elphinstone, before any opportunity is given him. About ability and integrity, I have given ample testimony to show that the educated natives, and even others (according to Sir F. Halliday and others) now in the public service, have generally proved themselves able and trustworthy. As to tact, judgment, &c., the very fact of the success and efficiency with which these servants have performed their duties, is sufficient to prove that these servants must have shown those other qualifications, or otherwise they could not have performed their duties with efficiency. How are these qualities tested in the English candidates? and why should there be any other method adopted for the natives of India, especially when they have shown, by actual service, so far as limited opportunity is afforded them that they possessed the "other qualifications" also. If it be said that out of those employed in the public service only few have shown any very *great* administrative abilities, it is simply because they had very little opportunity. If they cannot rise above the deputy-collectorships, or assistant-commissionerships, how can they show whether any of them have *great* abilities and qualifications? But even under every drawback, in the very narrow opportunity the natives have had, some

* It is sometimes said that intellectual education is not enough. Now it is a mistake to suppose that the education of the English schools and colleges of India is only intellectual. With the exception of not teaching the principal dogmas of Christianity, their education is as moral as can possibly be. The whole range of the English literature in which the native is educated is full of the high moral and religious tone of the nineteenth century. It is giving very scanty credit to this literature, and to the efforts of English educationists, that the result is not productive of moral good, but thanks to both such is not the fact.

"capital administrators" have risen among them. We know what is thought of Sir Salar Jung, or Sir Dinkar Rao, or Sir Madava Rao by Government officials themselves.

Sir Richard Temple, in his letter on the Comparative Merits of *British and Native Rule*, says: "*Further, in justice to native rule*, it should be said that within the century of our supremacy, there have not only been good sovereigns who are too well-known to require mention here, but also good ministers, *really capital administrators*" (the italicising is mine), "who have adorned the service to which they belong, such as Purnea of Mysore, and Tantia Jogh of Indore, in the past, and Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad, Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior, Sir T. Madava Rao of Travancore, in the present."* The latter have not merely been declared as able administrators, but have been for that reason considered deserving of being knighted by our sovereign.

It cannot be fairly urged that natives have not in them elements of success and greatness if they get the opportunity. It must also be remembered that, notwithstanding thousands of English civilians during the past century, the great names cannot be counted by scores; and these were, of course, attained according to opportunity and ability of the individuals. More cannot be, and ought not to be, expected from the natives. If a certain method is adopted for the selection of the Englishman, there is no reason (except for some exceptional circumstances to which I shall refer hereafter,) that a different one should be adopted for the natives.

The adventitious qualifications are those of caste, or riches, or birth. I certainly do not wish to say a word against the proper respect and position due to these in state or society. But to say that for public service any of these is absolutely necessary, is not only unreasonable, but detrimental to the State. It may be said that Hindus of high caste may not respect those of lower castes in the service. Is it for the British to maintain and encourage such distinction and feeling? or is it the mission of Britain (and to which several of the comparers of the

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* In a note, Sir Richard Temple, with natural pride, says that both Sir Salar Jung and Sir T. Madava Rao owed to British training. Why, excepting some faults, both of omission and commission, it will be difficult to deny that almost all good that India now enjoys is owing to British rulers, or their presence, advice or example. The real question now to be studied from time to time is, how far does any native state approach the English standard, and how far the English rule in India approaches the English rule in England.

British and native rule referred with pride) *to teach the natives of India* that before law the high and low are equal, and that merit, and not caste, will carry the day. However, be this as it may, is it a fact that the higher caste people will not respect power and merit in a person of the lower caste? Are the Gaikwar, and Scindia, and Holkar of high caste? Are there not several princes and nobles, and men high in public service, or wealthy, who are not of high caste; and are they for that reason treated with less respect than if they had been Brahmins or Kshutrees?

Again, among the Mahomedans there can be no such distinction and disinclination arising from "caste." In connexion with this question of caste, there is one exceptional circumstance, to which I shall refer hereafter.

The same remarks apply to riches. No doubt, when a man rises, whether from a low caste, or from poverty, there will be many found, quite as much in this country as in any other, who would first look down upon him with superciliousness, and call him an upstart; but when he is in power, or influence, and has stamped his character, we know how those very sneerers will turn round and admire the "self-made man." Is it for the English rulers to teach the people of India that riches are the passport to service and honour? I cannot persuade myself that Sir Stafford meant riches as a necessary qualification, that a young man may be a mediocre, or a dunce, and yet, if he is born with a silver spoon in his mouth, he is qualified to serve the State; while another, no matter whatever his personal qualifications may be, is to be cast aside because his father is a poor man, and maintains his family by honest industry. Riches shall always have its due influence and respect, but that it should be a necessary qualification for State service will, I dare say, be not seriously urged by any. Is birth, again, a necessary passport for respect by the people? As the present matter relates to India, I would draw my illustrations from that country. What birth could the late Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy boast of, and yet is there a man more universally respected and admired than he? Are not the natives of India proud of that name? Did the late Hon. Shumbhoonath, to whose high character and qualifications the Governor-General and the Chief Justice of Calcutta have borne high testimony—

claim high birth? He was a "self-made man," and yet we learn on the highest authority that he was respected by his countrymen.*

In fact, it is only human nature, whether here or in India, that the man of merit, and in power, will command respect, be his origin humble or high, or rather the humbler origin will command the greater admiration. Mountstuart Elphinstone says, the first Nawab of Oude was a petty merchant, the ancestors of Holkar were goatherds, and those of Scindia slaves, the first Peshwa a village accountant.

Many other highly respected natives can be named who have not claims to high birth, or at most of a generation or two, and that under British auspices.

Are the natives so far an exception to human nature, that while a Disraeli becoming a Premier may be admired and praised, not only in the United Kingdom, but all over the world, more than if he had been born with a coronet on his head, the people of India would be so lost to a feeling of natural pride in similar cases, that they would be sorry to see any among themselves rise from the ranks? I am certainly the last person not to allow to birth its due. It has its advantages to the political and social condition of a country, which it is impossible to ignore. It is, therefore, highly desirable that this element should have its due strength and position in society. But it must not be forgotten that there is no family of birth but that it had an humble origin. When a family has once risen, it is capable of doing a great deal of good (if it has the will and ability), acting from a certain vantage-ground of position and influence, which the one which has yet to raise itself does not possess. But if free scope is not given to others, who have energy of character and nobility of soul and intellect, and thus fresh blood is not introduced from time to time, the aristocracy of a country may gradually sink. It will suffer the worst consequences of "caste," as capacity and character are not the monopoly of the high-born. Every age, while proud of those that left their marks in former times, must leave, and very properly

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* The father of Baboo Dwarkanath Mittra, the present Judge of the Bengal High Court, was a clerk at Rs. 5 per month; Baboos K. M. Chatterjee and S. Sirkar,

aspires to leave, its own mark also, and this mark of one Disraeli is worth a great deal more than that of other equally good and great men *born* with power and influence. Such a result, however, can only be possible when there is a fair field for all. These remarks apply to India with special force, as I shall show hereafter, when treating of the few exceptional circumstances connected with the question of Indian Civil Service.

At first, want of education and integrity was urged, and very justly too, as a bar to the service of the state. Committees of Parliament repeatedly questioned witnesses with regard to these necessary qualifications. And, up to the present time, it was considered that, if these qualifications could be proved to be possessed by the natives, their eligibility to high service in the State, and their right to similar treatment with Englishmen, would be complete. When, however, not only in abstract discussion or theory, but by actual facts of service rendered with efficiency and integrity, these qualifications are proved, "other qualifications" now come to light, to be necessary for the natives of India, as if those other qualifications were not as equally necessary for the English servants; as if those "other qualifications" were, in the case of the English candidates, proved by competition alone; and as if the test of these other qualifications in the Englishman will not be made as much in his actual service as in the case of the native.

It is proposed that the uncovenanted service be made native. Then the question naturally arises, do not these uncovenanted offices also require those "various other qualifications?" If they do, and if the natives can be supposed to possess them, so as to be fit for the uncovenanted service, on what grounds can they be debarred from competing for the covenanted service, and showing in actual service, as they would do in the uncovenanted service, that they possess the "various other qualifications" also?

There are, in the case of India, as I have said above, some exceptional circumstances, and it is, I fully admit, necessary to bear them in mind, and to make proper provision for them. These are political and religious.

If India wants England to rule it for a long time, for its own regeneration and benefit, it stands to reason that the English service must be in the majority, and that certain places of high executive power should remain in their hands only. Let the English boldly and straightforwardly say that, for the interests of both countries, as they must be the predominant people, they must have the larger share in the service; and let them say that two-thirds or three-fourths of the service must be English;

that, moreover, all positions of the highest executive power, such as Governors, Executive Councillors, and any such others, which must be distinctly described, must remain at the disposal of the Government, and, if necessary, for Englishmen only. Such a straightforward avowal, though it may, perhaps, prove a little distasteful to some natives, will at least command their respect and also the acquiescence of all reasonable natives. Both the rulers and the subjects will know clearly their position, and mutual satisfaction, contentment of the natives, and sure stability of the British rule will be the result.

The next special circumstance is that the survivors of the old power displaced by the British should be as far as practicable drawn into the service, and made to feel an interest in the British rule, or at least to be reconciled to their change of fate. For this purpose, it would be no doubt an important act of policy, to make some arrangements by which the scions of these old great families might be brought into the service. If it be contended that such scions would not condescend to stand competition with other people (whether it may be desirable or not, as far as possible, to encourage such a feeling), as such a feeling does exist, and will for a generation or two naturally exist; and as, at the same time, the exceptional circumstances of the case require that some concession be made to them, if these scions otherwise follow the advice of the rulers and qualify themselves for the service, let a portion of the one-third or one-fourth of the service that may be fixed upon to be native be reserved for such appointments, at the discretion of the Viceroy. But there is no reason whatever that, because some exceptional provision of this nature is required to be made for these scions, the just rights of the whole population should be kept in abeyance. There is another very important reason, both arising from policy as well as justice, that the rising educated generation should be enlisted in the cause of the British rule. The higher classes in general, and especially those who have lost power, have still kept themselves aloof from educating their sons, and are hardly quite reconciled to the loss of power and influence they have sustained. There is no blame to them in this state of affairs. They do not see quite yet what they have to do with *English* learning, or what its character is. What they understand as learning is their Shastras or their Koran, and other Oriental literature, and this learning they are accustomed to leave to the Brahmin or Molvi. When they want the advice of learning, they can have it from these depositories. In such circumstances it is a puzzle to them, when they think about it at all, what English learning may be, and why they should

want it. Moreover, the want of a career adds to their indifference. If some such plan as I have suggested before can be adopted, by which these scions can be drawn into English service, and made to feel their interest in its continuance, no doubt it will be a great advantage. I do not mean to cast the least suspicion on the probable loyalty or gratitude of the fallen great of the past, and admit fully the necessity of reconciling them to the revolution in their fortunes. It would not be, however, surprising if the good feeling towards the British rule ended with this reconciliation, and did not develop into thorough loyalty or deep gratitude. They may consider that the share given to them in the administration was their due, and an act of policy. Be this view right or wrong, at least several of the comparers of the British and native rule have expressed in no encouraging terms, the present or possible feeling of these fallen great. Supposing, however, this view to be wrong, and as I sincerely hope and believe the native chiefs and noblemen, when they are once led to understand and feel an interest in the English rule, would prove loyal and grateful, a foreign government like the English in India cannot afford to depend upon this contingency only. This government also needs an aristocracy, a native power,—an influence of its own creation. It only stands to reason that those who would owe their rank, position, in short their all to the British Government, and who would strongly feel their interest in the preservation of the order of things in which they rose, would naturally be its best supporters, both from gratitude and interest. A power of no mean order is now rising in the State. Say what you will, the native press does, and will exercise its influence. It gradually passes into the hands of the educated, and the talent of the country. The feeling of loyalty in this body is at present undoubted. The sentiment that they owe their education and elevation as men to the British is very strong, and it is high time that, by reasonable concessions, they must be *enlisted* in the English cause. They understand and appreciate the genius and spirit of the British rule most, and they are its best exponents at present. Enlist this rising power created by yourselves on your side; and, coupled with a bold system of public works for the prosperity of the mass, you may well defy any internal revolution or external invasion. The opening therefore of the competition in India, and making the native feel an equality with his English fellow-subjects, instead of the humiliation of a conquered people, and thereby making them sure of a proper share in the administration, has now become not only an act of justice, but of great state policy. It would be a great pity to let this power feel dissatisfaction.

and brood over its wrongs. It will afterwards be useless, when mischief arises, to charge the natives with ingratitude. You cannot destroy a power, whether physical or moral. You can only regulate it. If you stop a current, it will overflow its barriers. If you stop a moral force, it will as surely break through its barriers.

The third special circumstance to be considered with regard to India is the position of the people of some of the lowest castes, whom the higher castes do not touch even. Government has from a wise policy of toleration thought proper not to hurt the feelings of the natives, by compelling association of these people among them, so in all Government schools these people are not allowed admission. In missionary schools there is no such prohibition. The consequence is that some of them may offer themselves at the door of the examination room. Now, however unwilling Government may be to cast out any man for his caste, the same consideration which has induced it to exclude them from Government schools must prevail also for their exclusion from the service; at least for some time, because this exclusion will not last long. On the one hand, the educated rising generations are gradually divesting themselves of such social bans; and on the other, new influences, the rail and steam, are effectually breaking down these unfortunate distinctions.

Lastly, there is some provision necessary to be made for several meritorious persons already in the service. They cannot now enter the covenanted service by competition. If powers properly defined, so as not to be suffered to be a dead letter, be allowed to the Viceroy, these meritorious servants may also be admitted into the covenanted service, within the limit that may be allotted for the native service, in addition to promotions in the uncovenanted service. With the exception of the above-stated four exceptional circumstances, I do not know that there is any other to be specially provided for, and there is no reason that, beyond this, any difference should be made in the mode of admission of the English and native subjects of her Majesty into the covenanted service. The strangest part of the whole thing is, that on the one hand we are told that competition is not applicable to India, and, on the other, we have taunts thrown into our teeth by others, that we wish to escape competition, and to get into the service without passing the ordeal to which Englishmen submit. While competition is here declared to be inapplicable to India, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal finds it necessary to adopt it, to some extent, as a first step for the subordinate service.

As Sir Stafford has not stated what the "other qualifications" are to which he alluded, I am obliged to work in the dark at present. I there-

fore earnestly request in simple fairness that no adverse decision be come to on Mr. Fawcett's resolution, so that a fair opportunity be given to discuss the merits of Sir Stafford's objections and provisions at the second reading of the bill.

The reply of Sir Stafford Northcote to the deputation which waited on him in August last, was an approval of our two prayers, and I hope that this approval may now be carried into effect.

IV.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

Revised Memorandum on the most important Reforms needed by India.

(Submitted for the consideration of the late and present Viceroys, and some other high Officials in India in 1884.)

The whole Indian problem in all its aspects, material, moral, industrial, educational, political, &c., will be solved only when means are adopted to check the annual disastrous drain of the produce of India and to bring it within reasonable and moderate limits. I have gone into the details of this subject in my papers on "The Poverty of India," and in the Correspondence with the Secretary of State for India on the "Condition of India." I shall add here only one more testimony of the highest financial authority, the late Finance Minister, Sir E. Baring, on *the extreme poverty of India*, and *corroborating my calculation* of the very low income of this country as compared with the worst European country—Turkey. Here is this emphatic testimony in addition to the opinions given in my "Poverty of India," Part I., especially of Lords Lawrence and Mayo, and of Mr. Grant Duff as Under Secretary of State for India, with regard to all India, at page 278. Sir E. Baring in his Budget speech of 18th March, 1882, says:—

"It has been calculated that the average income per head of population in India is *not more than rupees 27 a year*,* *and though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation* of this sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax-paying community is *exceedingly poor*. To derive any very large increase

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* I make not more than rupees 20. I requested Sir E. Baring to give me his calculations, either to correct mine or his, but I am sorry he declined. However this difference is a matter of not much consequence, as it makes but very little difference in proving the *extreme poverty* of India. The italics are mine.

of revenue from so poor a population as this is obviously impossible, and if it were possible, would be unjustifiable."

Again, in the discussion on the same Budget, he said, after repeating the above statement of rupees 27 per head per annum :—

". . . But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the *extreme poverty* of the mass of the people. In England the average income per head of population was £33 per head, in France it was £23; in Turkey, which was the poorest country in Europe, it was £4 per head. He would ask honourable members to think what rupees 27 per annum was to support a person, and then he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people."

This was stated in connection with salt duty. It must be remembered that rupees 27 (or my rupees 20) is the average income, including that of the richest, or all various disproportionate distribution that takes place among all grades of people, while the average of the lower classes only will be very poor indeed.

The whole problem of India is in a nutshell. *Never* can a foreign rule be anything but a curse to any country, except so far as it approaches a native rule.

Hoping that my papers will be carefully studied, I confine myself here to the remedy of the evil in its practical form. I may explain here that a part of the drain I complain of is not to be laid *directly* at the door of Government. It is in the hands of the natives to prevent it if they could and would. I mean the employment of non-official professional agency, such as barristers, solicitors, engineers, doctors, &c. Though not *directly*, the English official agency *indirectly* compels natives to employ such European non-official agency. English officials in power generally, and naturally, show more sympathy with and give greater encouragement to English professional men. The result is that the portion of the drain caused by the non-official Europeans is as much, though indirectly, the result of Government or official action, as the other portion of the drain. The remedy, therefore, I am proposing, will influence the whole drain.

This remedy is in the power of the English Parliament only. It is (though at first sight it is not so readily apparent) the transference of examinations to India for services in all the civil departments—civil, medical, engineering, forest, telegraph, or any other. Canada, Australia, or the Cape, are not compelled to go to England for their services. Over India alone does England impose its despotic [illegible] in the [illegible]

respect. This, in fact, is *the* one important act of the British nation, which is now un-English and unjust, and which mars and nullifies all the other blessings (which are not few) conferred by it upon India. Let England be just to India and true to itself in this one respect, and honestly, according to the Queen's proclamation, and declarations of British statesmen, and Acts of Parliament, let the natives have free scope to serve in their own country, and every other measure for the purposes of good government and administration, or for improving the material and moral condition of India, which at present generally fails or produces poor and doubtful results, will be crowned with success. Every matter will then fall into its natural groove, and the effect on everything will be marvellous. Private efforts will receive natural and immense impetus for providing all higher education, leaving Government to devote itself, with far ampler means than at present, to primary education as in England. So will railways and all public works and all private enterprise receive a rapid and successfu ldevelopment. And, above all, will be this most important result—that the growing prosperity of India will lead to a *truly great and extensive trade between England and India*, far outweighing the present benefit to England at the sacrifice of and misery to India.

Of course when examinations for *all* the higher services in *all* the civil departments are transferred to India, the ruling and controlling offices should be mainly reserved for Englishmen, such as the Viceroy, the Governors and their Councillors, the Chief Secretaries, and Board of Revenue (if such boards be of any use) and chief heads of departments. Admission of any natives to any such appointments should be entirely in the gift of the Government, as a special reward for some high and exceptional services and deed of loyalty. In the military department, the English should have the chief share, leaving some fair scope for the warlike races, to draw and attach them to the side of the British rule. It will never do to repress all military ambition altogether. This will be a great mistake.

The subject of the confidence which our British rulers ought to show towards their subjects, and thereby beget and acquire the sincere confidence of the subjects in response, both by trusting them with reasonable military position, and by allowing and encouraging volunteering, under some well-considered principles and rules, is too important and extensive to be adequately treated in a short space. I can only say that it deserves our rulers' serious consideration. The open want of confidence by the British rulers is a weakness to them, and cannot but in time lead to evil.

If the examinations, as a first step, are not altogether transferred to India, simultaneous examinations at least ought to be held in India for *all* the services. This great reform and justice to India is absolutely necessary. This alone will be a fair fulfilment of the promises of the Act of 1833, of the gracious proclamation of 1858, and of the various declarations made from time to time by English statesmen and Governments. At least, for simultaneous examinations in India and England, the India Office itself has unequivocally admitted its justice and necessity. I give below an extract from a Report of a Committee of the India Council (consisting of Sir J. P. Willoughby, Sir Erskine Perry, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, and Mr. Macnaghten) made to Sir C. Wood (Lord Halifax) on 20th January, 1860. The Report says:

"2. We are in the first place unanimously of opinion that it is not only just, but expedient, that the natives of India shall be employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible, consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy, and have considered whether any increased facilities can be given in this direction.

"3. It is true that, even at present, no positive disqualification exists. By Act 3 and 4, Wm. IV., c. 85, s. 87, it is enacted 'that no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.' It is obvious, therefore, that when the competitive system was adopted, it could not have been intended to exclude natives of India from the Civil Service of India.

"4. Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a native leaving India and residing in England for a time are so great, that as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. Were this inequality removed, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.

"5. Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is, by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by natives, and by all other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty resident in India. The second is to hold, simultaneously, two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete [illegible] un[illegible]ing

finally classified in one list, according to merit, by the Civil Service Commissioners. *The Committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme as being the fairest and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object.*"*

This principle ought to apply to *all* the services.

Now I say let Government lay down *any* test—mental, moral and physical—and the natives cannot and would not object being on equal terms with the English candidates. It may also be arranged that every successful candidate in India be required to go to England and study for two years more with the successful candidates of England in their respective departments; or any other arrangement may be adopted by which the successful candidates of India may derive the benefit of two years' residence and study in England in the department in which they have competed successfully. India will be but too happy to have a portion of its revenue devoted to this purpose.

Till this most important, "just and expedient" and "fairest" measure is adopted, England can never free itself from the charge of "*keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope,*" and India can never be satisfied that England is treating her justly and honestly.

But I earnestly submit that this is not merely a question of "justice and expediency," though that is enough in itself for this reform, but that it is absolutely necessary for the *far larger necessity* of the material and moral prosperity of India—for the chief remedy of the present "*extreme poverty*" of India—if English rule is really and honestly meant to be a just rule and a blessing to this country. My earnest desire and intense interest in this great reform to hold examinations in India, solely, or, at least, simultaneously, for all the services in the Civil Departments (with some fair scope in the military) do not arise simply from the motive of seeing an opening made for the gratification of the natural ambition of educated natives to serve in their own country, but more for the solution of the great question—the question of questions—whether India is to remain poor, disloyal, and cursing England, or to become prosperous, loyal, and blessing England.

Coming to the uncovenanted services, both higher and lower, they must also be reduced to some system of examination, based upon some clear and just principles. The system worked by the Civil Service Commissioners in England for subordinate servants for all the different

* The italics are mine.

departments of State may well provide a model for these examinations, according to the higher and lower wants of all the departments for their uncovenanted servants. It will be the best way to secure servants *most fitted* and *best prepared* for their respective departments, and to give to every subject of Her Majesty a free and fair scope and justice according to his merits, relieving Government from the obloquy that is often cast upon it for injustice or favouritism in its appointments.

Next to this great reform for examinations solely or simultaneously in India for all the covenanted services, and for all the uncovenanted in India alone, is the important question of introducing due representation and reform in the Legislative Councils in India. But I consider the first reform as of such *paramount importance* that I do not mix up the second and some others with it here.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

V.

INDIAN EXCHANGES.

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(*From the* Times, *9th September* 1886.)

Sir,—I hope you will kindly allow me to make a few observations upon Indian exchanges. I shall first describe the mode of operation of an export transaction from India. In order to trace the effect of the exchange only, I take all other circumstances to remain the same—*i e.*, any other circumstances, such as of supply and demand, &c., which affect prices.

I take an illustration in its simplest form. Suppose I lay out Rs. 10,000, to export 100 bales of cotton, to England. I then calculate, taking exchange into consideration, what price in England will enable me to get back my Rs. 10,000, together with a fair profit—say 10 per cent.—making altogether Rs. 11,000. Suppose I take exchange at 2s. per rupee, and find that 6d. per lb. will bring back to me in remittance as much silver as would make up Rs. 11,000, I then instruct my agent in England to sell with a limit of 6d. per lb., and to remit the proceeds in silver, this being the simplest form of the transaction. The result of the transaction, if it turned out as intended, will be that the cotton sold at 6d. per lb. will bring back to me Rs. 11,000, and the tr[illegible] [illegible]ill be completed.

Exchange began to decline about the time when Germany demonetised its silver, about 1873. The statistical abstract of the United Kingdom, 33rd number, gives the "average price" of raw cotton as follows :—

—	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879
Per cwt. £	4·01	3·62	3·47	3·02	2·93	2·80	2·76
—	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	—
Per cwt. £	2·94	2·92	2·93	2·91	2·85	2·86	

This shows a fall of nearly 30 per cent.

Now Mr. Furrell's letter. He is right in supposing that the shipper's instructions mean not to sell below the limit. I have been a merchant and an agent in the city for some 25 years, and, knowing full well what my shipper meant, I sold at the best price I could get. He is also right in saying that the price is determined by the whole of the conditions affecting the market at the moment, and that is just the reason why, as I have said above, I did not refer to actual prices. So far we agree, but Mr. Furrell's fallacy begins in this sentence :—" Other things being equal, the instant effect of a sudden fall in exchange is to increase the exporter's margin of profit." Here he first forgets the " whole of the conditions," to which he referred in the previous paragraph, as determining the price at any moment, and next he forgets that the increase of the margin takes place in the case of those exporters only who have already entered into their transactions, and those transactions at the moment are uncompleted, so far as the remittances of the proceeds are concerned. But those exporters who have yet to begin their transactions, have no such increase in their margin of profit, as they have not yet had any transaction or margin of profit, pending or existing. I took the simplest instance of an exporter entering into a transaction at a particular rate of exchange, and described the process of the operation of that transaction from its initiation, as far as exchange alone was concerned, independent of "the whole of the conditions." And then I further explained that any fluctuation in exchange during the pendency of the transaction was the exporter's further chance of profit or loss. But I may go further, and now explain that even in the case of transactions, already entered into, the fluctuations in exchange do not affect the exporter in the bulk of the trade. The bulk of the shipments from India are drawn against, and as soon as this is done, the exporter has no further interest at all in any subsequent fluctuations in exchange

beyond his little margin above the amount of his bill, and thus it will be seen that in most cases there is no instant effect to increase the exporter's margin of profit.—Yours faithfully,

National Liberal Club, Sept. 14. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

C

(*From the* TIMES, *27th September* 1886.)

SIR,—Mr. Furrell's letter, published in *The Times* of to-day, concludes:—"The fact is Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and myself are in agreement except on one point, to which he makes no reference in the letter under reply. He contends that competition operates by reducing prices in England proportionally to the fall in exchange. I contend that competition operates by concurrently reducing prices in England and raising them in India."

Now what Mr. Furrell says in his first letter is this:—"Competition as your correspondent points out, immediately sets in to reduce profit to its normal level. But in what way is it that competition operates to produce this effect?" And then he answers himself by begging the whole question:—"Surely by inducing an increase of supply." And he goes on, "Other things being equal" (though he does not allow among the "other things" supply to remain equal), "it is in virtue of such an increase of supply alone that the price of the cotton in London can be lowered."

Now, as an independent fact, an increase of supply may, no doubt, lower prices. But it is not in virtue of an increase of supply alone that prices can be lowered in London. What I am pointing out is, how the competition and the lower price are the direct result of lower exchange or higher value of gold only, without any increase of supply being at all induced or made, and any rise in price being caused in India. The fact simply is that, because gold is of higher value, cotton is sold at as much less gold as would suffice to bring back to the exporter his actual outlay and profit. Or, putting it in another way, the manufacturer of England may send his order direct to India to buy at the silver price there, and pay his gold for it at the rate of exchange, without a single ounce of additional supply or any increase in price in India being necessitated.

What I mean, then, is simply this. To treat the subject in its simplest form, I take every other circumstance—*i.e.*, supply, demand, &c.—to remain the same, and consider the effect of exchange only, and I show that from this simple cause—viz., the lower exchange only—if

price be 6d. when exchange is 2s., the price will be 4d. when exchange is 1s. 4d., irrespective of or without causing any *increase* whatever in the supply or in the price in India.—Yours faithfully,

National Liberal Club, Sept. 20.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

4

(*From the* DAILY NEWS, 24*th September* 1886.)

SIR,—I now state the mode of operation of an import transaction into India. Taking all other circumstances to remain the same, suppose I am willing to lay out Rs. 10,000 for importing, say, 50 bales of grey shirtings—supposing that 2s. per rupee being the exchange—I find that I shall have to pay 6s. per piece in order that, at the market price in India, I should be able to realise Rs. 11,000 on the sale. Now, when exchange goes down to 1s. 4d., I see that, unless I am able to buy in England at 4s. a piece (instead of 6s.), either I cannot send the indent from India, or the market price must rise in India as much as I may have to pay more than 4s. in England. Under the ordinary operation of economic laws, it is not necessary that I should be obliged to pay more than 4s. per piece in England. Gold having appreciated here—in other words, prices of all commodities having proportionately fallen—the cost of production to the manufacturer will be so much *less* gold. What cost him 6s. in gold before now costs him only 4s. in gold, and he is able to sell to me at 4s. for what he formerly charged 6s., the value of 4s. now being equal to that of the 6s. before, and I am able to sell at the same number of rupees now in India as I did before, when exchange was 2s. per rupee, and the price of the shirting was 6s. per piece. Suppose in England the produce of a farm is worth 100*l.*, and that the landlord, the tenant, or farmer, and the labourers divided it equally, or 33⅓*l.* each. Now suppose gold having risen, the same produce is worth only 75*l.* The share of each should then be 25*l.*, which, at its higher value or purchasing power, is equal to the former 33⅓*l.* But the landlord thinks he must still have his 33⅓*l.*, and the wage-earners ask for the same quantity of gold as before, and a struggle arises. But whatever the struggle between them (into the merits of which I need not enter here) the produce fetches 75*l.* only (equal in value to the former 100*l.*). The manufacturer thus gets his raw produce, whether home or foreign, at the depreciated price. The manufacturer also has his difficulty with the item of wages, which, if not proportionately reduced according to the rise in gold, prevents the cost of the manufactured article being fully reduced. But the market price of the article falls in accordance

with the appreciation of gold, and the indentor from India gets what he wants at such reduced gold price. Articles produced in limited quantities or of reputed makers, or of some specialities, may and do command their own prices, and Indian importers may be, or are, obliged to pay some higher price for the same, but for the great bulk of the articles of trade the Indian importer has not to pay generally much more than he did before, except so far as any fluctuations in exchange during the course of the transaction may necessitate any higher or lower payment. All other circumstances remaining the same, the indentor from India pays more or less gold according to the state of the exchange, paying less gold when gold is high or exchange and silver low, or paying more gold when gold is low and exchange or silver high; the result being that the importer pays the same amount of silver whether exchange is low or high. He lays out his Rs. 10,000 and gets the goods in England at such varying prices in gold, according to exchange, as enable him to get Rs. 11,000 on sale in India.

To sum up, for the bulk of the trade, other circumstances remaining the same, India does not get for her exports more silver for her produce, but less gold at lower exchange; and she does not pay for her imports more silver, but less gold at lower exchange. In actual operation the result of course is not quite so rigid. Various influences affect the course of the market. What I mean is, that taking the simple element of appreciation of gold and fall in silver or exchange, the course of trade is not much affected in prices in India. Were India concerned merely in the fall in exchange and nothing else, that would not have mattered much to her, beyond making the owners of gold so much richer in proportion to the fall in silver, as compared with gold, and introducing an additional element of the chances of profit or loss, in the fluctuations in the rate of exchange during the pendency of the transactions. But even in that case, the exporting merchant protects himself from this risk by selling his bills against his produce to the Indian Banks, whereby the rate of exchange for his transaction is fixed. The proceeds of his produce have to pay a certain sterling amount to the bank here. As far as the banks are concerned, they are dealers in money. For every bill that they buy in India in order to receive money in this country, they sell also in India a bill to pay in this country. The two operations are entered into at the same time at different rates of exchange, and the difference of the rate is their profit of the day, all selling and buying transactions covering each other. Those exporters who do not draw against their produce or shipment, and wait for returns from England,

price be 6d. when exchange is 2s., the price will be 4d. when exchange is 1s. 4d., irrespective of or without causing any increase whatever in the supply or in the price in India.—Yours faithfully,

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undertake the additional chance of loss or gain of the fluctuation of exchange, just as they take the chance of loss or gain from fluctuations in price from other causes. The importer of goods into India is not so well able to protect himself against the fluctuations of exchange when he cannot buy ready-made goods, and must wait for some time for the execution of his order by the manufacturer. But by telegraphic communications and by selling bills forward here, much protection is secured. Upon the whole, as I have said above, fall in exchange would not matter much to India if her trade alone were concerned. She can control her wants by taking more or less. But the direction in which India really suffers, and suffers disastrously, from the fall in exchange or silver is a different one. I shall state my views upon that subject in my next.

National Liberal Club.

Yours faithfully,

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

5

(*From the* DAILY NEWS, *28th September* 1886.)

SIR,—I would give a few details of the transactions of trade between England and India to make the effect of fluctuations in exchange a little clearer. Resuming the illustration of my first letter of Rs. 10,000 laid out for 100 bales of cotton, I first take the case in which the exporter does not draw against his shipment, but waits for remittance of proceeds of sale from England. Suppose he has based his transaction on an exchange of 1s. 4d. per rupee to sell at 4d. per lb. to get back his Rs. 11,000. Suppose before the cotton is sold exchange falls to 1s. 2d. This fall in exchange (all other things remaining the same) lowers the price to 3½d. per lb., and suppose the cotton is so sold. To the exporter this fall will make no difference, as though his cotton, sold at ½d. less, he gets the difference made up by the lower exchange of 2d., and thus gets the same amount of silver as he had calculated on. The same will be the result if exchange rose and price rose with it. Though he will get more gold from the rise in price, he will get as much less silver owing to the rise in exchange, the result being the original amount of silver. Suppose again that exchange falls or rises after the cotton is sold, but before the proceeds are converted into silver, by the purchase of silver or bill of exchange. In that case, if the exchange falls, it is so much profit to the exporter, as he will get more silver for the gold already secured by the sale when exchange was higher; and if exchange rises he loses, as he gets so much less silver at the higher exchange. Next I take the transaction in which the exporter draws against his cotton, so that he gets his silver back at once from

the Bank that buys his draft at the exchange he has calculated on, and undertakes that the Bank shall have a fixed amount of gold paid to it in England out of the proceeds of the sale. In other words, the exporter converts his outlay from silver into gold—*i.e.*, instead of Rs. 10,000 in silver, it is now fixed to a certain amount in gold to be paid to the Bank in England.

Now, suppose exchange falls before the cotton is sold. With the fall in exchange there is a corresponding fall in price, and the exporter realizes so much less gold. But as he has already engaged to pay a fixed amount of gold to the Bank on the basis of a higher exchange, he suffers as much loss as the proceeds are shorter than the amount of the draft. A fall in exchange in such a case is a loss and not a profit to the exporter. In that case it is the rise in exchange before produce is sold that is profitable to the exporter. Next, suppose that exchange rises or falls after the cotton is sold, that would not matter to the exporter at all, because he has not to receive any remittance, but the gold of the proceeds is to be given away to the Bank, excepting only such surplus or deficit that the proceeds may leave after the payment to the Bank. It will be seen from the above that in the two different kinds of operations,—viz , clear shipments and draft shipments, the results from the fluctuations of exchange are entirely the reverse of each other. In the second case, in which the shipment is drawn against, and which forms the bulk of the actual export transactions, a fall in exchange before the goods are sold is a loss, and not profit, to the shipper. In considering, therefore, the result of the fall in exchange, it is necessary to bear in mind whether the particular transaction is a free shipment, or a draft shipment, for in each case the result is quite different. And as the bulk of the export trade of India is of draft shipments, the result of a fall in exchange is a risk of loss, and not a chance of profit. The shipper who draws against his shipment does not desire a fall in exchange, but a rise, before his goods are sold; for such rise, by raising the price, will give him so much more gold to leave a balance in his favour after paying the Bank the amount of gold already contracted for and fixed by the draft. The surplus gold will go back to him as so much more profit than he had calculated upon. The general idea that a fall in exchange is somehow or other always a gain to the exporter of produce from India, is not correct. As shown above, in the case of shipments against which bills are drawn (and which is the case with most of the export business), a fall in exchange before the cotton is sold is actually adverse and a loss to the exporter. Once exchange becomes

settled, subject only to the usual small *trade fluctuations*, it is no matter at all whether a rupee is 2s. or 1s. The price of produce will adapt itself to the relations of gold and silver, and the exporter will get back only his outlay and usual profit, whatever the exchange may be.

In the case of imports into India, in a certain way the importer is able to be free from any risk of the fall in exchange. He telegraphs his order to his agent here to buy at a certain price at a certain exchange. The agent manages, if the market allows it, to buy at the limit, and sell a bill at the same time at the required exchange. If the goods are ready made, the agent sells his bill at once. If there is delay in the manufacturing of the goods, he sells the bill forward, so that when the goods are ready, the Bank engages to buy the bill at the stipulated rate of exchange, no matter whether the rate of the day is the same or more or less. As in the case of the exporter, it is also the same with the importer, that when exchange is normally settled, it does not matter to him whether it is 2s. or 1s. per rupee. The price and the trade adjust themselves, and settle down into a normal condition, according to the relation between gold and silver. As a further elucidation of the fact that fall in exchange brings down proportionally a fall in the price of the produce exported from India, I may mention that if the holders of cotton in England did not sell their cotton in accordance with the relation between gold and silver, or in other words according to exchange, the cotton manufacturers can send their orders to Bombay to buy there at the silver price, and then pay in gold according to the exchange, *i. e.*, remit from England silver or bank bills according to the price of silver or rate of exchange. The manufacturers in England know every day what the prices are in India, and can, and often do, buy there by telegram as readily as in Liverpool or London. As this letter has already become long enough, I postpone the consideration of the actual and permanent injury to India caused by the fall from 2s. per rupee, to my next letter.

Yours faithfully,

National Liberal Club, Sept. 24. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

(*From the* DAILY NEWS, *5th November* 1886.)

SIR,—To understand fully how India is seriously injured by the fall in exchange below 2s. per rupee, it is necessary to bear a few facts in mind. Were it not for these facts, it would be, as I have already explained in my former letters, of no material consequence to the Indian trade, whether gold and silver settled down in the relation of 2s., or 1s., or 3s. per rupee. The peculiarity of the present position of India does not arise so much from economic as from political causes, and as long as

these continue, no mere change in currency will avail. I cannot here enter into a discussion of these political causes. I confine myself to the facts as they exist at present. India has to remit about £14,000 000 in gold value every year, not as trade exports, but as a remittance for which there is very little return in the shape of any imports of merchandise or treasure, except for Government stores. This remittance has to be made through the channel of trade exports, and gives a false appearance to the extent of the true trade of India. When exchange is 2s. per rupee, India has to send produce worth 14 crores (140 millions) of rupees. When exchange falls to say 1s. 4d. per rupee, India has to send half as much more produce to make up for the fall. This result is disastrous to *British* India. To realise fully the seriousness of the evil to *British* Indian subjects, it is necessary to consider the nature and extent of their true trade exports. I take the exports of all India as 83 crores (830 millions) of rupees for last year. But of these exports a portion belong to the Native States. I take the figures roughly, as *there are no official figures to be guided by. The population of the* Natives States is about 22 per cent. of the whole population of India. At this percentage, and deducting 70 lacs of tribute which they pay to British India, their portion of the exports will be about 17 crores. The exports of the European producers in India of coffee, tea, &c., may be roughly put down at 10 crores Some portion of the exports belongs to other parts of Asia, which I do not take into account. The remittances for home charges take up say about 21 crores; and private remittances of Europeans (official and non-official) may be roughly taken as 10 crores. A further portion of the exports is for getting back goods suitable for the consumption of Europeans only. This may be roughly taken as one crore. Deducting these various items from the exports of India, there remain only about 24 crores of rupees' worth, which are the true trade exports of British Indian subjects Taking even 25 crores, to be quite on the safe side, there is hardly 2s. worth of exports per head per annum. With the above analyses of the exports of India, it is necessary to mention a few other facts. Lord Lawrence said in 1864 that the mass of the population enjoyed only a scanty subsistence. In 1873 he repeated this opinion—that the mass of the people were "miserably poor." The late Finance Minister (Sir E. Baring) and the present Minister (Sir A. Colvin) have similarly declared the tax-paying community as exceedingly poor.

Bearing all these facts in mind, the present situation is this. The "*miserably poor" people, in addition to having to,*

no doubt be faithfully performed. But this is a simple fact that every Englishman going to India knows very well, that the services are paid in rupees, no matter whether the rupee is 2s., or more or less ; that he has never declined to receive the rupee when it was *above* 2s. ; and that if by some new discovery the rupee became worth 2s. 6d. or 3s., he will still receive and insist on receiving his rupee. In all cases, therefore, in which pay or pension has been hitherto always paid in rupees, it is idle and unjust now to claim to be paid in gold or at 2s. In addition to this equitable side of the question, there is the moral one that the "miserably poor" people cannot bear the additional burden. These gentlemen can afford to lose something, even if they did really lose so; but to the wretched British Indian taxpayers it will be sheer cruelty. If these gentlemen would ponder over the words of the Secretary of State, they would see that at bottom (though no blame to them, but to "the character of the government") they themselves are the cause of the Indian troubles.

To sum up—1. Fall or rise in exchange does not matter much in international trade, beyond introducing one more element of chances of profit or loss during the currency of any transaction. 2. When the relation of gold and silver is settled, subject only to the ordinary fluctuations of trade, it will be of no consequence whether a rupee is 2s., or 1s., or 3s. 3. Any other silver-using country which is not peculiarly politically situated like India by "the character of its government," will not be affected by any evil similar to that of British India by the fall in silver. 4. The real and lasting remedy for all British India's evils does not lie in any artificial devices or manipulation of the currency, but in removing the true causes to a proper extent, and then no question either of "extreme poverty" or troubles from fall in silver, or any evil or fear of political dangers of any magnitude to the British rule will ever arise, but both England and India will be benefited and blessed.—I am, &c.,

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

National Liberal Club, Nov. 3rd.

VI.

BIMETALLISM.

(*From the* TIMES, *23rd December* 1886.)

SIR,—I wish to state some views about bimetallism for the consideration of its advocates. It means that both gold and silver be made legal tender at a fixed ratio—say, for il[illegible] 16 to 1. Suppose, also, that the intrinsic value of silver is 24 to 1 [illegible] it in a

simpler form, say that the legal tender of silver be made ten florins to a gold sovereign, while the intrinsic value of silver is only fifteen florins to £1 gold. The effect of such legal tender would, it appears, be as follows, all other trade circumstances remaining the same:—The producer of silver can take his silver to a mint to be coined. He cannot claim to be paid in gold from such mint. After he receives his coin, *he* will have to put it into circulation. Though his silver is legal tender, he will not be able to force it on the world, in exchange for any other commodity, at its legal tender—*i.e.*, at its fictitious—value of ten florins to £1 gold. Take the ordinary instance of the hatter. Suppose the silver-holder goes to a hatter and offers ten florins for the hat, the price of which is originally one gold sovereign. The hatter knows that the intrinsic value of the ten florins is not equal to £1. He can and will, therefore, decline to part with his hat at ten florins. His easiest plan, to protect himself from receiving the lower metal at its fictitious value, would be to put the price on his hat in the lower metal at its intrinsic value—*i.e.*, at fifteen florins.

Thus the trade, and in fact all people who can avoid receiving ten florins for £1 gold, will do so in sheer self-defence. For the law which would now arbitrarily give a fictitious higher value to silver, and cause loss to existing gold creditors of all kinds, might at any time withdraw such fictitious value and cause loss to the silver-holders or creditors. There is no, nor can there be any, guarantee that this could or might not be done. So, though silver may be made legal tender at ten florins to £1, the world, knowing its intrinsic value, would not take it at any higher worth. It will decline to pay silver-producers 50 per cent. profit, or whatever it may be.

If the gold basis of the notes of the Bank of England be repealed to-morrow, they will no longer hold their present undoubted currency. If the notes are issued simply on Government credit altogether, they will fluctuate like Consols, according to such credit and all other circumstances that affect Consols. In British India the paper currency is based on a reserve of silver and Government securities. If this sound basis be tampered with, the notes would fall in their value, even though "the promise to pay on demand" of the Indian Government is printed on them. Nothing that is not intrinsically sound can be foisted on the world by any law. It would be like trying to stop or regulate the action of gravitation by law. The result would be that the actual currency will be reckoned in silver at its intrinsic value, gold being dealt with at its intrinsic premium, causing temporarily confusion and loss to the

ignorant and to the existing gold claimants. The parties who would be compelled to receive silver at its legal tender would be all existing gold creditors of every kind, unless some provision is made for their protection. Government will be obliged to accept its revenue in silver at its legal or fictitious value. Government servants, and present holders of Government securities, will also be obliged to accept the same. The loss to Government and their servants will be a permanent one unless taxation is increased and salaries raised. For, with the exception of Government servants, the rest of the world, who are free to make their contracts with Government, will protect themselves by basing their estimates and prices at the intrinsic value of silver, and Government will have to pay so.

Will the Bank of England be bound to part with its gold at the offer of silver in exchange at its legal-tender value? If so, it will be the interest of the silver holders and producers to possess themselves of gold, as the most certain of the two metals in intrinsic value. If the Bank is drained of its gold, what will be the effect on its notes? Will the present note-holders be obliged to accept silver at its fictitious value instead of gold to which they are entitled?

The farmers will be able to sell their own produce at the intrinsic value of silver, but they will tender rents to the landlords at the legal-tender value of silver. Thus a new difficulty will arise between them till, by some arrangement, the dispute is settled. And so on will be the case with all sorts of existing claims in gold.

The inconvenience of the carriage of the heavier weight of silver will partially operate against it, but in advanced commercial countries like England, this inconvenience will not be much felt, as all transactions, especially the larger ones, are conducted by cheques and clearing-houses.

Whatever may be the effect of the increased demand for silver, the object of the bimetallists that a fixed ratio between gold and silver will be forced upon the world by law is not likely to be realized as long as there is an intrinsically different ratio between the values of the two metals.

Now, if the above views be correct, the effect on British India will, it seems, be this. The pensioners in England who are entitled to receive their pensions in gold, the servants of the India Office, the existing present creditors holding railway and other gold loans, or any claims in gold on the India Office, will be obliged

at its fictitious value. But will they submit quietly to such a loss? Will they not force helpless British India to pay in gold or, if in silver, at its intrinsic value? What will the English military authorities do? Will they demand payment in gold or in silver at its intrinsic value, or will they quietly submit to accept silver at its fictitious value? They will simply make up their claims or accounts in the intrinsic value of silver. The Anglo-Indian officials in British India will remain where they are. Their rupee converted into the florin in England will remain intrinsically 15 florins to the pound, or at whatever the intrinsic value of silver may be.

The result, then, most likely, will be that British India will be left where it is now, will have to remit home charges as at present with increased quantity of produce to make up the higher intrinsic value of gold payments; and the present distress and political danger, to which I shall refer further on, will remain the same. The hope that India will be benefited by bimetallism will be, I am afraid, disappointed.

Suppose, on the other hand, the views given above (viz., that the world will not take silver except at its intrinsic value only) be not correct, and that though the intrinsic value of silver be 15 florins to £1, it will, notwithstanding, be actually raised 50 per cent. in its purchasing power; or that the world will pay to the producer of silver his 50 per cent. profit. Then, the effect on British India will, I am afraid, be disastrous. Silver is not produced in British India. It has to be purchased by her with her produce. Being the last purchaser she has to pay the highest price for it. Now, if silver actually rises 50 per cent. in its purchasing power, British India will have to pay so much higher price for it. This means that the agriculturist will have to part with half as much more of his produce as he did before to get his rupee, which he has to pay for Government assessment. In other words, the tax on the taxpayer will, at one bound, be raised 50 per cent., or whatever the higher value of silver may be.

On the other hand, Government servants will have, in effect, their salaries raised 50 per cent. at one bound. The taxpayer will be ruined and the tax eater fattened. Not only will the whole present evil arising from the home charges remain undiminished, but the taxpayer will be burdened with additional taxation of 50 per cent. all round. This can not but be disastrous; and the fears of political danger which both the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India, have expressed as below, will be vastly aggravated. The Government of India, in thei

letter of the 2nd of February last to the *Secretary of State for India*, thus express their fears and anxieties :—"This state of affairs would be an evil of the greatest magnitude in any country of the world; in a country such as India it is pregnant with danger." The Secretary of State for India, in his letter to the Treasury of the 26th of January last, in expressing similar fears, also points out the true cause of the whole evil of British India. He says :—

"The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of public revenue is very peculiar, not merely . . . but likewise from the character of the Government, which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices and form so large a part of the army. *The impatience of taxation, which would have to be borne* wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on the country and virtually to meet additions to charges arising outside the country, would constitute a political danger, the real magnitude of which, it is to be feared, is not at all appreciated by persons who have no knowledge of or concern in the government of India, but which those responsible for that government have long regarded as of the most serious order."

The whole matter is very important, and needs to be well considered from every point of view.

Yours faithfully,

Steamship Malwa, Suez. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

VII.

THE INDIAN SERVICES.

The first deliberate and practical action was taken by Parliament in the year 1833.

All aspects of the question were then fully discussed by eminent men. And a Committee of the House made searching inquiry into the whole subject. I cannot here introduce the whole debate, but make a few extracts, and give in the appendix the speeches of the Marquis of Lansdown, Lord Ellenborough, Mr Macaulay, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Charles Grant and the Duke of Wellington at some length, *as they are of some of the* most eminent men who have discussed the question from opposite sides and reviewed all the bearings.

1830.—Mr. Peel, after expatiating on the vastness and variety of the subject, said:—"sure I am at least that we must approach the consideration of it with a deep feeling, with a strong sense of the responsbility we shall incur, with a strong sense of the moral obligation which imposes

it upon us as a duty to promote the improvement of the country and the welfare and well-being of its inhabitants so far as we can consistently with the safety and security of our dominion and the obligations by which we may be bound." * * * "in a word, to endeavour, while we still keep them under British rule, to atone to them for the sufferings they endured, and the wrongs to which they were exposed in being reduced to that rule; and to afford them such advantages and confer on them such benefits as may, in some degree, console them for the loss of their independence (hear). These, Sir, are considerations which, whatever may be the anxiety to extend British conquest and to maintain the rights of British subjects, must indisputably be entertained in a British Parliament."

Mr. Wynn said:—"How can we expect that the Hindu population will be good subjects unless we hold out to them inducenents to become so? If superior acquirements cannot open the road to distinction, how can you expect individuals to take the trouble of attaining them? When attained, they can answer no other purpose than that of showing their possessor the fallen condition of the caste to which he belongs. This is true of man in all countries. Let our own native Britain be subjugated by a foreign force, let the natives of it be excluded from all offices of trust and emolument, and then all their knowledge and all their literature, both foreign and domestic, will not save them from being in a few generations a low minded, deceitful and dishonest race."

Sir J. Macintosh.—"He had heard much, too, of the natural inferiority of particular races, that there was one race born to command and another to obey, but this he regarded as the commonplace argument of the advocates of oppression, and he knew there was no foundation for it in any part of India. This, he declared, he spoke upon due consideration, because he had observed boys of all races in places of public education. He had observed the clerks in counting houses, and even in the Government offices, for some were admitted to the subordinate situations and thus allowed to sit in contact, as it were, with all the objects of their ambition, though they were only tantalized by the vicinity of that which they could never attain."*

* I may here quote a similar passage from McCaulay's History of England. After describing the usual assumption against the Irish, he says—"and he (the Englishman) very complacently inferred, that he was naturally a being of a higher order than the Irishman: for it is thus that a dominant race always explains its ascendancy and excuses its tyranny."

"That he was convinced that the more the Hindus came into contact with English gentlemen the more they would improve in morality and knowledge. In this view he cordially concurred, and that improvement would be promoted by nothing so much as by abolishing *all political and* civil distinctions between the different castes. He, therefore, was ready to give the petition (of the Indo-Britons) his warmest support."

Sir C. Forbes.—"He had been seventeen years in this country, after having been twenty-two years in India; the more he saw of the Old Country, the better he liked the Natives."

1833.—Mr. Buckingham:—"Above all, however, he approved of that great admission in the Bill which recognised for the first time the political rights of the Native population, which opened the door for their admission into office, and which, by elevating them in their own dignity, would enable them the better to elevate their children, and these again their future offspring, until every succeeding generation should have greater and greater cause to bless the hour when the first step was taken towards their political advancement, and gradual but certain emancipation from the treble yoke of foreign subjugation, fiscal oppression, and degrading superstition."

Mr. Hume:—"If it was desired to make the Natives attached to the Government of this country, there ought to be a provision for allowing them to sit in the Councils of India. There ought at least to be one Native in each of those Councils."

Mr. Stewart Mackenzie:—"That *much had already been done*, by internal regulations in India, to fit the Natives for the enjoyment of those privileges which the Honorable Member for Middlesex was anxious to see too suddenly communicated to them."

Mr. Frederick G. Howard "enforced the fitness of employing Natives in different situations, not only on the grounds of economy and efficiency, but because it would tend to conciliate and to give a motive to others to qualify themselves for such posts."

Now after an exhaustive debate in Parliament, and an exhaustive inquiry before the Parliamentary Committee, we see that Parliament in both Houses adopted the following enactment without any equivocation or reservation in definite and noble terms. They deliberately first great Charter:—

"That no Native of the said territories nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company."

It should be remarked that, as it should be under the fundamental principle of the British rule—justice to all equally—the clause makes no distinction whatever between any classes or communities of Natives, Europeans or Eurasians. Next it should be remarked, and what is of great importance, that this great Charter is a spontaneous act of our British rulers. Macaulay says "gratitude is not to be expected by rulers who give to fear what they have refused to justice." But this Charter is not wrested by the Natives on the field of battle, or at the point of the sword; there was no heavy pressure from Natives, no important Native voice by way of agitation either in the debate or in the Committee, to influence the decision; it was the deliberate, calm, well and fully discussed act and decision of a great people and Parliament. It is done with grace, and the glory is all their own. It is their love of fair play and justice, it is their deep sense of the mission which God has placed on them to lead and advance the civilization and prosperity of mankind, it is their instinct of freedom and their desire that, "free and civilised as they were, it was to little purpose if they grudged to any portion of the human race an equal portion of freedom and civilization," which have impelled them to grant with grace this first Charter to us, which redounds to their everlasting credit as the greatest and best of foreign rulers. If ever a people can be reconciled to, satisfied with, and be loyal to the heart to a foreign rule, it can be only by such noble principles and deeds. Otherwise, foreign rule cannot be beneficial, but a curse.

Twenty years passed and the revision of the Company's Charter again came before Parliament in 1853; and if anything was more insisted on and bewailed than another, it was the neglect of the authorities to give effect to the Act of 1833. The principles of 1833 were more emphatically insisted on. I would just give a few extracts from the speeches of some of the most eminent statesmen.

Lord Monteagle, after referring to some progress made by Lord W. Bentinck in the "uncovenanted offices," says:—"Yet notwithstanding his authority, notwithstanding likewise the result of the experiment tried and the spirit of the clause he had cited (that of 1833) there had been a practical exclusion of them (Natives) from all 'covenanted services,' as they were called, from the passing of the last Charter up to the present time."

"Mr. Bright.—Another subject requiring close attention on the part of Parliament was the employment of the Natives of India in the service of the Government. The Right Hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay), in proposing the India Bill of 1833, had dwelt on one of its clauses, which provided that neither colour, nor caste, nor religion, nor place of birth, should be a bar to the employment of persons by the Government; whereas, as matter of fact from that time to this, no person in India had been so employed, who might not to have been equally employed before that clause was enacted;" Mr. Bright quotes Mr. Cameron—"fourth member of Council in India, President of the Indian Law Commission, and of the Council of Education for Bengal":—

"He (Mr. Cameron) said—"The Statute of 1833 made the natives of India eligible to all offices under the Company. But during the twenty years that have since elapsed, not one of the Natives has been appointed to any office except such as they were eligible to before the Statute."

Viscount Jocelyn says:—"When Sir George Clerk, whose knowledge of the natives of India was, perhaps, greater than that of any other man, and who was in favour of giving employment to the Native population, was asked what was the grade in the service which he would propose should be assigned to the Native population, he said that, perhaps, in the courss of ten years they might look forward to being appointed to the office of Collector."

Lord Stanley—"He could not refrain from expressing his conviction that, in refusing to carry on examinations in India as well as in England—a thing that was easily practicable—the Government were, in fact, negativing that which they declared to be one of the principal objects of their Bill, and confining the Civil Service, as heretofore, to Englishmen. That result was unjust, and he believed it would be most pernicious." This was said in reference to continuing Haileybury College without providing a similar arrangement in India.

Lord Stanley.—"Let them suppose, for instance, that instead of holding those examinations here in London, that they were to be held in Calcutta. Well, how many Englishmen would go out there—or how many would send out their sons, perhaps to spend two or three years in the country on the chance of obtaining an appointment! Nevertheless that was exactly the course proposed to be adopted towards t[illegible] of India."

Earl Granville.—"I, for one, speaking individually, have never felt the slightest alarm at Natives, well qualified and fitted for public employments, being employed in any branch of the public service of India."

It is not necessary for me to go into any more extracts. I come now to the greater and more complete Charter of *all* our political rights and national wants, I mean that great and gracious Proclamation of our Sovereign, of 1858.

I quote here the clauses which refer to the present subject:—

"We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge."

"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all Power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

Glorious as was the manner of the Charter granted to us by the Act of 1833, far more glorious still and magnanimous is the issue of the Proclamation. It was not that the Empire was on the brink of being destroyed, or that the fear of a successful Mutiny compelled the rulers to yield to any dictation,—no, it was at the moment of complete triumph over a great disaster. It was, as true to justice and humanity and to noble English instincts, that the nation held out this gracious Proclamation, and thus ten times enhanced its value.

What more can we want? When this glad message was proclaimed to India in the midst of the rejoicings of the hundreds of millions amidst illuminations and fireworks and the roar of cannons what were the feelings of the people? It was said over and over again: "Let this proclamation be faithfully and conscientiously observed, and England would not need one English soldier to maintain her rule and supremacy in India. Our gratitude and contentment will be her greatest strength." Since the Act of 1833 more than half a century has elapsed, and since even the glorious Pro-

clamation, more than a quarter of a century has elapsed. Intellectu moral, physical progress has gone on steadily under the blessed educ tional work of our rulers. Whatever may have been the justificati or otherwise for the non-fulfilment of the solemn and public promis in the past, there is now no excuse to delay a faithful, honest and com plete fulfilment of those promises, which in reality are our birthrigh from the very circumstance of our having become British subjects—an that we are not British slaves.

As far as these promises have been neglected, so far has there bee failure in the financial and economic prosperity of India and in th satisfaction of the people. Inasmuch as these promises have, eve though grudgingly and partially, been carried out, so far the hopef conviction of the people is maintained that justice will at last be don and that the good day is coming. That good day has at last com Let us loyally, respectfully and clearly ask for what we need and clain and what has been promised us, as well as our birthright as Briti subjects.

The question of the loyalty of the Natives, and especially of tha the educated classes, is now no longer a doubtful one. Our rulers ar perfectly satisfied that the educated are for English Rule, that the ve idea of the subversion of the British Rule is abhorrent to them. I wo but give you only one testimony, the latest, clear and decisive, from o highest authorities in India.

Government of India's letter to the Secretary of State, 8th Jun 1880, in reply to Mr. Caird's minute, Parl. ret. [c. 2732] 1880 :

"To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India and the number is rapidly increasing—any idea of the subversion of th British Power is abhorrent, from the consciousness that it must resu in the wildest anarchy and confusion."

Our British rulers have rightly appreciated the true feelings of th Indian people generally, and of the educated particularly, in their abo statement. It is simple truth. In 1833 the question of our capabilit and character was as yet somewhat open, our progress in educati small, our feelings towards the British rule doubtful. Half a centu has passed—our capacity, our loyalty, our progress in education and th integrity of the educated have stood the trial and are now undoubte We have had 50 years of neglect, or a grudging partial fulfilment of th noble principles and promise of 1833. Let us have now a 50 years of

fair hearty trial of the promise. As long as such a fair trial is not allowed, it is idle and unjust and adding insult to injury to decide anything against us. The trial and responsibilities of office will and can alone further develop our capabilities. Let the standards of test, mental, moral or physical, be what they like, as along as they are the same for all—Natives and Englishmen,—all we ask is "fair field and no favour," an honest fulfilment of the Act of 1833 and of the Proclamation of 1858.

If this is done, I have no hesitation in saying that India will improve financially, economically, commercially, educationally, industrially and in every way, with amazing rapidity, and will bring manifold benefits and blessings to England also. And last, though not least, India's loyalty will be firmly rivetted to British rule for the best of all reasons—self-interest as well as gratitude.

This great, or rather the greatest, Indian question,—*of the Services,*—has now come to a crisis. A Commission is appointed to consider it. And, says the Resolution appointing that Commission, that the Secretary of State for India intends that :—

"In regard to its object, the Commission would, broadly speaking, be required to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service." The Natives have therefore well to realise the seriousness of the present crisis. Whatever is settled now will have to last, for weal or for woe, perhaps another half a century. This finality "and full justice" will be always opposed to any further demands or representations from us. It is practically good and essential for Government itself, that there should be some reasonable elements of finality, for the continuation and development of dissatisfaction is not only injurious to the current administration of the country, but most probably, productive of serious difficulties and troubles in the future.

Now is the time for the Natives to give their most serious consideration to the matter, to speak out freely and loyally and firmly, to represent to our rulers what ought to be done.

We must remember that Government does not ask us for a compromise. It distinctly offers reasonable finality and *full justice* to our claims. Our business is to ask, what we should have as full justice, and we may fairly hope that Government would act honestly by us. Our claims are clear and already settled. All we have to do is to ask for their fulfilment.

The statesmen of 1833 knew well that it was a true act of sovereignty and statesmanship for them to decide what the future policy of the British rule was to be,—whether of justice, freedom and fairplay, or despotism and subjection; whether the Natives were to be treated as British subjects possessed of all the rights of British citizens, or as British slaves—mere hewers of wood and drawers of water,—subject to an Asiatic despotism aggravated in all its evils by its being not even a Native but an entirely foreign domination and despotism. That policy was fully considered by those who were competent to do so. True to the English character and mission, a glorious policy was spontaneously decided and solemnly proclaimed to India and the world, by a deliberate Act of Parliament.

Far from entertaining the least desire to make the British rule a galling and debasing foreign domination, the wish of the great statesmen of 1833 was, in Mr. Peel's words, "to atone to them for the sufferings they endured and the wrong to which they were exposed in being reduced to that rule, and to afford them such advantages and confer on them such benefits as may in some degree console them for the loss of their independence." And Mr. Macaulay placed the whole matter on the highest grounds to prefer India, independent and self-governing, to its becoming a British slave, to earn the glory of the triumphs of peace, and of raising a nation in freedom and civilization, instead of the infamy of degrading and debasing it. Can any Englishman read the speeches of those days without feeling a glow of pride and triumph for his race, and can any native of India read those speeches without high admiration, delight and gratitude? Again a second time, a great and extraordinary occasion arose, and it became necessary to declare unmistakeably once more the policy of the rulers, and by the mouth of the august Sovereign, England proclaimed in the most solemn and binding manner, before God and Man, what her high policy shall be towards India. Thus the contract and decision of our rights have been settled and sealed as solemnly and as effectively as the Magna Charta or the Petition of Rights—with only this difference, to the great credit and glory of the gracious sovereign and statesmen, that in the case of English rights, they were wrested from the sovereign by the people at the point of the sword, but in the case of India, her rights were granted spontaneously and with grace.

Our position simply then is this:—

Here are our great Charter of 1833 and the still greater one of 185[illegible] The half of a century since 1833 has developed every [illegible]

fair hearty trial of the promise. As long as such ... allowed, it is idle and unjust and adding insult to inj... thing against us. The trial and responsibilities of ... alone further develop our capabilities. Let the ... mental, moral or physical, be what they like, as alo... same for all—Natives and Englishmen,—all we ask is "... favour," an honest fulfilment of the Act of 1833 and of th... of 1858.

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Now is the time for the Natives to give their most seriou... tion to the matter, to speak out freely and loyally and ... represent to our rulers what ought to be done.

We must remember that Government does not ask us f... mise. It distinctly offers reasonable finality and *full j*... claims. Our business is to ask, what we should have as f... we may fairly hope that Government would act honest... claims are clear and already settled. All we have ... their fulfilment.

"the said territories nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resi-"dent therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, "colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or "employment under the said Company." It is obvious, therefore, that when the competitive system was adopted, it could not have been intended to exclude natives of India from the Civil Service of India.

4. Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a Native leaving India and residing in England for a time, are so great, that, as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a Native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. Were this inequality removed, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.

5. Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is, by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by Natives and by all other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty resident in India. The second is, to hold simultaneously two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, *identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries* being finally classified in one list according to merit, by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme, as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object."

Here, then, are the solemn promises and their "fairest" solution before us on competent and high authority, and nothing can be reasonably final that is short of this solution.

The question of the Uncovenanted Services is also very important. There must be some right principle and system upon which admission to these services should be based, so that no class or community of Her Imperial Majesty's subjects may have any cause to complain that the principle of the Act of 1833, and of the proclamation of 1858—of equal justice to all, is not fairly and fully carried out.

The first National Indian Congress of last year, which met at Bombay, very carefully considered the whole question of all the Civil Services, and passed the following resolution:—

"IV. That in the opinion of this Co[illegible] the com[illegible]tive ex[illegible] tion now held in England, for first app[illegible] vil D[illegible]

ments, of the Public Service, should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, 'be held *simultaneously*, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit,' and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships, and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years."

With regard to the expenses of the visit to England, that will be a charge on the public revenues of India, because already the selected candidates get certain allowances in England during their residence. The only difference will be an additional passage from India to England. Moreover, such a charge will not be at all grudged by the natives of India, as it will be to improve the fitness and character of their own countrymen for their own service, and such charge will be amply repaid in the higher tone, character and efficiency of the services.

I am glad to say that in England this resolution has met with sympathy not only from non-Anglo-Indians but from many Anglo-Indians also. The only thing they desired particularly was, that the selected candidates of India should be made to *finish their studies and reside for some time in England* and pass necessary further examinations with the selected candidates of England. When they found that the resolution proposed such visit to England, they were satisfied. The best thing I can lay before you to show this, is a resolution embodied in a letter addressed to Members of Parliament by the Council of the East India Association. The sub-committee, which prepared this letter, and which unanimously proposed the resolution in that letter, consisted of 3 official Anglo-Indians, one non-official Anglo-Indian and one Native. The resolution I refer to was this :—

"9. The larger employment in the public services of the inhabitants of India irrespective of race or creed :—

(*a*) By arranging, in respect of superior appointments in all Civil departments of the service, that the examination for such appointments now held in England be henceforth held simultane-

ously in England and in India, the selected candidates from India being required to proceed to England and undergo the training and Examinations now prescribed.

(*b*) By introducing in respect to all Subordinate Civil Services for which educational training is required, the principle of competitive examinations, with such safeguards as may be deemed applicable to the particular circumstances of each Province."

The question now to be considered is, whether those gracious and solemn promises of 1833 and 1858 were made with the honest intention of being faithfully fulfilled or not? I do not think that any person acquainted with the English character, traditions and history, will for a moment hesitate to say that there was honest intention. My own conviction is now deeper than ever, that the British People and Parliament do mean to act justly by us, and to fulfil the gracious words which they have given to India before God and the World, by the mouth of our august Sovereign and by an Act of Parliament. Let us, therefore, respectfully and clearly place before the Commission* our views as to how all the departments of the Civil Service in both superior and subordinate divisions should be hereafter recruited, and that as far as necessary, Parliament be solicited to give their legislative sanction thereto.

We should then respectfully submit to the Commission and to our Rulers, that the 4th Resolution of the National Congress of last year is what we ask.

I do not here discuss the question of the Native Services in their important relation to the economic and financial condition of India and as an absolutely necessary and chief remedy for the poverty of India, as I have already given my views upon this subject in my papers on the Poverty of India, my correspondence with the Secretary of State for India, and others.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Bombay, 7th December 1886.

* i. e The Civil Service Commission ... India
by a Resolution No. $\frac{34}{1573-98}$, dated 4th Octo[illegible]

VIII.
REPLIES TO QUESTIONS PUT BY THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

My paper on the Indian Services, dated 7th December 1886, covers a large number of these questions, and renders some of them unnecessary to reply to. I now reply to those which need reply from me.

I would first make a few general remarks.

The only firm rock upon which a Foreign Rule, like that of the English, can be planted in a country like India, is that of equal justice to all British subjects, without any regard to any class or creed. The principles of high policy and statesmanship, which the statesmen of 1833 and 1858 laid down, are the best and the only right ones that can be adopted by a civilized and advanced nation like England. Every deviation from this "plain path of duty" cannot but lead to troubles, complications and difficulties. Like a step mother, England can win the love and affections of her step-children by treating them with the same love and justice with her own. Children might submit to tyranny and injustice from their own mother, but would always resent the least injustice from a step-mother.

The more firmly and steadfastly England would adhere to the noble principles of 1833 and 1858, the stronger would be her hold upon the loyalty, gratitude and attachment of the Indian people. Diverse as the races and the classes are in India, it will be the strongest self-interest of each and all to preserve the headship and rule of a just power, under which all could be equally protected and prosperous.

Under the simple principle of equal justice to all, none could reasonably ask for special favours, and a host of complications and troubles would be avoided. As in the case of every law of nature, this moral law will gradually adjust everything into natural and harmonious action and development, though, as in all transitions, some temporary difficulties may occur. It is admitted from experience that the larger the field of competition, the higher is the standard of the results. By the simultaneous first examinations in India and England, India will have the benefit of the best talent of the country. The backward provinces or classes will be stimulated by emulation and ambition to spontaneous exertions, and the best help Government can give to them will be to aid them in their education. The best service that the leaders of such classes can do to their community is to encourage them to depend upon their own exertions, to help them to pre-

hemselves for fair and manly struggle, and thus to win their on both in the services and in other walks of life, and not under the sing and demoralising influence of favouritism. This manly course keep them backward for a short time, but it would be the best for n in the end. Favouritism *cannot* last long under the British ministration. It must break down and these classes will have to begin eir manly course then. The sooner they set themselves to work in that ay, the better for them, and the quicker will they come to the front nd obtain whatever they may deserve.

One of the best results of the first simultaneous examination in India and of the general carrying out of the 4th Resolution of the National Congress of 1885, will be a great impulse to education. The New York State Commission in their report say:—" Nor does there seem to be any reason to doubt that opening of the Public Service to competition will give to education here, as it did in Great Britain, a marvellous impulse. The requirement proposed in the 4th Resolution of the National Congress of India of last December, for the successful candidates of India to finish their studies and examinations with the successful candidates of England is a very important matter. It has to be considered by us not as a condition to be imposed by Government, and as an injustice to us, but as a thing to be highly desired by ourselves, in order that our native officials may, in every possible way, stand on a perfectly equal footing with their English colleagues, and there may not be left any ground to cast any slur of inferiority upon them. Moreover, without a visit to, and study in, England for some time, our officials will never sufficiently acquire a full feeling of self-respect and equality with their English colleagues, thei education will not acquire that finish which it is essential it should hav to administer an English system, by studying that system in its birthpla itself. The visit of the successful Indian candidates to England is mu to be desired for our own benefit, at least for some years to come, wh experience will show the desirability or otherwise of continuing it.

The standard and tests of qualifications, Mental, Moral and Phy —to be alike for all candidates. Age to be same, and all B subjects to be admitted without any disqualification for race, or colour. The competitions in the different Provinces of India f Uncovenanted services to be in the same way open and similar fo

The circumstances of qualifications being alike, there f pay, pension, leave, &c. &c., for the same

The remark made by Sir C. Aitchison in his minute on the Age question is well applicable to the whole question of the competition for the Services. He says :—

"I think they are right in rejecting the Statutory system and resenting it as an unjust imputation upon their capacity and intellectual ability, and in demanding that the conditions of competition shall be so framed as to make it possible for them to enter the competition on a fair footing as regards their European fellow subjects, and to win by their own exertions an honourable position in the Civil Service."

Such fair footing cannot be obtained by the Indian candidates without a simultaneous examination in India.

"I. WORKING OF THE EXISTING STATUTORY SYSTEM.

II. MODE OF SELECTION OF STATUTORY CIVILIANS."

Questions 1 to 45.

Following the lines of my first paper, it is evident that the Statutory Service should cease, if simultaneous examinations are held in England and India. Otherwise, it would be an undue favour to the natives. Any system of scholarships also to enable natives to go to England to qualify for the Civil Service, then would be unnecessary.

III. COMPETITION IN ENGLAND FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

Questions 46 to 67.

No additional facilities need be given to the Native candidates to go to England. The simultaneous first examination in India puts them on an equal footing with the candidates in England.

54. From this Province, there have been Hindu, Mahomedan and Parsee candidates in England; and I think, 1 Hindu, 1 Mahomedan and 3 Parsees have passed.

55. Expense, risk of failure and the greater risk of young lads going wrong, and the consequent unwillingness of parents to let their children go out of their own and family control and influence, are very serious objections to sending young boys to England. Out of those few who have sent, some have regretted it. Among certain classes of Hindus there is religious objection. The elderly people will for some time yet continue to feel it objectionable to go to England, but such youths of the rising educated generation as would succeed in the first competition, will not object to go. Even the general feeling is now gradually diminishing.

IV. Competition in India for the Indian Civil Service.

Questions 68 to 92.

72. The present Educational establishments will not for some time quite adequately furnish all the requirements of the Indian candidates, but by the very fact of the demand arising, the existing institutions will develop themselves, and new ones will arise.

73-74. An open Competition will not be likely to give any decided advantages to any particular class or caste, except to those persons who are competent to pass it and who would in time form a class of their own. It could not be otherwise, where fitness should be the only pass. The Third Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission says:—

"The fundamental idea of this reform, that public office is a public trust, to be exercised solely for the public welfare, and that offices should be filled *only* by those best qualified for the service to be rendered, after their fitness has been ascertained by proper tests, is the cornerstone of popular government."

This principle applies with far greater force to a *foreign* Government.

75. Far from there being any political or administrative objections to open simultaneous competition in India, there are important reasons why it should be so. For politically, just treatment will be the greatest political strength.

On administrative grounds, this policy will be the best means of getting the fittest and best British subjects for service, and will relieve Government of a host of difficulties with which they are beginning to be assailed, and which will go on increasing as long as they keep astray from the plain path of duty and from the easiest, justest, and most natural principles of government. In taking this plain path of duty, the roots of their power will sink deeper and deeper into the hearts and affections of the people.

76. The question of getting the aristocracy into the Service is a very important one. Their influence is great and their attachment to the Rule is desirable. But the exigencies and requirements, and the whole system of civilized British administration rests upon educational, moral and physical fitness. It will be no service or kindness to put any cadet into a position for which he is not fit. He soon falls into r
leaves the service in disgust. If a cadet is well educated

his own aristocratic feeling of dignity would impel him into a fair and manly contest. And he would not like to be in a position, to be looked down upon as inferior and as a creature of "mehrbany" (favour). If he is incompetent, Government cannot put him into a place for which he his not fit. In the old and now passing regime of Native States, a cadet may be put anywhere to draw his pay, and a deputy or some subordinate does his work. But in British Administration this is utterly out of the question, and will not be tolerated a single day. As Sir C. Aitchison has said :—"Manifestly it is our duty to the people of India to get the best men we can"; or as the Civil Service Commissioners in England have shown the necessity of obtaining the advantage of getting "not merely competent persons, but the best of the competent."

So all attempts to draw the cadets by favour will naturally end in failure and disappointment. It will be an anachronism. The best way in which Government can do the aristocracy real and permanent good and a true kindness is to induce them, by every means, to give their sons suitable education, and whether they afterwards care or not to get into the Services, their general advance in knowledge and intelligence will enable them to appreciate truly the merits of the British rule, and will make them intelligent and willing supporters of it. The best favour, therefore, that Government can do to the aristocracy is to persevere still more earnestly in the course it has already adopted to promote education among them, and the whole problem of the true position and dignity, in the new state of circumstances, will naturally and smoothly solve itself. The more they attain their self-respect, the more able will they be to preserve their dignity, position and influence among their countrymen, and the more will they appreciate the true merits of the British rule.

To a great many of the aristocracy, a military career would be more congenial, and it would be very desirable to adopt suitable means in this direction to draw them to become attached and devoted, in their self-interest and self-respect to British rule.

78. For the higher service the simultaneous competition in India ought to be from the whole of India, to secure "the best of the competent" for such high service.

For the Uncovenanted service, each Province should be left to itself for the necessary competition.

79. Under simultaneous examination in India and further study and examinations in England with the English successful candidates, the position of the Indian official will be quite equal to that of the English official.

80. Any fixed portion of the service to be allotted to natives, will violate the fundamental principle of the Act of 1833 and of the Proclamation of 1858—will not hold in itself reasonable elements of finality and will not do full justice to the claims of the natives. Should, however, Government be now not prepared "to do full justice" and to allow the chance or possibility of all successful candidates turning out to be natives, Government may, for the present, provide that, till further experience is obtained, a quarter or half of the successful candidates should be English.

With the fair field opened freely by the simultaneous examinations, the Statutory service, as I have already said, will have no reason to exist for first appointments.

81. The age must be the same for all candidates, so that no stigma of inferiority or favour might stick to any. About what the age should be, I agree with Sir C. Aitchison, and the Resolution of the Congress of last year, that it should be 23 maximum, and 19 minimum.

82-83. The Civil Service Commissioners in England are most fitted from their experience to fix all necessary tests and qualifications that would be fair to all candidates, and such tests or qualifications should be the same for all. Lord Macaulay's Committee has said, as to some test for moral qualifications :—

"Early superiority in Science and Literature generally indicates the existence of some qualities which are securities against vice—industry, self-denial, a taste for pleasures not sensual, a laudable desire of honourable distinction, a still more laudable desire to obtain the approbation of friends and relations. We therefore believe that the intellectual test which is about to be established will be found in practice to be also the best moral test which can be devised."

In regard to physical fitness, I think that, beyond merely looking to freedom from any physical organic defects, some tests should be instituted to test certain physical accomplishments of all candidates, such as riding, swimming, shooting and military and gymnastic exercises.

At the Cooper's Hill College, in the Public Works and Telegraph Departments (and I think Forest is also now included), the following rules exist :—

"37. Every student will be required to go through a course of exercise in the gymnasium, and of Military exercises, [illegible] the rifle."

"39. Every student selected for the Indian Service before proceeding to India, will be required to furnish evidence of his competency in riding."

85-6. The very essence of equal competition is that every subject, test qualification or condition should be alike in England and India for all candidates—fair enough not to handicap any unreasonably, and with an eye to secure the best fitness, the highest educational and mental training, and suitable physical capacity. This will give the best men all round.

89. With training on such thorough equality of tests, &c., there will be no difference of circumstances in the case of persons who enter through the simultaneous examinations, and there will be no reason to make the rules for pay, leave, pension, &c., different. On principle also the duties of an office should carry its own remuneration, &c., the fittest person being got for the office, and such reasonable remuneration should be fixed for the purpose as would induce superior men to seek the service

90-92. The Covenanted Servants will be sufficiently tested, and will not, I think, need a probation, after joining service in India, beyond what is at present required. However, whatever probation may be deemed necessary, it should be the same for all—Europeans and natives.

V. Promotion from the Uncovenanted Service.

93 to 101.

This is an important chapter. It is very desirable that some prizes should be held out for marked, meritorious and able service in the Uncovenanted services.

Any scheme for the purpose must be such that the person promoted, being thus considered qualified, should afterwards be on a footing of equality, with regard to pay, &c. &c., with the Covenanted Servant occupying similar situation. The promotion to be open on the principles of 1833, without regard to race or creed. The recommendation of any Provincial Government, with satisfactory reasons, to be subject to the confirmation of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

That not more than one such promotion should be made in any one year in any one Province—or some maximum must be fixed.

That in the year in which such promotions are made, the number of appointments to be competed for at the regular first competitive examination of that year, should be lessened by the number of promotions.

In such promotions, probation will not be necessary, as Government would not select anybody for such a prize, where capacity and fitness for business is not already marked and proved.

VI. Pay, Leave and Pension.

102 to 120.

Under the principles of 1833 and 1858, the Statutory service ceasing to exist, no distinction being reserved for any class or race, and equal qualifications being fixed for all, by the simultaneous examination in England and India and future associated study and examinations in England, no distinction of Pay, Leave or Pension can be justified. The duties and responsibilities should carry their own recompense fixed on a reasonable scale. Equal furlough, I think, will induce persons to visit England, which is desirable. After all the European could only need about 5 weeks more for going to and from England.

The question of admission from the professional classes is rather a difficult one. Those who succeed in their profession are generally not likely to seek service, and those who would seek service are generally not likely to be superior men. Then, after severe competitions and suitable qualifications are required from those who enter the service at the regular door, and who for that purpose devote themselves to the necessary preparation, it becomes unjust to them to open a side-door for others. It may be a matter for consideration, which I think it is already, whether, after the first general competition in England and India to test high culture and capacity, a division should not be made, out of the passed candidates, for judicial and executive services, so that their subsequent preparation, for two or three years in England, may be devoted in the respective direction. The point to be borne in mind is that if a side-door is opened, the principle of competition and fairness will receive a serious blow, and nepotism, favouritism, interest, &c., will force their way into the services,—a thing most to be deplored.

Under the present system of the Uncovenanted service, judicial appointments are, I think, made from persons called to the Bar who prefer service to practice. But when a proper system is adopted for all the Uncovenanted services so as to secure the best men for first appointment through a regular door, this necessity will no longer exist.

VII. General.

121 to 1[illegible].

123-125. The Indian schools develop force of character [illegible] ities, as similar institutions in England do. [illegible] on the model, and follow in the footsteps of [illegible]

The full development of force of character and other qualities depends upon their future exercise and opportunities. When any limb of the body or faculty of mind is not used or exercised, it gradually decays. The actual responsibilities and performance of duties develop and strengthen all necessary qualities, and in time become hereditary in classes. The British advanced system of administration, requiring intellectual, moral and physical fitness, will in turn create from the educated its own new class of administrators, and an intellectual aristocracy who would, from self-interest, right appreciation and gratitude, become and remain devotedly attached to the British rule, and to the system in which they would whave been born and bred. The present old landmarks cannot and will not continue. The world, and especially the present progression of India, cannot stand still. Circumstances are fast changing in these days, and the condition of things must change therewith.

The wisdom of the Government will be in directing these changes aright and in their own favour with grace, instead of forcing them into opposition against themselves.

The exclusion of the natives for nearly a century has much to answer for any decay of administratorship or fitness that may be now observed. The change of this policy and the adoption of the noble policy of the Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 will give new life to the nation, will redress the past wrong, benefit India, and benefit and bless England. Richly will then be realised those noble and glorious hopes of the Proclamation : "In their prosperity will be our strength ; in their contentment our security ; and in their gratitude our best reward."

126-131. The objection for want of sufficient means to be risked for the purpose operates to a very large extent. It is chiefly the educated and middle class that makes some attempt. The rich do not much care, even up to this time, both for education and for service, though education is forcing some progress among them. The great difficulty is the natural unwillingness of parents to cast their raw young sons, unformed in character, at the most critical period of their life, among strangers in a land far away, and full of temptations and snares for them ; without the parental and family control and influences to guard and guide them. Several parents have regretted the day when they allowed their dear ones to part from them.

In a hundred ways that can hardly be described, a raw native youth has difficulties, temptations and risks.

By confining the examinations to England we get only a few of those who can afford to risk some money, but we cannot get the best of the talent and fitness from the whole country, besides it being utterly unjust to handicap the Natives so heavily. The few that go are not necessarily of the best.

By residence in England, young boys do often more or less get out of touch and sympathy with the people in India.

These remarks do not apply to those who go at a higher age and after their character is formed and their intelligence fully developed. They derive great advantage from the visit. They are able to understand and study things intelligently, make comparisons with things in their own country, are vividly struck with striking differences, and are inspired with a desire to improve by them. They do not cast off their touch and sympathy with their own people. On the contrary, they are generally more sharpened. With the novelty and intelligent observation, they return with a sort of enthusiasm, to do some good to their country. The kind of young men who will go to England after the first examination in India, will be just the persons who will derive the greatest benefit from the visit. Every moment of their sojourn will be well and profitably spent, their great stakes and formed character keeping them straight and desirous to do their best.

132. The requirement of temporary residence in England 'precedent' to first competition is the main grievance. This requirement 'following' on success in India in a simultaneous examination, will remove the grievance, and will not have the effect of preventing any considerable or important section, who are prepared for competition, from competing.

133-4. Once the first competition is freely opened to all, and the Statutory service abolished, excepting so far as it is adopted to form a reasonable opening for the [illegible] among the [illegible] services, another special service for any class cannot be [illegible], and from long time will all classes of Hindus [illegible] the present [illegible] objections to continue.

135-6. It is desirable [illegible] many [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

There may arise sometimes [illegible]

[illegible] in which [illegible]

or position, becomes especially most fitted for the task. Power should be reserved to Government, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, to make such extraordinary appointments outside the Services—though it is desirable to avoid this as far as possible. The peculiarly special fitness becomes a special reason for the occasion.

142. No, there should be no proportion or show of any favour introduced. In a free and open competition, numbers will in time have their proportionate share. Any such departure and complication vitiates the principle of 1833. The natural ambition of each community will bring it into the field in proportion to its number and capacity, and the principle of 'the fittest' will be observed with the greatest advantage to the whole country, without trouble to Government and with best service done to every class, by having been set to help itself manfully.

143. No such classifications are needed. They will be contrary to the principles of 1833, and will be the source of much trouble and difficulty. It is undesirable to crystallize or select any class or classes to monopolise any services. In the present transition state, things should be left to develop and arrange themselves naturally, with free field and scope.

144. For the high Covenanted posts, it is not desirable to restrict the natives to their own provinces, and this cannot be done for a general competition by simultaneous examinations in England and India. We must get the advantage of the best and fittest from the whole country, and then they may be distributed as Government may think best, or the present system may be continued by which the selection of the Provinces is left to the candidates in the order of their merit in the first competition. But even then the Government has the power of making transfers.

145-157. All such schemes violate the fundamental principles of the Act of 1833. They will deprive us of what we already possess by this law. The simple machinery of a fair field for all, and the employment of the fittest can be the only best scheme founded on a just and sound principle and giving the best results.

164-5. I do not know whether there is any such system in Bombay. Any system cannot be good, if it be not based on some sound principle and fitness. Once the field is opened freely and fairly to all, every such contingency will in time naturally settle itself, and Government will be saved much trouble and complication of the vain endeavour of satisfying every body or class separately.

VIII. Composition, Recruitment, &c., of the Subordinate Executive and Subordinate Judicial Service.
156 to 184.

167. The sections who take advantage of education—and they mainly belong to the middle classes.

168. The rich and the commercial classes do not much care for service. It is chiefly from the natives of middle class, good family and education, that most of the candidates come. And every native who is educated is desirous to confer the same blessing upon his children.

169. Some prefer an independent line or a profession and some willingly accept appointments.

172-5. After a fair field is opened for all, there will be no justification for any appointments being practically reserved for natives of pure descent or for any other class. Fitness must be the only principle—the principle of 1833—and then no just complaint can arise.

176-183. Suitable high education and fitness must be an essential qualification. It cannot be otherwise under the British system; and after educational, moral, and physical fitness is decided upon as the only right basis for employment, Government are the best judges as to what the tests should be to secure the necessary qualifications.

Separate examinations may be established to test separate requirements of the different departments of the subordinate services, a certain extent of high general education and training being necessary for all. Open competition for all classes and fitness to be the fundamental principle, and the examinations and tests so arranged as to secure the best qualifications for the service for which the appointment is to be made.

Something like the Civil Service Commission of England may be founded here, who would be able to arrange all suitable details, and go on improving the system as experience suggested—the sole principle and aim being justice to all subjects alike and fitness for the duty.

Each Province will be better left to make its own arrangements suitable to its wants for the subordinate services. Probation is useful, and the length of this also will be best fixed by the authorities or the Commission as experience suggests.

Some probation will be advisable, though it is not absolutely necessary. The Civil Service Commission of the United States say in their third report of 1885-6:—

"It could be shown statistically that those who pass highest in the examinations are likely to make the most [illegible] ts."

"A man taken from the head of [illegible] ly

to be a valuable public servant than one taken from the foot, and therefore the examinations do test superior capacity for the public service." .

"Despite all the antecedent probability of fitness which the precautions just described create, it is beyond question true that we cannot be absolutely certain, that a well-informed man of good habits will prove a good worker. A real test of the fact by doing the public work is precisely what the merit system provides. That test is a probationary service of six months before an absolute appointment." . . .

"This practical test, by actually doing the public work, is not only an integral part of the merit system, but originated with it. If these facts were generally understood, they would doubtless be regarded as a full answer to the oft-repeated *criticism, that mere information is not* proof of business capacity." . . .

"The experience of the Commission has shown how great is the majority of those, having passed the examination, who have proved themselves to be persons of good business capacity." After giving some statistics:—"The results, indeed, go far towards showing that a probationary term is not essential, though unquestionably useful, under the new system."

184. It would be desirable, if candidates in the first examination of the Covenanted Service, who may have shown decided proficiency, but failed to secure a place among the successful candidates, and who are passed the age of competition, are allowed, if they so desire, to be placed at the head of the list of *the successful candidates of the year in one of* the Uncovenanted Services. For, a superior class of servants will thus be secured without any injustice to anybody—only that the person will have passed a much higher examination and a higher order of tests and qualifications, which will be an advantage.

It will be a good field for the recruiting of the subordinate service, if such persons can be secured. As such persons will have to commence at the bottom of the service, they will often prefer with their high acquirements to strike out some new lines for themselves or enter the professions. But chould they desire to enter the subordinate service, they should be allowed.

General Remarks.

Though I have answered some of the questions relating to schemes or details, and whatever may be their suitability, all I have to urge is that the principle of 1833 and 1858 must be the foundation of the whole edifice, and every scheme be based upon, and in accordance with it. We should not, after half a century of progress, be now deprived of our

great charter in the slightest degree. Once this principle is faithfully adopted, Government can easily arrange to devise suitable schemes to secure the best results. For the Covenanted services the machinery already exists, all that is necessary is to make the first competitive examination simultaneously in India with that of England. And for the Uncovenanted services, a Civil Service Commission may be devised, who would prepare suitable schemes in detail for every department and carry them out.

The chief point which I desire to urge is this. Let Government adopt any scheme of competition, only let every one,—European or Native—have a free and fair field, so that neither should be in any way handicapped, and all are subjected to the same tests.

No distinction of race, creed or colour being left, Government will be relieved of all the troubles and complications that must otherwise arise, and the whole machinery of Government will settle itself into smooth work under a just and sound principle, with benefit to the country and glory to the Rulers.

As I have often said, the question of the services or foreign agency, is a question of the highest importance for the economic condition of India, and the material condition of the masses. It is *the* one "evil incident to a foreign rule" which requires to be *minimised as much as possible*, if English rule is to be a true and great blessing to India. The following words of the Secretary of State for India, show what political danger also lies in this foreign "character of the Government" :—

Parl. Ret. [c. 4868] 1886, page 4.

"The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of the public revenues is very peculiar, not merely from the habits of the people and their strong aversion to change, which is more specially exhibited to new forms of taxation, but likewise from *the character of the Government which is in the hand foreigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices and form so large a part of the army.* The impatience of new taxation which would have to be borne wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on the country, and virtually to meet additions to charges arising outside of the country, would constitute a political danger, the real magnitude of which it is to be feared is not at all appreciated by persons who have no knowledge of, or concern in, the Government of India, but which those responsible for that Government have long regarded as of the most serious order." (The italics are mine.)

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Bombay, 4th January 1887.

CHAPTER VII.

WRITINGS—(*continued*).

IX.

SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF'S VIEWS ABOUT INDIA.*

(Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee's views, published in the *Contemporary Review* of August and October, 1887, on Sir Grant Duff's reply to Mr. Samuel Smith's (M. P.) articles about India.)

I offer some observations on Sir Grant Duff's reply to Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., in this "REVIEW." I do so, not with the object of defending Mr. Smith. He is well able to take care of himself. But of the subjects with which Sir Grant Duff has dealt, there are some of the most vital importance to India, and I desire to discuss them.

I have never felt more disappointed and grieved with any writings by an Englishman than with the two articles by Sir Grant Duff—a gentleman who has occupied the high positions of Under-Secretary of State for India and Governor of Madras. Whether I look to the superficiality and levity of his treatment of questions of serious and melancholy importance to India, or to the literary smartness of offhand reply which he so often employs in the place of argument, or to the more sensational assertions which he puts forward as proofs, I cannot but feel that both the manner and matter of the two articles are, in many parts, unworthy of a gentleman of Sir Grant Duff's position and expected knowledge. But what is particularly more regrettable is his attitude towards the educated classes, and the sneers he has levelled against higher education itself. If there is one thing more than another for which the Indian people are peculiarly and deeply grateful to the British nation, and which is one of the chief reasons for their attachment and loyalty to British rule, it is the blessing of education which Britain has bestowed on India. Britain has every reason to be proud of, and to be satisfied with, the results, for it is the educated classes who realize and appreciate most the beneficence and good intentions of the British nation; and by

* Compare the remarks on this essay in the *Pioneer* of 21st September 1887, under the heading "Natives and the Noble Clause", wherein even that champion of Indian Bureaucracy has been obliged to admit the essayist's sincerity of motive, and the decided hit made by him in the publication of this essay.

the increasing influence which they are now undoubtedly exercising over the people, they are the powerful chain by which India is becoming more and more firmly linked with Britain. This education has produced its natural effects, in promoting civilization and independence of character—a result of which a true Briton should not be ashamed and should regard as his peculiar glory. But it would appear that this independence of character and the free criticism passed by the educated classes on Sir Grant Duff's acts have ruffled his composure. He has allowed his feelings to get the better of his judgment. I shall have to say a few words on this subject hereafter.

Sir Grant Duff asks the English tourists who go to India "for the purpose of enlightening their countrymen when they come home"—"Is it too much to ask that these last should take the pains to arrive at an accurate knowledge of facts before they give their conclusions to the world?" May I ask the same question of Sir Grant Duff himself? Is it too much to ask him, who has occupied high and responsible positions, that he, as far more bound to do so, should take the pains to arrive at an accurate knowledge of facts before he gives his conclusions to the world? Careless or mistaken utterances of men of his position, by misleading the British public, do immeasurable harm, both to England and India.

Of the few matters which I intend to discuss there is one—the most important—upon which all other questions hinge. The correct solution of this fundamental problem will help all other Indian problems to settle themselves under the ordinary current discussions of every day. Before proceeding, however, with this fundamental question, it is necessary to make one or two preliminary remarks to clear away some misapprehensions which often confuse and complicate the discussion of Indian subjects.

There are three parties concerned—(1) The British nation, (2) those authorities to whom the Government of India is entrusted by the British nation, and (3) the natives of British India.

Now, I have no complaint whatever against the British nation or British rule. On the contrary, we have every reason to be thankful that of all the nations in the world it has been our good fortune to be placed under the British nation—a nation noble and great in its instincts; among the most advanced, if not the most advanced in civilization; foremost in the advancement of humanity in all its varied wants and circumstances; the source and fountain-head of true liberty and political progress in the world; in short, a nation in wh[illegible] just, generous, and truly free is most happily combine[illegible]

The British nation has done its part nobly, has laid down, and pledged itself before God and the world to a policy of justice and generosity towards India, in which nothing is left to be desired. That policy is complete, and worthy of its great and glorious past and present. No, we Indians have no complaint against the British nation or British rule. We have everything from them to be grateful for. It is against its servants, to whom it has entrusted our destinies, that we have something of which to complain. Or rather, it is against the system which has been adopted by its servants, and which subverts the avowed and pledged policy of the British nation, that we complain, and against which I appeal to the British people.

Reverting to the few important matters which I desire to discuss, the first great question is—What is Britain's policy towards India? Sir Grant Duff says: "Of two things one: either we mean to stay in India and make the best of the country—directly for its own advantage, indirectly for that of ourselves and of mankind at large, or we do not." Again he says: "The problem is how best to manage for its interest, our own interest, and the interest of the world. . . ." Now, if anybody ought to know, Sir Grant Duff ought, that this very problem, exactly as he puts it and for the purposes he mentions, has been completely and exhaustively debated, decided upon, and the decision pledged in the most deliberate manner, in an Act of Parliament more than fifty years ago, and again most solemnly and sacredly pledged more than twenty-five years ago. Sir Grant Duff either forgets or ignores these great events. Let us see, then, what this policy is. At a time when the Indians were in their educational and political infancy, when they did not and could not understand what their political condition then was or was to be in the future, when they had not uttered, as far as I know, any complaints, nor demanded any rights or any definite policy towards themselves, the British nation of their own accord and pleasure, merely from their own sense of their duty towards the millions of India and to the world, deliberately declared before the world what their policy should be towards the people of India. Nor did the British people do this in any ignorance or want of forethought or without the consideration of all possible consequences of their action. Never was there a debate in both Houses of Parliament more complete and clear, more exhaustive, more deliberately looked at from all points of view, and more calculated for the development of statesmanlike policy and practical good sense. The most crucial point of view—that of political danger or of even the possible loss of India to Britain—was faced with true English manliness;

and the British nation, through their Parliament, then settled, adopted and proclaimed to the world what their policy was to be—viz., the policy of justice and of the advancement of humanity.

I can give here only a very few extracts from that famous debate of more than half a century ago—a debate reflecting the highest glory on the British name.

Sir Robert Peel said—

"Sure I am at least that we must approach the consideration of it with a deep feeling, with a strong sense of the responsibility we shall incur, with a strong sense of the moral obligation which imposes it upon us as a duty to promote the improvement of the country and the welfare and well-being of its inhabitants, so far as we can consistently with the safety and security of our dominion and the obligations by which we may be bound . . . ."

The Marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, said:—

"But he should be taking a very narrow view of this question, and one utterly inadequate to the great importance of the subject, which involved in it the happiness or misery of one hundred millions of human beings, were he not to call the attention of their Lordships to the bearing which this question and to the influence which this arrangement must exercise upon the future destinies of that vast mass of people. He was sure that their Lordships would feel, as he indeed felt, that their only justification before God and Providence for the great and unprecedented dominion which they exercised in India was in the happiness which they communicated to the subjects under their rule, and in proving to the world at large, and to the inhabitants of Hindoostan, that the inheritance of Akbar (the wisest and most beneficent of Mahomedan princes) had not fallen into unworthy or degenerate hands . . . . ." His Lordship, after announcing the policy intended to be adopted, concluded: "He was confident that the strength of the Government would be increased by the happiness of the people over whom it presided, and by the attachment of those nations to it."

Lord Macaulay's speech is worthy of him, and great to which he belonged. I have every temptation c t, but space forbids. He calls the proposed volent, that noble clause," and he adds :—

"I must say that, to the last day of my life, I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause. . . . . Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear. 'Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas' is a despicable policy either in individuals or States. In the present case such a policy would be not only despicable, but absurd. . . . . To the great trading nation, to the great manufacturing nation, no progress which any portion of the human race can make in knowledge, in taste for the conveniences of life, or in the wealth by which those conveniences are produced, can be matter of indifference. . . . . To trade with civilized men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages. That would indeed be a doting wisdom, which, in order that India might remain a dependency, would make it a useless and costly dependency—which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers in order that they might continue to be our slaves. It was, as Bernier tells us, the practice of the miserable tyrants whom he found in India, when they dreaded the capacity and spirit of some distinguished subject, and yet could not venture to murder him, to administer to him a daily dose of the pousta, a preparation of opium, the effect of which was in a few months to destroy all the bodily and mental powers of the wretch who was drugged with it, and to turn him into a helpless idiot. That detestable artifice, more horrible than assassination itself, was worthy of those who employed it. It is no model for the English nation. We shall never consent to administer the pousta to a whole community, to stupefy and paralyze a great people whom God has committed to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. . . . . I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us; and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. . . . . To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of misery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens would indeed be a title to glory—all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverses. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our law."

Now what was it that was so deliberately decided upon—that which was to promote the welfare and well-being of the millions of India, *involve their happiness or misery,* and *influence their future destiny;* that which was to be the only justification before God and Providence for the dominion over India; that which was to increase the strength of the Government and secure the attachment of the nation to it; and that which was wise, benevolent and noble, most profitable to English trade and manufacture, the plain path of duty, wisdom, national prosperity, and national honour, and calculated to raise a people sunk in the lowest depths of misery and superstition, to prosperity and civilization? It was this "noble" clause in the Act of 1833, worthy of the British character for justice, generosity, and humanity: "That no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company."

I now ask the first question. Is this deliberately declared policy honestly promised, and is it intended by the British nation to be honestly and honourably fulfilled; or is it a lie and a delusion, meant only to deceive India and the world? This is the first clear issue.

It must be remembered, as I have already said, that this wise and *noble pledge was given at a time when the Indians had not asked for it.* It was of Britain's own will and accord, of her own sense of duty towards a great people whom Providence had entrusted to her care, that she deliberated and gave the pledge. The pledge was given with grace and unasked, and was *therefore the more valuable and more to* Britain's credit and renown. But the authorities to whom the performance of this pledge was entrusted by the British nation did not do their duty, and left the pledge a dead letter. Then came a time of trouble, and Britain triumphed over the Mutiny. But what did she do in that moment of triumph? Did she retract the old, great, and noble pledge? Did she say, "You have proved unworthy of it, and I withdraw it" No! True to her instincts of justice, she once more and still more emphatically and solemnly proclaimed to the world the same pledge, even in greater completeness and in every form. By the mouth of our great Sovereign did she once more give her pledge, calling God to witness and seal it and bestow His blessing thereon; and this did the gracious proclamation of 1858 proclaim to the world:

"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territ by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our ;

and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

Can pledges more sacred, more clear, and more binding before God and man be given?

I ask this second question. Are these pledges honest promises of the British Sovereign and nation, to be faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled, or are they only so many lies and delusions? I can and do expect but one reply; that these sacred promises were made honestly, and meant to be honestly and honourably fulfilled. The whole Indian problem hangs upon these great pledges, upon which the blessings, and help of God are invoked. It would be an insult and an injustice to the British nation, quite unpardonable in me—with my personal knowledge of the British people for more than thirty years—if I for a moment entertained the shadow of a doubt with regard to the honesty of these pledges.

The third question is—Whether these pledges have been faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled? The whole position of India is this: If these solemn pledges be faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled, India will have nothing more to desire. Had these pledges been fulfilled, what a different tale of congratulation should we have had to tell to-day of the prosperity and advancement of India and of great benefits to and blessings upon England. But it is useless to mourn over the past. The future is still before us.

I appeal to the British nation that these sacred and solemn promises should be hereafter faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled. This will satisfy all our wants. This will realize all the various consequences, benefits, and blessings which the statesmen of 1833 have foretold, to England's eternal glory, and to the benefit of England, India, and the world. The non-fulfilment of these pledges has been tried for half a century, and poverty and degradation are still the lot of India. Let us have, I appeal, for half a century the conscientious fulfilment of these pledges, and no man can hesitate to foretell, as the great statesmen of

1833 foretold, that India will rise in prosperity and civilization, that "the strength of the Government would be increased by the happiness of the people over whom it presided, and by the attachment of those nations *to it.*" *As long as fair trial is not given to these pledges, it is* idle, and adding insult to injury, to decide anything or to seek any excuses against us and against the fulfilment of the pledges.

If this appeal is granted, if the British nation says that its honest promises must be honestly fulfilled, every other Indian question will find its natural and easy solution. If, on the other hand, this appeal shall go in vain—which I can never believe will be the case—the present unnatural system of the non-fulfilment of the great policy of 1833 and 1858 will be an obstacle and a complete prevention of the right and just solution of any other Indian question whatever. From the seed of injustice no fruit of justice can ever be produced. Thistles will never yield grapes.

I now come to the second important question—the present material condition of India, as the natural result of the non-fulfilment of the great pledges. Mr. Samuel Smith had remarked that there was among the well-educated natives "a widespread belief that India is getting poorer and less happy," and he has subsequently expressed his own impressions. "The first and deepest impression made upon me by this second visit to India is a heightened sense of the poverty of the country." Now, to such a serious matter, what is Sir Grant Duff's reply? First, a sneer at the educated classes and at higher education itself. Next, he gives a long extract from an address of the local reception committee of the town of Bezwada, in which, says the address by means of an anicut, "At one stroke the mouths of a hungry and dying people have been filled with bread, and the coffers of the Government with money." Now, can levity and unkindness go any further? This is the reply that a great functionary gives to Mr. Smith's serious charge about the poverty of India. What can the glowing, long extract from the address of the committee of Bezwada mean, if Sir Grant Duff did not thereby intend to lead the British public into the belief that, because the small town of Bezwada had *acknowledged a good thing* done for it, therefore in *all* India all was happy and prospering? However, Sir Grant Duff could not help reverting, after a while, to the subject a little more seriously, and admitting that "there is in many parts of India frightful poverty." What, then, becomes of the glowing extract from the Bezwada address, and how was [illegible] r. Smith's charge? However, even after making the [illegible] frightful

poverty in many parts of India," he disposes off-hand of the grave matter—remarking that other people in other countries are also poor, as if that were a justification of "the frightful poverty in many parts of India," under a rule like that of the British, and conducted by a service the most highly praised and the most highly paid in the world? Sir Grant Duff, with a cruel levity, only asks two or three questions, without any proof of his assumptions and without any attention to the circumstances of the comparisons, and at once falls foul of the educated classes, as if thereby he gave a complete reply to the complaint about the poverty. Now, these are the three questions he puts:—"The question worth answering is: Do the Indian masses obtain, one year with another, a large or smaller amount of material well-being than the peasantry of Western Europe?" And he answers himself: "Speaking of the huge province of Madras, which I, of course, know best—and I have visited every district in it—I think they do. . ." They "do" what? Do they obtain a larger or smaller amount? His second question is: "but is there not the same, and even worse, in our own country?" And lastly, he brings down his clincher thus:—"As to our system 'draining the country of its wealth,' if that be the case, how is it visibly increasing in wealth?" And he gives no proof of that increased wealth. Thus, then, does Sir Grant Duff settle the most serious questions connected with India. First, a sneer at educated men and higher education, then the frivolous argument about the town of Bezwada, and afterwards three off-hand questions and assertions without any proof. In this way does a former Under-Secretary of State for India, and only lately a ruler of thirty millions of people, inform and instruct the British public on the most burning Indian questions. We may now, however, see what Sir Grant Duff's above three questions mean, and what they are worth, and how wrong and baseless his assertions are.

Fortunately, *Mr.* Grant Duff has already replied to *Sir* Grant Duff. We are treated by Sir Grant Duff to a long extract from his Budget speech of 1873. He might have as well favoured us, to better purpose, with an extract or two from some of his other speeches. In 1870 Mr. Grant Duff asks Sir Wilfrid Lawson a remarkable question during the debate on Opium. He asks: "Would it be tolerable that to enforce a view of morality which was not theirs, which had never indeed been accepted by any large portion of the human race, we should grind an already poor population to the very dust with new taxation?" Can a more complete reply be given to Sir Grant's present questions than this

reply of Mr. Grant Duff: that the only margin that saves "an already poor population" *from being ground to the very dust* is the few millions that are obtained by poisoning a foreign country (China).

Again *Mr.* Grant Duff supplies another complete reply to *Sir* Grant Duff's questions. In his Budget speech of 1871, he thus depicts the poverty of India as compared with the condition of England—"one of the countries of Western Europe" and the "our own country" of his questions. Just at that time I had, in a rough way, shown that the whole production or income of British India was about Rs. 20 (40*s.*) per head per annum. Of this Mr. Grant Duff made the following use in 1871. He said: "The position of the Indian financier is altogether different from that of the English one. Here you have a comparatively wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has, I believe been guessed at £800,000,000 per annum. The income of British India has been guessed at £300,000,000 per annum. That gives well on to £30 per annum as the income of every person of the United Kingdom, and only £2 per annum as the income of every person in British India. Even our comparative wealth will be looked back upon by future ages as a state of semi-barbarism. But what are we to say of the state of India? How many generations must pass away before that country has arrived at even the comparative wealth of this?"

But now Sir Grant Duff ignores his own utterances as to how utterly different the cases of England and India are. Mr. Grant Duff's speech having been received in India, Lord Mayo thus commented upon it and confirmed it:—

"I admit the comparative poverty of this country, as compared with many other countries of the same magnitude and importance, and I am convinced of the impolicy and injustice of imposing burdens upon this people which may be called either crushing or oppressive. Mr. Grant Duff, in an able speech which he delivered the other day in the House of Commons, the report of which arrived by the last mail, stated with truth that the position of our finance was wholly different from that of England. 'In England,' he stated, 'you have comparatively a wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has, I believe, been guessed at £800,000,000 per annum; the income of British India has been guessed at £300,000,000 per annum; that goes well *on to* £30 per annum as the income of every person in the United Kingdom, and only £2 per annum as the income of every pers[illegible] believe that Mr. Grant Duff had good gr[illegible] made, and I wish to say, with reference [illegible] are

cognisant of the relative poverty of this country as compared wit European States."

Here again is another answer to Sir Grant Duff's questions, by th late Finance Minister of India. Major (Sir) E. Baring, in proof of hi assertion of "the extreme poverty of the mass of the people" of Britis India, makes a comparison not only with "the Western countries o Europe" but with "the poorest country in Europe." After stating tha the income of India was not more than Rs. 27 per head, he said, in hi Budget speech of 1882: "In England, the average income per head o population was £33 per head; in France it was £23; in Turkey, whicl was the poorest country in Eupope, it was £4 per head."

It will be seen, then, that *Mr.* Grant Duff and a higher authority thar Sir Grant Duff have already fully answered Sir Grant Duff's questions. The only thing now remaining is whether Sir Grant Duff will undertake to prove that the income of British India has now become equal to that of the Western countries of Europe; and if so, let him give us his facts and figures to prove such a *statement—not mere allusions to the* prosperity of some small towns like Bazwada, or even to that of the *Presidency towns, but a complete estimate of the income of all* British India, so as to compare it with that of England, France, or Western countries of Europe."

I may say here a word or two about "the huge province of Madras, which," says Sir Grant, "I, of course, know best, and I have visited every district in it." We may see now whether he has visited with his eyes open or shut. I shall be glad if Sir Grant Duff will give us figures to show that Madras to-day produces as much as the Western countries of Europe.

Sir George Campbell, in his paper on tenure of land in India, says, from an official Report of 1869, about the Madras Presidency, that "the bulk of the people are paupers." I have just received an extract from a friend in India. Mr. W. R. Robertson, Agricultural Reporter to the Government of Madras, says of the agricultural labourer:—

"His condition is a disgrace to any country calling itself civilized. In the best seasons the gross income of himself and his family does not exceed 3*d.* per day throughout the year, and in a bad season their circumstances are most deplorable. . . . I have seen something of Ireland in which the condition of affairs bears some resemblance to those of this country, but the condition of the agricultural population of Ireland is vastly superior to the condition of the similar classes in this country."

There cannot be any doubt about the correctness of these views; for, as a matter of fact, as I have worked out the figures in my paper on "The Poverty of India," the income of the Madras Presidency in 1868-69 was only about Rs. 18 per head per annum.

Such is the Madras Presidency, which Sir Grant Duff has visited with his eyes apparently shut.

I shall now give a few statements about the "extreme poverty" of British India, by persons whose authority would be admitted by Sir Grant Duff as far superior to his own. In 1864 Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, then Viceroy, said: "India is on the whole a very poor country; the mass of the population enjoy only a scanty subsistence." And again, in 1873, he repeated his opinion before the Finance Committee, that the mass of the people were so miserably poor that they had barely the means of subsistence. It was as much as a man could do to feed his family, or half-feed them, let alone spending money on what might be called luxuries or conveniences. In 1881 Dr. (Sir W.) Hunter, the best official defender of the British Indian Administration, told the British public that 40,000,000 of the people of British India "go through life on insufficient food." This is an official admission, but I have no moral doubt that, if full inquiries were made, twice forty millions or more would be found "going through life on insufficient food," and what wonder that the very touch of famine should destroy hundreds of thousands or millions. Coming down at once to the latest times: Sir E. Baring said, in his finance speech in 1882:—

"It has been calculated that the average income per head of population in India is not more than Rs. 27 a year; and though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax-paying community is *exceedingly poor*. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population as this is obviously impossible, and if it were possible would be unjustifiable."

Again, in the course of the debate he repeated the statement about the income being Rs. 27 per head per annum, and said in connection with salt revenue: "But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the *extreme poverty of the mass of the people*." Then, after stating the income of the some of the European countries, as I have stated them before, he proceeded: "He would ask honourable members to think what Rs. 27 per annum was to support a person, and then he would ask

whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people." I asked Sir E. Baring to give me his calculations to check with mine, but he declined. But it does not matter much, as even "not more than Rs. 27" is *extreme poverty of the mass of the people.* Later still the present Finance Minister, in his speech on the Income Tax, in January 1886, described the mass of the people as "men whose income at the best is barely sufficient to afford them the sustenance necessary to support life, living, as they do, upon the barest necessaries of life."

Now, what are we to think of an English gentleman who has occupied the high and important positions of an Under-Secretary of State for India and Governor of the thirty millions of Madras, and who professes to feel deep interest in the people of India, treating such grave matters as their "extreme poverty" and "scanty subsistence" with light-heartedness like this, and coolly telling them and the British public that the people of Bezwada were gloriously prosperous, and that there "at one stroke, the mouths of a hungry and dying people have been filled with bread and the coffers of the Government with money!"

I shall now give a few facts and figures in connection with the condition of India, and with some of the other questions dealt with by Sir Grant Duff. First, with regard to the poverty to which Mr. Samuel Smith referred. Sir Grant Duff may rest assured that I shall be only too thankful to him for any correction of my figures by him or for any better information. I have no other object than the truth.

In my paper on "The Poverty of India," I have worked out from official figures that the total income of British India is only Rs. 20 (40*s*., or, at present exchange, nearer 30*s*.) per head per annum. It must be remembered that the mass of the people cannot get this average of Rs. 20, as the upper classes have a larger share than the average; also that this Rs. 20 per head includes the income or produce of foreign planters or producers, in which the interest of the natives does not go further than being mostly common labourers at competitive wages. All the profits of such produce are enjoyed by, and carried away from the country by, the foreigners. Subsequently, in my correspondence with the Secretary of State for India in 1880, I placed before his lordship, in detailed calculations based upon official returns, the income of the most favoured province of the Punjab and the cost of absolute necessaries of life there for a common agricultural labourer. The income is, at the outside, Rs. 20 per head per annum, and the cost of living Rs. 34. No wonder then that forty or eighty millions or more

people of British India should "go through life on insufficient food." My calculations, both in "The Poverty of India" and "The Condition of India" (the correspondence with the Secretary of State), have not yet been shown by anybody to be wrong or requiring correction. I shall be glad and thankful if Sir Grant Duff would give us his calculations and show us that the income of British India is anything like that of the Western countries of Europe.

I give a statement of the income of the different countries from Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics":—

Countries.	Gross earnings per inhabitant.	Countries.	Gross earnings per inhabitant.
England	£41	Belgium	£22·1
Scotland	32	Holland	26
Ireland	16	Denmark	23·2
United Kingdom ...	35·2	Sweden and Norway.	16·2
France	25·7	Switzerland... ...	16
Germany	18·7	Greece	11 8
Russia	9 9	Europe	18
Austria	16·3	United States ...	27·2
Italy	12	Canada	26·9
Spain	13·8	Australia	43·4
Portugal	13·6		

The table is not official. In his "Progress of the World" (1880), Mulhall gives—Scandinavia, £17; South America, £6; India, £2. What is then poor India's whole income per head? Not even as much as the United Kingdom pays to its revenue only per head. The United Kingdom pays to revenue nearly 50*s.* per head, when wretched India's whole income is 40*s.* per head, or rather, at the present exchange, nearer 30*s.* than 40*s.* Is this a result for an Englishman to boast about or to be satisfied with, after a century of British administration? The income of British India only a third of that of even the countries of South America! Every other part of the British Empire is flourishing except wretched India.

Sir Grant Duff knows well that any poverty in the countries of Western Europe is not from want of wealth or income, but from unequal distribution. But British India has her whole production or income itself most wretched. There is no wealth, and therefore the question of its right distribution, or of any comparison with the countries of Western Europe or with England, is very far off indeed. ly
gentleman like Sir Grant Duff ought to understand
difference between the character of the conditions ot

British India and of the poor of Western Europe; the one starving from scantiness, the other having plenty, but suffering from some defect in its distribution. Let the British Indian Administration fulfil its sacred pledges and allow plenty to be produced in British India, and then will be the proper time and occasion to compare the phenomena of the conditions of Western Europe and British India. The question at present is, why, under the management of the most highly paid services in the world, India cannot produce as much even as the worst governed countries of Europe? I do not mean to blame the individuals of the Indian services. It is the policy, the perversion of the pledges, that is at the bottom of our misfortunes. Let the Government of India only give us every year properly made up statistical tables of the whole production or the income of the country, and we shall then know truly how India fares year after year, and we shall then see how the present system of administration is an obstacle to any material advancement of India. Let us have actual facts about the real income of India, instead of careless opinions like those in Sir Grant Duff's two articles.

Instead of asking us to go so far as Western Europe, to compare conditions so utterly different from each other, Sir Grant Duff might have looked nearer home, and studied somewhat of the neighbouring native States, to institute some fair comparison under a certain similarity of circumstances. This point I shall have to refer to in the next article, when dealing with a cognate subject. Sir Grant Duff says: "I maintain that no country on the face of the earth is governed so cheaply in proportion to its size, to its population, and to the difficulties of government." Surely Sir Grant Duff knows better than this. Surely he knows that the pressure of a burden depends upon the capacity to bear it: that an elephant may carry tons with ease, while a child would be crushed by a hundredweight. Surely he knows the very first axiom of taxation—that it should be in proportion to the means of the taxpayer. Mulhall very properly says in his Dictionary: "The real incidence of all taxation is better shown by comparison with the people's earnings." Let us see facts. Let us see whether the incidence in British India is not *heavier than that of England itself*. The gross revenue of the United Kingdom in 1886 is £89,581,301; the population in 1886 is given as 36,707,418. The revenue per head will be 48*s*. 9*d*. The gross revenue of British India in 1885 is (in £1 = ten rupees) £70,690,000, and population in 1881, 198,790,000—say roundly, in 1885, 200,000,000. The revenue of the United Kingdom does not include railway or irrigation earnings: I deduct, therefore,

these from the British Indian revenue. Deducting from £70,690,000, railway earnings £11,898,000, and irrigation and navigation earnings £1,676,000, the balance of gross revenue is £57,116.000, which, taken for 200,000,000, gives *5s. 8½d.*—say *5s. 8d.*—per head. Now the United Kingdom pays 48*s*. 9*d*. per head from an income of £35·2 per head, which makes the incidence or pressure of 6·92 per cent. of the income. British India pays *5s. 8d.* out of an income of 40*s*., which makes the incidence or pressure of 14·3 per cent. of the income. Thus, while the United Kingdom pays for its gross revenue only 6·92 per cent. out of its rich income of £35·2 per head, British India pays out of its scantiness and starvation a gross revenue of 14·3 per cent. of its income; so that, wretchedly weak and poor as British India is, the pressure upon it is more than doubly heavier than that on the enormously wealthy United Kingdom; and yet Sir Grant Duff says that no country on the face of the earth is governed so cheaply as British India, and misleads the British public about its true and deplorable condition. But what is worse, and what is British India's chief difficulty, is this: In England, all that is paid by the people for revenue returns back to them, is enjoyed by them, and fructifies in their own pockets; while in India, what the people pay as revenue does not all return to them, or is enjoyed by them, or fructifies in their pockets. A large portion is enjoyed by others, and carried away clean out of the country. This is what makes British India's economic position unnatural.

I give below the incidence of a few more countries:—Percentage of expenditure to income: Germany, 10·7; France, 13 23; Belgium, 9·5; Holland, 9·61; Russia, 10·1; Denmark, 5·17; United States, 3·9; Canada, 5 0; Australia, 16·2. But in all these cases, whatever is spent returns back to the people, whether the percentage is large or small.

The Budget Estimate of 1887-88 is nearly £77,500,000, so the percentage of incidence will increase still higher. Sir Grant Duff's object in this assertion is to justify the character and prove the success of the present British Indian policy. It will be hereafter seen that this very argument of his is one of the best proofs of the failure of this policy and of the administration based upon it. Sir Grant Duff says: "Mr. Smith proceeds to admit that India has absorbed some £350,000,000 sterling of silver and gold in the last forty years, but makes the very odd remark that, although English writers consider this a great proof of wealth, it is not so regarded in India." To this, wh[illegible] Duff's reply? Of the same kind as usual; more

and a *fling* at and misrepresentation about the educated classes. He says :—

"It may suit A or B not to regard two and two as making four, but arithmetic is true, nevertheless; and there is the bullion, though doubtless one of the greatest boons that could be conferred upon India would be to get the vast dormant hoards of gold and silver which are buried in the ground or worn on the person brought into circulation. Can that, however, be hoped for as long as the very people whom Mr. Smith treats as exponents of native opinion do their utmost to excite hostility against the British Government ?"

To avoid confusion I pass over for the present without notice the last assertion. It will be seen further on what different testimony even the highest Indian authorities give upon this subject. With regard to the other remarks, it is clear that Sir Grant Duff has not taken the pains to know what the natives say, and what the actual state of the matter is, with regard to these economic conditions. The best thing I can do to avoid useless controversy is to give in my second article a series of facts and official figures, instead of making bare assertions of opinion without any proofs, as Sir Grant Duff does. These economic questions are of far greater and more serious importance, both to England and India, than Sir Grant Duff and others of his views dream of. These facts and figures will show that British India has not received such amounts of gold and silver as is generally supposed, or as are more than barely adequate to its ordinary wants. The phenomenon of the import of bullion into British India is very much misapprehended, as will be shown in my second article; and Sir Grant Duff's assertions are misleading, as such meagre, vague, and offhand assertions always are. By the present policy British India is prevented from acquiring any capital of its own, owing to the constant drain from its wretched income, and is on the verge of being ground down to dust. Such foreign capital as circulates in British India carries away its own profits *out* of British India, leaving the masses of its people as poor as ever and largely going through life on insufficient food.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

2

I shall now consider the important questions of trade, bullion, population, drain, &c., to which Sir Grant Duff has referred, As promised in my first article, I shall at once proceed to give official facts and figures, which will enable the public to judge for themselves.

I begin with the question of the trade of British India. What is the trade of British India? The trade returns of British India, as published in Blue-books, both in England and India, are misleading to those who do not study them with certain necessary information to guide them. What are given as trade returns of British India are not such really, as I explain below. The exports of the produce of a country form the basis of its trade. It is in return for such exports, together with ordinary commercial profits, that the country receives its imports. I shall first analyze the so-called exports of British India. A large portion of them, together with their profits, never return to British India in any shape, either of merchandise or treasure; though in every true trade all exports with their profits ought so to return. The present exports of British India consist of—

1. The exports of produce belonging to the Native States.

2. The exports of produce belonging to the territories beyond the land frontiers.

3. The exports of the produce belonging to European or other foreign planters or manufacturers, the profits of which are enjoyed in and carried away out of the country by these foreigners, and do not belong to nor become a portion of the capital of the people of British India. The only interest the people have in these exports is, that they are the labourers, by whose labour, at poor wages, the resources of their own country are to be brought out for the profit of the foreigners, such profit not to remain in the country.

4. Remittances for "home charges," including interest on public debt held in England, and loss in exchange, and excluding interest on debt which is incurred for railways and other productive works.

5. Remittances for interest on foreign debt incurred for railways and other productive public works. What in this case the lenders get as interest is all right; there is nothing to complain of in that. In other countries, beyond the interest to be paid to the lenders, the rest of the whole benefit of such loans remains to the people of the country. This, however, is not the case with British India.

6. Private remittances of Europeans and other foreigners to their own countries for their families, and on account of their savings and profits. This remittance, together with item four, and what the foreigners enjoy in the country itself, is so much deprivation of the people and causes the exhausting annual drain out of the very poor produce or income of British India. This is India's chief evil.

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7. The remainder are the only *true* trade exports of the produce belonging to the people of British India.

Let us now examine the actual figures of the so-called exports of British India, say for 1885. For easier understanding I give the figures in sterling, taking the conventional £1 = Rs. 10. The amount of merchandise exported is £83,200,528. This, however, consists of not only domestic produce and manufactures of all India, but also foreign merchandise re-exported. I do not include treasure in these exports, for *the simple reason that the gold or silver is not produced in India, but is simply a re-exportation out of what is imported from foreign parts.* I take all my figures from the statistical abstracts published among parliamentary returns, except when I mention any other source. I take, then, exports of merchandise to be £83,200,528. We must first know how much *of this belongs to the native* States. The official trade returns give us no information on this important point, as they should. I shall therefore make a rough estimate for the present. The population of all India is nearly 254,000,000, out of which that of the Native States is 55,000,000, or about 21·5 per cent.; or say, roundly, one-fifth. But *the proportion of their exports will, I think, be found to be larger than* one-fifth. All the opium exported from Bombay comes from the Native States. A large portion of the cotton exported from Bombay comes from the Native States. According to Hunter's "Imperial Indian Gazetteer," one-sixth of such cotton comes from Kathiawad alone. To be on the safe side, I take the total of exports of the Native States to be one-fifth only—*i.e.*, £16,600,000. Next, the export of merchandise from the frontier countries is about £5,300,000. I may roughly take only one quarter of this as exported out of India. That will be £1,300,000.

The exports of coffee, indigo, jute manufactures, silk, tea, &c., which are mostly those belonging to foreign planters and manufacturers, *amount to about* £11,500,000. I cannot say how much of this belongs to native planters, and not to foreigners. I may take these exports as £10,000,000.

Remittances made for "home charges" (excluding interest on railway and productive works loans), and including interest on public debt and loss in exchange, come to about £11,500,000.

Remittances for interest on foreign loans for railways and other public works are about £4,827,000. I cannot say how much interest on the capital of State railways and other productive works is paid in Eng-

d as part of the interest paid on "debt" (£2,612,000). If I take bt as £162,000,000, and capital laid out on productive works 74,000,000, the proportion of interest on £74,000,000 out of £2,612,000 will be about £1,189,000. If so, then the total amount of nterest on *all* railways and public works will be about £6,000,000 leaving all other home charges, including exchange and interest on public debt, as £11,500,000, as I have assumed above.

Private remittances of Europeans and other foreigners for their families, and of savings and profits, and for importing merchandise suitable for their consumption, may be roughly estimated at £10,000,000, though I think it is much more.

The account, then, of the *true* trade exports of British India stands thus :—

Total exports of all India and Frontier states		£83,200,000
Native States	£16,600,000	
Frontier Territory	1,300,000	
European planters	10,000,000	
Home charges	11,500,000	
Interest on all railways and public works loans	6,000,000	
Private remittances	10,000,000	55,400,000
The true trade exports of the people of British India ...		£27,800,000

Or say, roundly, £30,000,000 for a population of nearly 200,000,000, giving 3s. per head per annum. If proper information could be obtained, I believe this amount would turn out to be nearer £20,000,000 than £30,000,000 for the *true* trade exports of the people of British India. To be on the safe side, I keep to £30,000,000. It must be remembered that this item includes all the re-exports of foreign merchandise, which have to be deducted to get at the true exports of domestic produce.

Is this a satisfactory result of a century of management by British administrators? Let us compare this result with the trade exports of other parts of the British Empire. As I have no information about the foreign debt of those parts, for the interest of which they may have to export some of their produce, I make allowance for their *whole* publi debt as so much foreign debt. This of course is a too large allowanc I take interest at 5 per cent., and deduct the amount from the export I am therefore evidently under-estimating the exports of the other pa British Empire. As the exports of British Indi

exports of foreign merchandise, I have taken the exports of all other countries, in a similar way, for a fair camparison. No deduction for any payment of interest on foreign debt is made for the United Kingdom, as it is more a lender than a borrower. I cannot give here the whole calculation, but only the results, and they are these :—

Countries	True trade export per head (1885). s.	d.	Countries.	True trade exports per head (1885). s.	d.
The United Kingdom ...	149	4	Cape of Good Hope (exclusive of diamonds)	35	5
Australia (including bullion and specie which it produces)	271	0	North American Colonies ...	70	5
Natal	28	8	West India Islands	75	4
			British India, only	3	0

Let us next take some of the foreign countries, and see how wretched British India's trade is when compared with even them. For a few of the foreign countries I can get particulars of their public debt, but not of that portion of it which is foreign debt. I have taken the amount of the *whole* public debt, and allowed 5 per cent. interest on it, to be deducted from the exports, as if it were all foreign debt. In this way I have under-estimated the true trade exports. These countries I mark with an asterisk ; those marked † include bullion. For these I cannot get separate returns for merchandise only. In the case of the United States the figure is really a great under-estimate, as I take its foreign debt as equal in amount to its whole public debt, and also as I take interest at 5 per cent. I cannot get particulars of the foreign debts if they have any, of other countries, and some allowance will have to be made for that. But in all these cases the amount of exports is so large, as compared with the paltry figure of British India, that the contrast remains most striking :—

Countries.	Exports per head. s	d.	Countries.	Exports per head. s.	d.
* Russian Empire	12.	0	Austro-Hungarian Empire	47	0
* Norway	61	7	†Roumania	27	0
Sweden	61	6	†Greece	39	9
* Denmark	97	5	Egypt	38	9
German Empire	107	2	*United States	55	6
Holland	348	1	†Mexico	20	1
* Belgium	375	2	†Chili	149	0
* France	68	7	†Argentine Republic ...	90	8
† Portugal	33	9	†Uruguay	198	2
Spain	36	5	Japan	3	8
* Italy	17	9	British India	3	0

Even Japan, only so lately opened up, is exporting more than British India.

After seeing how poor the *true trade* exports are of the people of British India from the point of view of British India's interests, let us

next examine the matter from the point of view of *England's* interests. What benefit has England's trade derived, after possessing and administering British India for more than a hundred years, under a most expensive administration, with complete despotic control over it, the people having no voice and no control of any kind. Has British India so improved as to become an important customer for British goods? There was no protection, no heavy duties to hamper British imports, as in other parts of the British empire itself, or in foreign countries, and yet we find that British India is by far the most wretched customer for British produce or manufactures. Here are the facts:—The total of the exports of British and Irish produce from the United Kingdom to India is for the year 1885, £29,300,000. As I have explained before about exports from India, that they are not all from British India, so also these exports from the United Kingdom to India are not all for British India, though they enter India by British Indian ports. These British exports have to be distributed among—(1) Native States; (2) frontier territories; (3) consumption of Europeans; (4) railway and Government stores; and (5) the remainder for the natives of British India. Let Government give us correct information about these particulars, and then we shall be able to know how insignificant is the commercial benefit England derives from her dominion over British India. I shall not be surprised if it is found that the real share of the people of British India in the British exports is not half of the £29,300,000 imported into India. It must be remembered that whatever is received by the Native States and the frontier territories is in *full* return, with the ordinary profits of 15 per cent., for their exports to the United Kingdom. Their case is not like that of British India. They have no such exhausting drain as that of British India, beyond paying the small tribut[e] of about £700,000. If I take £15,000,000 as British and Irish produc[e] received for the consumption of the native subjects of British India, think I am on the safe side. What is this amount for a population 200,000,000? Only 1*s*. 6*d*. per head. Take it even at 2s. per hea[d] you like, or even £25,000,000, which will be only 2*s*. 6*d*. per h[ead]. What a wretched result *for four-fifths of the whole British Empire!* [...] population of British India is 200,000,000, and that of the rest of [the] British Empire outside India, including the United Kingdom, [...] 52,000,000.

I now compare the exports of British and [...] with those to other parts of the [...] [...] the results on[...]

BRITISH EMPIRE.

EXPORTS OF BRITISH AND IRISH PRODUCE PER HEAD FOR 1885.

To Countries.	s.	d.
British India . 1s. 6d. or	2	6
North American Colonies.	30	8
West Indian Islands and Guiana	37	10
British Honduras... ...	66	7
Australasia	155	8
Straits Settlements ...	86	10
Ceylon	3	10
Mauritius	14	2
Cape of Good Hope and Natal	45	8
West African Settlements.	57	3
Possessions on the Gold Coast	13	10

Some deductions may have to be made from these figures.

What a sad story is this! If British India took only £1 per head, England would export to British India alone as much as she exports at present to the *whole* world (£213,000,000). What an amount of work would this give to British industries and produce? Will the British merchants and manufacturers open their eyes? Will the British working men understand how enormous their loss is from the present policy, which involves besides a charge of dishonourable violation of sacred promises that clings to the British name? If India prospered and consumed British produce largely, what a gain would it be to England and to the whole world also! Here, then, will be Sir Grant Duff's—"India's interest, England's interest, and the world's interest"—to his heart's content, if he will with a true and earnest heart labour to achieve this threefold interest in the right way.

Let us next take other foreign countries, with most or all of which England, I think, has no free trade, and see how British India stands the comparison even with them:—

EXPORTS OF BRITISH AND IRISH PRODUCE PER HEAD.

To Countries.	s.	d.
British India	2	6
Germany	7	3
France...	7	11
Sweden and Norway ...	10	8
Denmark and Iceland ...	19	4
Holland (this may be supplying some portion of Central Europe)	44	3
Belgium (do. do.)	28	3
Portugal	8	0
Spain	3	9
Italy (perhaps partly supplied by intermediate countries)	4	9
Austrian territory (ditto) ...	0	8
Russia (perhaps partly supplied through intermediate countries)	0	11½
Greece...	10	1
*Turkey in Europe	16	8
* „ Asia	3	10
Egypt	10	2
United States	8	9
*Central America	4	7
*Brazil	10	5
Uruguay	54	0
Argentine Republic	31	8
Chili	12	4
Japan	1	1

Japan, so lately opened, has commenced taking 1s. 1d. worth per head.

* Whitaker's Almanac.

These figures tell their own eloquent tale. Is it too much to expect that, with complete free-trade and British management, and all "development of resources," the prosperity of British India ought to be such as to consume of British produce even £1 a head, and that it would be so, if British India were allowed to grow freely under natural economic conditions?

In the first article I have referred to the capacity of British India for taxation. Over and over again have British Indian financiers lamented that British India cannot bear additional taxation without oppressiveness. Well, now, what is the extent of this taxation, which is already so crushing that any addition to it would "grind British India to dust?" It is, as I have shown in the first article, after squeezing and squeezing as much as possible, only 5s. 8d. per head per annum, and according to the present budget a little more—say 6s. Let us see what the capacity for taxation of other parts of the British Empire and of other foreign countries is, and even of those Native States of India where anything like improved government on the British Indian system is introduced. I give results only :—

BRITISH EMPIRE.

GROSS REVENUE PER HEAD PER ANNUM.

Countries.	s.	d.	Countries.	s.	d.
British India	6	0	Natal	29	10
United Kingdom	48	9	Cape of Good Hope	53	1
Ceylon	8	6	North American Colonies ...	31	7
Mauritius	40	5	West India Islands	23	1
Australia..	139	8	British Guiana	32	2

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

GROSS REVENUE PER HEAD PER ANNUM.

Countries	s.	d.	Countries	s.	d.
Russia in Europe	24	5	Austro-Hungary...	40	[illegible]
Norway	23	6	Italy	39	[illegible]
Sweden	19	8	Greece	37	[illegible]
Denmark	26	11	Servia	16	[illegible]
German Empire	13	6	Bulgaria	12	[illegible]
Prussia	41	2	Roumania	20	[illegible]
Saxony	22	8	Egypt (proper)	30	[illegible]
Grand Duchy of Oldenburgh ...	18	6	United States (different States have their separate revenue besides)	[illegible]	[illegible]
Saxe-Coburg and Gotha ...	17	0	Mexico	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bavaria	44	9	Brazil	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wurtemburg	27	8	Guatemala	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grand Duchy of Baden ...	27	2	Nicaragua	[illegible]	[illegible]
" " Hesse ...	21	8	Salvador	[illegible]	[illegible]
Alsace-Lorraine	24	1	Orange Free State	[illegible]	[illegible]
Holland	27	[illegible]	Persia	[illegible]	[illegible]
Belgium	[illegible]	[illegible]	Republic of Peru	[illegible]	[illegible]
France	[illegible]	6	All territory directly und[er] ...	[illegible]	[illegible]
Portugal	[illegible]	[illegible]	Turkey...	[illegible]	[illegible]
Spain	[illegible]	[illegible]			

[illegible] figures are worked out of Whitaker's Alma[nac] [illegible]

It will be seen that British India's capacity for paying taxation is very poor indeed, compared to that of any other country of any consequence. Of the above figures I cannot say which may be oppressive to the people I give this as a fact, that these people pay so much for being governed. But it must be further borne in mind that every farthing of what these people pay returns back to them, which is not the case with British India. Can it be said of any of these countries that one-fifth or one-third of its people goes through life on insufficient food from sheer poverty of only 40*s.* income, and not from imperfect distribution ?

I shall next take the case of some of the Native States of India. I have taken some where during the minorities of the princes English officials have administered the State, and put them into order and good government. The capacity for taxation which I give below is not the result of any oppressive taxation, but of the natural developments by improved government, and of the increasing prosperity of the people. I give instances in the Bombay Presidency that I know, and of which I have been able to get some particulars.

GROSS REVENUE PER HEAD.

£1 = Rs. 10.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Baroda	12	3	Gondal	18	0
Cutch	7	11	Morbi	17	2
Bhavnagar	12	6	Wadhwan	18	10

These States have no debts. Baroda, Bhavnagar and Gondal have built and are extending their own railways, and all have built and are building their own public works from revenue, and have good balances. Baroda has a balance in hand of £2,100,000, equal to eighteen months' revenue ; Cutch has £140,000, equal to eight months' revenue ; Bhavnagar has £560,000, equal to two years' revenue ; and Gondal has £150,000, equal to fifteen months' revenue. I give only one or two short extracts from official statements. Sir W. Hunter, in his "Imperial Gazetteer," says about Bhavnagar in connection with Kathiawad : "Bhavnagar has taken the lead in the material development of her resources, and is the first State in India which constructed a railway at her own expense and risk." I may say that Gondal did the same in conjunction with Bhavnagar, and Baroda had done that long before. In handing over the rule of Gondal to the prince on the completion of his minority, Major Nutt, the British Administrator, and in charge of the State at the time, says with just pride and pleasure, in reference to the increase of revenue from £80,000 in 1870 to £120,000 in 1884 : "One point of

ecial interest in this matter is, that the increase in revenue has not ccasioned any hardship to Gondal's subjects. On the contrary, never were the people generally—high and low, rich and poor—in a greater state of social prosperity than they are now." The Bombay Government has considered this "highly satisfactory."

At the installation of the present Chief of Bhavnagar, Mr. Peile, the Political Agent, describes the State as being then "with flourishing finances and much good work in progress. Of financial matters I need say little; you have no debts, and your treasury is full." When will British Indian financiers be able to speak with the same pride, pleasure, and satisfaction? "No debt, full treasury, good work in progress, increase of revenue, with increase of social prosperity, for high and low, rich and poor." Will this ever be in British India under the present policy? No.

There are some other States in Kathiawad in which higher taxation per head than that of British India is paid by the people, though I do not know that it is said that there is oppressive taxation there. I may instance Junagadh as 11s. per head, with £500,000 balance in hand, equal to fifteen months' revenue, and Nawanagar as 16s. 3d. per head, and gradually paying off some debt. I have no doubt that Native States will go on rapidly increasing in prosperity as their system of government goes on improving. I know from my own personal knowledge as Prime Minister of Baroda for one year that that State has a very promising future indeed. There are several other Native States in India in which the gross revenue per head is higher than that of British India. All the remaining first and second class Kathiawa States are from 8s. to 13s. per head; Gwalior, 7s. 8d; Indore, 13s 5 Bhurtpore, 8s. 8d.; Dholepur, 8s. 10d.; Tonk, 7s.; Kotah, 11s. 4 Jallawar, 8s. 10d. Only just now Sindia lends £3,500,000 to British Government; Holkar, I think, has lent £1,000,000 for Indore railway.

There cannot be much oppression in these States, as the P Agents' vigilance and superintendence, and the fear of the dis of Government, are expected to prevent it.

Then Sir Grant Duff maintains that no country on the fa earth is governed so cheaply as British India. In the first is a fiction, as the heaviness of burden on poverty-stricken Br is more than double than that on the enormously rich En Sir Grant Duff's object is to show

and 2*s*. 2*d*. respectively of Europe. This means that India retained only one-fourth of what Europe retained per head per annum during these ten years. It must be further remembered that there is no such vast system of cheques, clearing-houses, &c., in India, as plays so important a part in England and other countries of Europe. Wretched as the provision of 6½*d*. per head per annum is for *all* wants—political, social, commercial, &c.— there is something far worse behind for British India. All the gold and silver that I have shown above as retained by India is not for British India only, but for the Native States, the frontier territories, and the European population; and then the remainder is for the native population of British India. We must have official information about these four divisions before we can form a correct estimate of what British India retains. The Native States, as I have said before, have no foreign drain except the small amount of tribute of about £700,000. Some frontier territories receive something instead of paying any tribute. These States therefore receive back for the exports of their merchandise, and for the ordinary trade profits on such exports, full returns in imports of merchandise and treasure, and this treasure taken away by the Native States and frontier territories forms not a small portion of what is imported into India. It must also be considered how much metal is necessary every year for waste of coin and metal, and for the wants of circulating currency. When Government can give us all such information, it will be found that precious little remains for British India beyond what it is compelled to import for its absolute wants. I hope England does not mean to say that Englishmen or Englishwomen may sport as much as they like in ornaments or personal trinkets or jewellery; but that the wretch of a native of British India, their fellow-subject, has no business or right to put a few shillings' worth of trinkets on his wife or daughter's person; or that natives must simply live the lives of brutes, subsist on their "scanty subsistence," and thank their stars that they have that much.

I now try to give some indication of what bullion British India actually retains. Mr. Harrison gave his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1871-74 that about £1,000,000 of fresh coinage was more than sufficient to supply the waste of coin or metal. Is it too much to assume that in the very widespread and minute distribution, over a vast surface and a vast population, of small trinkets or ornaments of silver, and their rough use, another million may be required to supply waste and loss? If only a pennyworth per head per annum be so wanted, it would make a million sterling. Next, how much goes to the

native States and the frontier territories? Here are a few significant official figures as an indication: The "Report of the external land trade and railway-borne trade of the Bombay Presidency for 1884-85" (p. 2), says of Rajputana and Central India—"13. The imports from the external blocks being greater than the exports to them, the balance of trade due by the Presidency to the other provinces amounts to Rs. 12,01,05,912, as appears from the above table and the following." I take the Native States from the table referred to.

EXCESS OF IMPORTS IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

From Rajputana and Central India	Rs.	5,55,46,753
" Berar	"	1,48,91,355
" Hyderabad	"	8,67,688
Total	Rs.	7,13,05,796

Or £7,130,579. This means that these native States have exported so much more merchandise than they have imported. Thereupon the Report remarks thus:—"The greatest balance is in favour of Rajputana and Central India, caused by the import of opium from that block. Next to it is that of the Central Provinces. It is presumed that these balances are paid back *mainly in cash*" (the italics are mine). This, then, is the way the treasure goes; and poor British India gets all the abuse, insult added to injury. Its candle burns not only at both ends, but at all parts. The excessive foreign agency eats up in India, and drains away out of India, a portion of its wretched income, thereby weakening and exhausting it every year drop by drop, though not very perceptibly, and lessening its productive power or capability. It has poor capital, and cannot increase it much. Foreign capital does nearly all the work, and carries away all the profit. Foreign capitalists from Europe and from Native States make profits from the resources of British India, and take away these profits to their own countries. The share that the mass of the natives of British India have is to drudge and slave on scanty subsistence for these foreign capitalists; not as slaves in America did, on the resources of the country and land belonging to the masters themselves, but on the resources of their own country, for the benefit of the foreign capitalists. I may illustrate this a little. Bombay is considered a wealthy place, and has a large capital circulating in it, to carry on all its wants as a great port. Whose capital is this? Mostly that of foreigners. The capital of the European exchange banks and European merchants is mostly fo[illegible] and [illegible] native capital is also foreign—i.e., that of the [illegible] Nearly [illegible]
[illegible] nts from the Native States.

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occasions may undoubtedly be called extravagant when compared with the ryots' means ; but the occasions occur seldom, and probably in a course of years the total sum spent this way by any ryot is not larger than a *man in his position is justified in spending on social and domestic pleasures.*" (The italics are mine.) And what is the amount the poor ryot spends on the marriage of his son ! Rs. 50 to 75 (£5 to £7 10s. say the Commissioners.

Sir Grant Duff says : "We have stopped war, we are stopping famine. How are the ever-increasing multitudes to be fed ?" Is not Sir Grant Duff a little hasty in saying "We are stopping famine." What you are doing is, to starve the living to save the dying. Make the people themselves able to meet famine without misery and deaths, and then claim credit that you are stopping famine. However, the true answer to the question, "How are the ever-increasing multitudes to be fed ?" is a very simple one, if gentlemen like Sir Grant Duff will ever have the patience to study the subject. The statesmen of 1833 and of 1858 have in the clearest and most emphatic way answered this question. They knew and said clearly upon what the welfare and well-being of the hundreds of millions depended. They laid down unequivocally what would make British India not only able to feed the increasing multitudes, but prosperous and the best customer of England ; and Mr. Grant Duff's following kind question of 1871 will be fully answered : "But what are we to say about the state of India ? How many generations must pass away before that country has arrived at even the comparative wealth of this (England)?" This benevolent desire of Mr. Grant Duff would be accomplished in no long time. This question of population of "the ever increasing multitudes" requires further examination. Macaulay, in his review of Southey's "Colloquies on Society," says :

"When this island was thinly peopled, it was barbarous ; there was little capital, and that little was insecure. It is now the richest and the most highly civilized spot in the world, but the population is dense . . . But when we compare our own condition with that of our ancestors, we think it clear that the advantages arising from the progress of civilization have far more than counterbalanced the disadvantages arising from the progress of population. While our numbers have increased tenfold, our wealth has increased hundredfold . . . If we were to prophesy that
in the year 1930 a population of fifty millions, bett and lodg
ed than the English of our time, will cover . man
people would think us insane. We prophes ve s
if any person had told the Parliament whi

This gives some hope. If, after the faithful adoption of the policy of 1833 and 1858, our material condition do not improve, and all the fears expressed in the above extract do not vanish, the fault will not be Britain's, and she will at least be relieved from the charge of dishonour to her word. But I have not the shadow of a doubt, as the statesmen of 1833 and the proclamation of 1858 had no doubt, that the result will be a blessing both to England and India.

A second ray of hope is this. Many Englishmen in England are taking active interest in the matter. Mr. Bright, Mr. Fawcett, Sir C. Trevelyan, and others have done good in the past. Others are earnestly working now—Mr. Slagg, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Digby, Mr. S. Smith, Mr. Hyndman, and several others. A further ray of hope is in an increasing number of members of Parliament interesting themselves in Indian matters, such as Dr. Hunter, Mr. S. Smith, Dr. Clark, Mr. Cremer, Sir J. Phear, Sir W. Plowden, and many others; and we cannot but feel thankful to all who have taken and are taking interest in our lot. All unfortunately, however, labour under the disadvantage of want of full information from Government, and the difficulty of realizing the feelings and views of the natives. But still they have done much good. I must also admit here that some Anglo-Indians begin to realize the position. We owe much to men like Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir G. Birdwood, Major Bell, Mr. Ilbert, Mr. Cotton, and others of that stamp, for their active sympathy with us. Mr. Bright hit the blot as far back as 1853 in his speech of the 3rd January: "I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithstanding the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the government of the country." It is not necessary to go far to seek for this fundamental error. It is the perversion of the policy of 1833 which in the more widened and complete form of 1858 is virtually still a dead letter.

Much is said about poor natives wasting money in marriages, &c. I hope it is not meant that these poor wretches have no right to any social privileges or enjoyments, and that their business is only to live and die like brutes. But the fact of the matter is, that this is one of those fallacies that die hard. Let us see what truth the Deccan Riots Commission brings to light. The Report of that Commission says (page 19, par. 54): "the results of the Commission's inquiries show that undue prominence has been given to the expenditure on marriage and other festivals as a cause of the ryots' indebtedness. The expenditure on such

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"Wide and broad indeed are the new fields in which the Government of India is called upon to labour—but no longer, as of aforetime need it labour alone. Within the period we are reviewing education has done its work, and we are surrounded on all sides by native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose hearty, loyal, and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. In fact, to an Administration so peculiarily situated as ours their advice, assistance, and solidarity are essential to the successful exercise of its functions. Nor do I regard with any other feelings than those of approval and good-will, their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs."

Look upon this picture and upon that!

Two Indian national Congresses have been held during the past two years—the second great one, at Calcutta, having 430 delegates present from all parts of India, and of all classes of the people; and what is it that both these Congresses have asked? It is virtually and simply the "conscientious fulfilment" of the pledges of 1833 and 1858. They are the pivot upon which all Indian problems turn. If India is to be retained to Britain, it will be by men who insist upon being just, and upon the righteous fulfilment of the proclamation of 1858. Any one can judge of this from the kind of ovations given to Lord Ripon and Sir W. Wedderburn on their retirement.

Here, again, our gracious Empress in the year of her auspicious Jubilee once more proclaims to the world and assures us, in her response to the Bombay Jubilee Address, 1st June, "It had always been, and will always be, her earnest desire to maintain unswervingly the principles laid down in the proclamation published on her assumption of the direct control of the government of India." We ask no more.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

"Caxton Printing Works," Bombay.